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COLLECTIONS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS

HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

For the Year 1792.

VOL. I.

BOSTON:

PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1792.

RE-PRINTED BY MUNROE & FRANCIS, COURT-STREET,

Printers to the Historical Society.

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Constitution of the Historical Society.

THE preſervation of Books, Pamphlets, Manuſcripts, and Records, containing hiſtorical facts, biographical anecdotes, temporary projects, and beneficial ſpeculations, conduces to mark the genius, delineate the manners, and trace the progreſs of ſociety in the United States, and muſt always have a uſeful tendency to reſcue the true hiſtory of this country from the ravages of time and the effects of ignorance and neglect. A collection of obſervations and deſcriptions in natural hiſtory and topography, together with ſpecimens of natural and artificial curioſities, and a ſelection of every thing which can improve and promote the hiſtorical knowledge of our country, either in a phyſical or political view, has long been conſidered as a deſideratum; and as ſuch a plan can be beſt executed by a ſociety whoſe ſole and ſpecial care ſhall be confined to the above objects; WE the ſubſcribers DO agree to form ſuch an inſtitution, and to aſſociate for the above purpoſes, ſubject to the following regularities.

ARTICLE I. This ſociety ſhall be called the HISTORICAL SOCIETY, and ſhall conſiſt of a number not exceeding *thirty*, who ſhall at the time of their election be citizens of the Commonwealth of Maſſachuſetts.

ART. II. Each member at the time of his admiſſion ſhall pay five dollars, and two dollars annually, to create a fund, for the benefit of the inſtitution. And any member ſhall be exempted from the annual payment of two dollars, provided he ſhall at any time after ſix months from his admiſſion, pay to the Treaſurer *thirty-four dollars* in addition to what he had before paid.

ART. III. All elections ſhall be made by ballot. No member ſhall nominate more than one candidate at the ſame meeting, and all nominations ſhall be made at a meeting previous to that at which the ballot is to be taken.

ART. IV. There ſhall be four ſtated meetings of the Society in each year—namely, on the laſt Tueſdays of January, April, July, and October. And occaſional meetings ſhall be convened on due notification by the Preſident; or in caſe of his abſence by one of the Secretaries, on the application of any two of the members.

ART. V. There ſhall be annually choſen at the meeting in April, a Preſident, a Recording and Correſponding Secretary, a Treaſurer, a Librarian, and a ſtanding Committee of three.

ART. VI. All communications which are thought worthy of preſervation, ſhall be entered at large, or minuted down in the books of the ſociety, and the originals be kept on file.

ART. VII. At the requeſt of any two members preſent, any motion ſhall be deferred to another meeting for farther conſideration before it is finally determined.

ART. VIII. All accounts ſhall be kept in dollars and cents.

ART. IX. Five members preſent ſhall be a quorum for all purpoſes, excepting thoſe of making alterations in, or additions to, theſe articles, and the election of members.

ART. X. No member ſhall be choſen unleſs there are eight members preſent at the election.

ART. XI. The firſt article ſhall not reſtrict the ſociety from electing correſponding members in any other ſtate or country.

ART. XII. Members who are choſen in other ſtates and countries, ſhall not exceed the number of *thirty*, and ſhall not be required to make contribution with the members who are citizens of the Commonwealth.

TO THE PUBLIC.

AMONG the singular advantages which are enjoyed by the people of these UNITED STATES, none is more conspicuous than the facility of tracing the origin and progress of our several plantations. Derived from nations in which the means of literary improvement were familiar, we are able to ascertain with precision many circumstances, the knowledge of which must have been either disfigured or lost among a people rude and unlettered.

With such advantages in our hands, we are wholly inexcusable if we neglect to preserve authentic monuments of every memorable occurrence. Not only names, dates, and facts may be thus handed down to posterity; but principles and reasonings, causes and consequences, with the manner of their operation, and their various connexions, may enter into the mass of historical information.

Our ancestors were early attentive to this important subject. Among them were men of the first abilities and improvements, who, though struggling with all the hardships of an infant settlement, were mindful of their posterity, and careful to provide for us both entertainment and instruction.

Mr. Winthrop, the first Governour of the Colony of Massachusetts, kept an exact journal of public and private events during his life; which hath been preserved in his family, and hath served as the basis of several histories of New-England. It was copied by the care of the late Governour Trumbull, and hath been lately printed at Hartford under the inspection of Mr. Webster.

Another manuscript history was compiled by Mr. Hubbard of Ipswich; of which, one copy only is extant in this country, and is now become the property of this society.

A collection of printed books and manuscripts was begun by the late Mr. Prince of Boston, and continued during the greater part of his life. His intention was to digest the whole in the form of *Annals*; and the public had great expectations from the well known abilities and information of that gentleman. His first volume, published in 1736, contained a chronological detail of events from the creation of the world, and but *ten* years of the history of New-England, the professed design of his labours. The public was disgusted, and the work ceased for about twenty years. In his advanced age he resumed it; but other employments which *he* thought more necessary, and his increasing infirmities prevented him from pursuing it to any conclusion.

In

In the course of his inquiries he had amassed a very large quantity of valuable materials for the history of this country, which by his last will he committed to the care of the Old South Church, and they were deposited in an apartment of their meeting house, where from the year 1759 to the year 1773, they lay neglected and in confusion. In 1774 they were put into some order, but in the following year, when the troops of Britain held possession of this town, that elegant building became an object of their vengeance; it was wantonly torn to pieces, and turned into a military riding school. Then the greater part of Mr. Prince's collection fell a sacrifice to British barbarity. What remained has since been put into order, and continues in the same apartment.

When those troops were about quitting this town in March, 1776, among other instances of depredation then committed, the office of the court of common pleas was plundered, and the papers were scattered about the street. After the troops were gone, the fragments were collected, and deposited in the State House.

The late Governour Hutchinson had a valuable collection of manuscripts, by the help of which he compiled a history of Massachusetts: the first volume of which was printed in 1764. In the following year, his house was destroyed by an enraged mob, and many of his papers were scattered and lost. Some of them were recovered. A second volume was presented to the public in 1767, and a volume of papers in 1769.

In 1747, the Court House in Boston was burnt, and some of the public records were consumed. In 1764 the old college at Cambridge shared the same fate, and a great number of valuable books with some manuscripts perished.

From these instances which have occurred during our own memory, it is evident that *Repositories* of every kind, however desirable, are exposed to such accidents, from the hand of time; from the power of the elements, and from the ravages of unprincipled men, as to render them unsafe. There is no sure way of preserving historical records and materials, but by *multiplying the copies*. The art of printing affords a mode of preservation more effectual than Corinthian brass or Egyptian marble; for statues and pyramids which have long survived the wreck of time, are unable to tell the names of their sculptors, or the date of their foundations.

Impressed with this idea, the members of the Historical Society have determined, not only to collect, but to *diffuse* the various species of historical information, which are within their reach. As these materials may come in at different times, and there may not be opportunity to digest them in the best order, previously to their publication; they will present them in such order, as may be convenient; and will arrange them, by an index, at the end of the year. They cannot promise to erect a regular building; but they will plant a forest, into which every inquirer may enter at his plea-

sure, and find something suitable to his purpose. Having already given their names to the public, they will be answerable for the authenticity of the papers which shall appear.

One of the most remarkable events in the history of this country is the expedition to Cape Breton in 1745. There were reasons for that undertaking, both private and public. It was hazardous in the attempt, and successful in the execution. It displayed the enterprising spirit of New-England; and though it enabled Britain to purchase a peace; yet it excited her envy and jealousy against the colonies, by whose exertions it was acquired. Several accounts of this expedition have been printed, but none of them are complete. A number of original papers, relative to that event, having fallen into the hands of this society, shall be the first offering which they make to the public eye.

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOLUME I.

INSTRUCTIONS *given by* WILLIAM SHIRLEY, *Governour of Massachusetts, to* WILLIAM PEPPERELL, *Lieutenant General of the forces raised in New-England, for an expedition against the French settlements on the Island of Cape Breton.*

SIR,

THE officers and men, intended for the expedition against the French settlements on Cape Breton, under your command, being embarked, and the necessary artillery, ammunition, arms, provision, &c. shipped for that purpose ; you are hereby directed to repair on board the snow Shirley Galley, Captain John Rouse commander, and by virtue of the commission you have received from me, take upon you the command of all and every the ships and other vessels, whether transports or cruizers of this and the neighbouring provinces that are appointed for this service ; and of all the troops raised for the same service, by this or any other of the neighbouring governments ; and to proceed with the said vessels and forces, wind and weather permitting, to Canso, which place it is absolutely necessary should be appointed a rendezvous for the fleet. On your arrival there, you are to order two companies, consisting of forty men each with their proper officers, on shore, to take possession of the place and keep it ; appointing one of the two Captains commandant of the whole ; which party is to have orders, without delay to land, and erect a block house frame, on the hill of Canso, where the old one stood, and hoist English colours upon it ; enclosing it with pickets and pallisadoes, so that the sides of the square may extend about

about one hundred feet, for which it is presumed there are garden pickets enough there left standing. This party is also to plant there eight nine pounders, for the security of the harbour; and build a sod battery, where it shall be judged most convenient; keeping the stores, &c. in the block house, or some shed, or other conveniency, built for that purpose, within the pickets: And must have necessary tools left with them; as also a carpenter or two, and a mason, if none among themselves, to build a chimney and other conveniencies. And Captain Donahew and Captain Becket, with their vessels, to attend them; who are to have directions, to follow from time to time the commandant's orders, unless countermanded by yourself, after they have been, with an additional party of two hundred men more, and the transports they are on board of, to St. Peter's, on the island of Cape Breton, and destroyed that settlement, in which place you will be pleased to note, for your government, there are about two hundred inhabitants, and a number of Indians, all in straggling houses, without any regular defence: which additional party, having completed your orders, at St. Peter's, are to follow and join the fleet at Chappeaurouge bay, to which place you are to proceed, with the fleet from Canso, in order to attack the town of Louisbourg, which it has been thought may be surprized, if they have no advice of your coming. To prevent which, Captain Donahew and Captain Becket are gone before you, to cruize from Cape Canso to Whitehead and thereabouts; that no shallop or other vessel, either fishing or fowling, may be on that coast, to discover the approach of your fleet, and escape with intelligence; and if you have good reason to think you are hitherto undiscovered, and you prosecute the design of surprize; to effect it, your proceedings from Canso must be such as to time your arrival at Chappeaurouge bay, about nine of the clock in the evening, or sooner, or later, as you can best rely on the wind, weather, and darkness of the night; taking care, that the fleet be sure of their distance eastward, and at the same time far enough in the offing, to prevent their being seen from the town in the day time; and in the evening they are to push into the bay, as far at least as to be able to land at a cove called Anse du Point Plat, or Flat Point Cove; in four separate divisions; each division if possible together, to prevent disorder; and as soon as the transports are at an anchor, the troops who must be ready with their accoutrements, are to be immediately, by the whale boats, landed in the best manner that the necessary haste can allow; so as to keep the four detachments each together, in a separate corps; who are to be marched on as soon as may be in this manner.—Three divisions, consisting two of six hundred men each, and one of four hundred men, are to march as near as they can guess, to the back of a range of hills, about west from the town, about one mile and a half; and here the two detachments of six hundred each are to halt, and keep a profound silence; while the other detachment of four

four hundred men pursue their march, following the range and under cover of the said hills, round to the north west and north, &c. till they come to the back of the grand battery; where they are also to halt, till a signal agreed on be given, for them to march immediately to the said battery, and attack it; at which signal the other two parties are to march on, as fast as they can, towards the west gate of the town; till they come up to the houses, and then one party is to proceed without regard to the houses, to the said gate, and attack there; while the other marches on to a hill, about south west from the town wall (securing such of the inhabitants as will fly that way from the houses when they find our party betwixt them and the gate) and there post themselves behind said hill, to secure, if need be, the retreat of the attacking party. In the interim, the fourth party proposed is to consist of six hundred men, who are in the whale boats, to be landed at a point of land, called Point Blanche or White Point; from whence they are to proceed along shore, till they come to the low wall of the town, that is close into the sea on the south easterly part of the town, which if possible should be first attempted. Here this party are to scale the wall, and enter the town if possible; proceeding as fast as can be towards the citadel; securing a guard house, between them and the citadel guard house, and so on to the citadel guard house; and here if the enemy's troops are not drawn out, they are to secure the avenue from the citadel, by placing themselves on the glacis, on each side; securing the windows of the Governour's apartments, that open on the ramparts, at the south east end of the citadel; while a party goes to the west gate guard, and secures that; which done, the wicket at least, if not the gate, must be got open, for the party posted there to enter. If they fail of their attempt in scaling at that place, which they are to endeavour by getting round the works at the west gate, by the water's edge, to the wall on the north side of the city, fronting the harbour; where they are to scale as nigh the guard house battery, as possible; to prevent annoyance from the north east bastion, who by firing on our men there will endanger their own guard and gate. Here, if they enter, they are to secure the guard, and open the wicket or gate; and give signal of their success, so far, to the party marching on towards the hill, and proceed towards the citadel, &c. as before directed, to the other party. The difficulty here will be, in getting round a number of pickets, or over, or through them, which run from the angle of the work, into the harbour, and may be cut down with ease, if low water; or hauled down by main strength, with such grapplings and hooks as are sent for that purpose; and if either of these parties are lucky enough to get into the town; it may be secured; but if they both fail, they are to retreat to the back of the hill, where the other party is posted to cover and receive them.

The attack at the grand battery you must order, Sir, to be, by entering at a low part of the wall, that is unfinished at the east end; for

for which fascines and ladders are sent on purpose, though they may perhaps not be wanted; as also longer ladders for scaling the dead wall, or back of the barracks of said battery, if occasion; which must be transported by the party, ordered on the attack, as the necessary ladders for scaling, &c. must be by the other two parties. For your government here be pleased to note there are in this battery a Captain and fifty men at least.

If you attempt this surprise, you must by all means secure the out inhabitants in the suburbs, from reinforcing the city (women and children excepted, who may be all sent in, if the enemy will receive them) whether the attempt to surprise be successful or not; and if it is not, you must then secure the troops in the best manner the ground will admit of, till you can get the artillery, bombs, &c. transported from Chappeaurouge bay to the army: to expedite which, as much force as can be spared must be there left to secure the landing of what is necessary, and assist the officers, &c. of the train of artillery, and an immediate reinforcement sent them from the main body, as soon as you give up the surprise of the town, that you may be the sooner enabled to annoy the enemy's works, &c.

If the situation of affairs be such, that intelligence or discovery influence you not to attempt the surprise; and you find the enemy alarmed; you will doubtless think it necessary, to prevent any accident before the troops are landed, to send out a proper number of scouts; who, if they discover any ambuscade, or preparation to receive you, must give you due notice thereof, either by signals or by not returning; which will have its due weight with you; and if there be no opposition in landing, it will be best, for order sake, to land the men, regiment by regiment; who may be formed and drawn up into order, at proper distances, as they land, till the whole is completed. But if you should meet with opposition, and the landing be disputed, or difficult, you must then make a false descent, in order to draw off the enemy from the spot, designed for landing, or at least to divide their force; and then, according to the depth of the water, some of the vessels, either by riding broad side to the place, or by bringing a spring on their cables, will cover the landing, both by the execution they may do on the enemy, and the smoke of their powder.

If it be impracticable to think of surprising the town, and you resolve on the surprise of the grand battery, and also of the island battery; let the party designed for attacking the grand batttery be first landed, and next the party to cover them, agreeable to directions for that purpose particularly, which you have with you; and march on to the hill, at the west of the town, before mentioned; where the covering party is to halt, and observe the motion of the enemy; who, if they make a sally from the town, are to be suffered to get so far as that this party then may get between the town and them; and keep them between two fires, and cut off their return; or if

no

no such necessity, may serve as a defence from any sally from the town, towards Chappeaurouge to hinder our landing: In this case the grand battery is to be attacked as before directed, if the night should so favourably concur as to incline you to order an attack of the island battery also, (which would be an affair of the utmost consequence to us to carry) you must let this be attempted by a number of whale boats; who must land a party of three hundred men, on the back of the island; or in a little well known beachy cove at the south-easterly point, just within the breaking point of rocks, which runs off; from either of which places, in a very calm time they may enter successfully, and if so, immediately order a bomb, &c. there to play on the town, and garrison the battery, with as many men as you can spare, and will be wanted there to fight the guns, in case any enemy should approach afterwards by sea.

When you have all the troops on shore, the first thing to be observed, is to march on till you can find out and secure a proper spot to encamp them on; which must be as nigh as possible to some convenient brook, or watering place; and as soon as this is done, and the ground marked by the Quarter-Masters, who should have, each, colours to distinguish each regiment, the tents must be pitched, in the usual form and distance, if possible; and at the front of every regiment, a guard with tents, which is called the quarter guard, and mounts in the morning, as the picket guard turns out at sun set, and lays on their arms. The captains of the artillery and Commissaries of provisions, must be supposed to be all this time employed, in getting ready to land what is under their charge, or such part as they have your orders for; which must be, first of all, the field pieces, by help of gin triangles and other necessary purchases, which they have with them; the cohorn mortars and their appertunances, to keep the enemy off, and prevent their reconnoitering your camp too near. And when you are settled in your camp, the first thing that will naturally offer itself to the consideration of you and your council, will be on what operation, or design to proceed, and the proper steps to accomplish it; and as at this time your enemy will be on their guard, if the grand battery be not already taken, that must at all hazards be now effected; and when so, you will be soon able to judge if it be tenable, by a party of our men's being secure there or not; and if the guns from the town render our men's holding it impracticable, and the men are not safe there, you must order what immediate damage can be done with it, to be effected, by firing on the town, and island battery, as long as may be; and then demolish the back of it, that at least we may have at times, these guns, to command the entry of the harbour, open to a party posted on the back of the hill, behind it, out of reach from the town, so as to give them occasionally some diversion; or else, if it cannot be kept in one shape or the other serviceable to you, demolish the whole; burning the carriages, nailing up the guns, and knocking off the trunions, &c. But as this battery

will be of infinite service, in case it can be held, keep it as long as possible. Your destroying their fishing vessels, houses, stages, flakes, &c. (N.B. These last may serve for fascines, if wanted, and therefore should not be burnt immediately) must require your next attention. In doing which, you must take care to keep your flying parties as well covered as possible, or as the nature of their enterprises for this effect may require ; and as this will throw into your hands some prisoners, from whom you may possibly gather some information, to be relied on (although you must in this case, use all necessary caution) this may lead you to undertake things of greater consequence so as to block up the town by land. In order to which it will be absolutely necessary to bring your camp as near the besieged as you can, without exposing it to their random shot ; the consequences of which you will be able to judge of in your approaches. And it is the general opinion, the hill before the west gate will be the best place to fix on ; but then let it be so far at least beyond the hill, as not to let the besieged know the particular spot. About south-west from the citadel bastion, a large half mile distance, is a rocky hill, which in attacking of the town, may be of great service, by covering a number of our men, and planting some cannon there, on the top ; in such manner as when you are on the spot, you may judge most advantageous ; where you may keep the bombardiers, &c. continually employed, endeavouring principally to demolish their magazine, citadel, walls, &c. which are objects sufficiently in view. But by all means you are to forbid any approaches between the wall of the city and that hill, as the glacis that lies there before the works is to be blown up ; but if you can, under cover of the houses, rubbish, &c. get a small battery to play on the west gate, you may hope for success ; as the wall there is weak, and a breach may be made, of which when you come to view the place, you will better judge of its practicableness and consequence.

As it is not doubted but that the party which goes to St. Peter's will be successful, you may rely on it, that a number of French and Indians, as many at least as escape here, will fly towards Louisbourg for shelter ; for whom you will be pleased to order a good look out, by all parties abroad, as well as for a number of inhabitants and soldiers, who it is reasonable to expect are in the woods, cutting timber, palisadoes, &c. to the north-west of the grand battery.

When the transports are discharged at Chappeaurouge bay, at which place it will be proper to detain them as long as they can lay in safety ; and it is necessary for them to put out of the bay, they must have your orders to repair to Canso ; there to lay in the pond for your farther commands ; and there they must be under inspection of a cruizer, who must cruize in such manner, as to be sometimes off the harbour of Louisbourg, with the others ; and as the wind will permit, go there and look at them.

As it will be of the utmost consequence that I should be advised of your proceedings, and the situation of your camp, you must employ

ploy three or four of the best going transports, in running backwards and forwards; calling upon the commanding officer of Canso, for his intelligence also; ordering the masters of said advice boats or packets from time to time, on arrival here, to stop at the castle, and forward his packets to me, by the castle boat; and keep himself ready to depart again, as soon as he has his dispatches from hence, for you; which I shall take care to have sent him, without loss of time. By this means, you will have it in your power to let me know what materials, ammunition, &c. you may have occasion for, more than you have with you; and the troops will remain the better satisfied, when they are sensible their situation is known here. Suitable men for this packet service will be captain Joseph Smith, captain Michael Hodge, and captain Moses Bennett, with such other as you may think best.

Whether the transports quit Chappeaurouge bay or not, let them have your positive orders to refit all their empty water casks; and if they do, and go to Canso, to assist in carrying on the works there, always holding themselves in readiness to sail as soon as your orders reach them.

Immediately on your arrival at Chappeaurouge bay, and have a transport discharged, send her away express to St. John's in Newfoundland, with my packets for the captains of men of war, that may be on that station; and as soon as the grand battery is taken, order an express here, with the news, and if you are likely to succeed, send another with an express to England; directing your packet to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle; ordering the master to call upon Christopher Kilby, Esq. agent for the Province, with it, as soon as he arrives in London; and in case of Mr. Kilby's absence, let him go directly to the Duke of Newcastle's office.

As to what prisoners you take at Louisbourg, &c. you must forward them up here, in the best manner you can, as soon as may be, that they may not be an unnecessary trouble to you, as well as to keep what provisions you have for the troops only.

On all emergencies it will be necessary for you to convene a council of war; and most expedient to act agreeably to their advice; and this council is to consist of yourself (as President) and the other general officers, the colonels of the several regiments, their lieutenant colonels, and the captain of the train of artillery, under your command, five of whom to make a quorum of said council. A register to be kept by your secretary of all the proceedings of such council of war.

Wishing you all success in his Majesty's service,

I am Sir, your assured friend and servant, W. SHIRLEY.

Boston, March 19, 1744-5.

To the Hon. WILLIAM PEPPERELL, *Esq. Lieutenant-General of the forces raised in this and the neighbouring governments, for the expedition against the French settlements on Cape Breton.*

ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTIONS.

SIR, *Boston, March* 22, 1744-5.

IN addition to the orders I have already given you, in your former instructions, I think it still necessary to direct, that you should, at all hazards, when you get the length of Canso, send one of the best sailers, or one that can be best spared from the fleet, in quest of Captain Tyng, with orders for him to bring all the cruising ships off Louisbourg, as soon as possible ; and there cruize off the harbour's mouth, to hinder any vessel coming out to annoy the transports in landing the materials, or men ; and when you are on the island of Cape Breton, give positive orders to four of the transports, three of whom I have already recommended to cruize continually, so as to be always two going up and two coming down, to and from Canso, with the necessary intelligence ; and if the transports are at Canso, and you have any packet to send me, order the transport, with said packet to Canso, for the commandant's letters also ; and proceed immediately, and let the commandant of Canso order a transport out in his room to cruize up and down, to and from you, till his return ; or if most convenient, receive the packet, and forward it by any other, instantly ready to depart, which must be left to his prudence. As also the same orders for two of the best sailers, to attend constantly betwixt Capt. Tyng, &c. and the camp. I have ordered hooks and lines, &c. to Canso to be put on board the cruizers there ; that they may in their frequent voyages back and forth, take care to supply the camp with fresh fish, which will help your provisions. I look upon it to be of the utmost consequence, that these cruizers be constantly employed ; that in case of any unforeseen accident (which God forbid) you may be the better able, at all events, to keep your intelligence so well conducted, and the intercourse kept up betwixt the cruizing ships and the transports, as to have it in your power, let what will happen, to secure the whole.

As Capt. Bosch is an armed sloop, and you have another also from Piscataqua, with their forces, it won't be amiss to employ them ; but if affairs should encourage you to spare a detachment, with four or six whale boats, to destroy the fishery at St. Esprit, Torchet, Lourembecque, Niganish, St. Ann's, and other small harbours in your neighbourhood ; those two vessels, with such a number of boats, may be very well employed ; but I would not have you attempt any thing of this sort, so as to weaken the forces until you can be able to spare them, without running too great risk.

Wishing you all imaginable success in his Majesty's service,

I am Sir, your most assured friend and servant,

W. SHIRLEY.

To the Hon. WILLIAM PEPPERELL, *Esq. Lieut. General of the forces raised in this and the neighbouring governments, for the expedition against the French settlements on Cape Breton.*

P. S.

P. S. SIR, Upon the whole, notwithstanding the instructions you have received from me; I must leave it to you, to act upon unforeseen emergencies, according to your best discretion.

W. SHIRLEY.

From his Excellency BENNING WENTWORTH, *Esq. Governor of New-Hampshire, to Lieut. general* PEPPERELL.

SIR, *March* 23, 1744-5.

I HEREWITH transmit to you a list of the transports, employed by this government for the service of the expedition against the French, at Louisbourg, also what transports are employed to transport the one hundred and fifty men, in the pay of the Massachusetts government, which are aggregated to the regiment, whereof I have appointed Samuel Moore, Esq. Colonel. Also, I think proper to acquaint you that I have appointed Capt. Fernald commander of a sloop, fitted out by this government, in a warlike manner, to annoy his Majesty's enemies, and to guard and convoy the transports. I have also appointed the said John Fernald, a Capt. of a company in Col. Moore's Regiment, to act by land or by Sea, as the service may require it.—I have thought it necessary, in order to preserve the command you are appointed to, that you have the entire command, and disposition of the regiment and transports, also of the sloop of war. And I do hereby put the same absolutely under your command, hereby requiring them to obey you, as their commander in chief, and to follow such orders and commands as from time to time, they, or either of them shall receive from you.

Sir, your humble servant, B. WENTWORTH.

To his Excellency Gov. SHIRLEY.———*From on board the Shirley Galley, in Sheepscott river, March 27th,* 1745—*forwarded by Capt.* PRATT.

May it please your Excellency,

THE hard gale of wind on Saturday the 23d instant, producing some accidents amongst the fleet, necessarily detained them from putting to sea, till the next day; when, about ten o'clock in the morning, the signal was given for preparing to sail; and, about three o'clock, P. M. the whole fleet was under sail, but the wind soon shifting to east south east, and continuing contrary, and signs of bad weather coming on, it was thought adviseable to put into this harbour yesterday, being the most eastern one in our power to gain. I have given strict orders for keeping the fleet together, and preventing any of the men from going on shore (excepting a few to wood and water) and shall pursue our voyage with the first favourable turn of wind and weather; and make the utmost dispatch in executing your Excellency's orders. Upon strict inquiry made into the state of the fleet, I have the pleasure to inform your Excellency, that they are generally in good health, which hope will continue, more especially as the hospital ship has a company of soldiers

diers aboard. This day proving very foggy and rainy, and the wind holding at south-east, we are necessarily detained here; and are improving every minute of our time, in making inquiry into the state of affairs in the fleet, and giving orders for their better regulation, when they put to sea again. I must pray your Excellency that Capt. Stone and Capt. Adams, whose vessels were left behind to take in the two flat bottomed boats (the necessary care of putting which on board had been omitted) may be dispatched as soon as possible. Enclosed your Excellency has a list of the fleet now in this harbour. It was impracticable to take an exact account of the number of vessels in the fleet, at our departure from King Road, but am apprehensive that some of them left the convoy, and put into Marblehead or Cape Ann. I shall endeavour to inform your Excellency of every material circumstance, by all opportunities and to approve myself you Excellency's most obedient,

and most humble servant, W. PEPPERELL.

P. S. I pray your Excellency's directions may be given, for the forwarding the spare arms and pistols; and also a quantity of neats foot oil, and the white caps, which I can hear nothing of.

To his Excellency Gov. SHIRLEY.——*Canso, April* 10, 1745.—*per Capt.* FLETCHER's *prize.*

May it please your Excellency,

I TAKE this opportunity, by a French prize sloop, brought in here by Capt. Fletcher (which was bound to Louisbourg, from Martinico) to inform your Excellency, that after a rough passage, I arrived here, with about twenty of the transports, the fourth inst. where found several of the others, from whom, partly by stress of weather, and partly by their negligence, we had been separated. Also the New-Hampshire forces, and Capt. Saunders, with the transports, who left Boston after us, under his convoy. Since which, several more are arrived here, and five at Country Harbour, which last are the store vessels. There are yet missing, the three following vessels, viz. Capt. Lovett, Capt. Honiwell, and Capt. West, on board the first of which was Col. Hale, whom we have heard nothing of since leaving King Road. Have sent two vessels to Country Harbour to convoy the stores, and impatiently expect them here with the first westerly wind. Finding on our arrival, that the vessels with the block-house, ammunition, artillery, and the other most material stores were not here, it obliged us to defer proceeding to Cape Breton, till we should have an account of them (if the wind and weather had permitted, which as yet have not proved favourable therefor) though it was the unanimous opinion of the Council, that if it should appear, upon examination, that the necessary ammunition and stores for the men were arrived, we should proceed with all possible dispatch, and endeavour to take possession of the field, at least.

I have diligently improved every moment of time, in having the troops reviewed, and completely equipped, find many of them very deficient

deficient in the necessary accoutrements : A considerable number of the arms prove defective, and (as the spare store arms are not come to hand, except twenty-five) I have set the armourers to work to fit for service all they can ; but am very much concerned, to think that some of the men must necessarily proceed with such arms as (to say the best) are very mean and slighty. I have given out full instructions for forming the several detachments proposed to be made, and ordered the commanding officer of each, to draw out his men together, and that they be furnished with every thing necessary for prosecuting the part assigned them, respectively. Have also ordered that each detachment proceed from hence, in a distinct squadron, and be landed accordingly. The vessel on board of which the block-house is, being not yet arrived, have made the necessary preparations for having it erected here as soon as it can be landed. Have also been observant of your Excellency's other instructions, relating to Canso, and the detachment to St.Peter's. The signal for the commanding officer at Canso, to send his boat to any ship making the same, has been omitted in his instructions. I herewith send (agreeable to your Excellency's directions) a muster roll of the troops now in this place, being generally in good health.

It gave me considerable uneasiness, on my arrival here, to find Capt. Tyng's ship in the harbour, who, as he informed me, was drove in by hard gales of wind and ice. The next day came in also, Capt. Snelling and Fletcher, neither of whom had met with any vessels in their cruize (except the sloop taken by Capt. Fletcher). I immediately ordered them out again, to cruize off Louisbourg, six or seven leagues from the harbour, in sight of each other, to intercept any vessels from passing, with directions, upon notice given them by me, to draw in with the other cruizing vessels, as nigh as may be to the mouth of the harbour, to prevent any annoyance to the troops in their landing ; but the wind proving contrary, prevented their sailing till the seventh instant. By what I can learn, both the Rhode-Island vessels (the snow especially) are miserable dull sailors. I have by this opportunity, sent to your Excellency two Indians, who (with another whom I have detained here, in hopes of his being serviceable) were taken on the Cape Sable shore, by Capt. Donahew ; have examined them apart, but can get no material intelligence, relating to Louisbourg, save that they are short of provisions : And that the Priests (by orders from Cape Breton) have been lately among the Indians, to assemble them at Menis, to join a number of French troops, in order to besiege Annapolis Royal, next month : also, that two twenty gun ships are expected from France for that purpose. I have examined the French papers found on board Capt. Fletcher's prize, but find nothing remarkable respecting Louisbourg. It appears by several of them, that the French in the West-Indies, are short of provisions, and very much harassed by the English privateers—and by what I can learn, this is the first vessel from thence to Louisbourg this year ;

doubt

doubt not, but that by the vigilance of our cruizers, those that are to follow will fall into our hands also. I have ordered several small parties to be kept out, since we have been here, in hopes to have taken some prisoners, by whom we might have learned whether any discovery of us has been made; but they have met with nothing. We are encouraged to think that they have not any notice at Louisbourg, of our design.

I have now to mention to your Excellency one circumstance of the situation of our affairs, which gives me considerable uneasiness, —which is, *relating to our provisions:* The army continues in good spirits, and we make no doubt but that if we once land the troops on the island of Cape Breton, we shall (under God) reduce it before we leave it, if we have sufficient provisions: Your Excellency knows the quantity we had with us, and what part of the same must necessarily have been expended already, and that we may possibly be detained here, so long as to expend considerable more of them before we land there; and if after our landing, a number of French ships, superiour to our cruizers, should arrive at Cape Breton, they might intercept our having a supply in season. The consequence of which I need not point out to your Excellency, nor be more particular, lest any accident should happen to the conveyance of this letter, only that I believe the quantity of provisions sent with us, was short of what your Excellency expected. Must entreat, and doubt not of your especial concern for us in this important matter. I have ordered Capt. Donahew, if he takes any provisions, to send them to me at Cape Breton, and have given the same directions to the cruizing vessels, but can have little dependance upon any supply from them; especially as they are scantily provided for themselves. Capt. Rouse informs me that he has not now more than three weeks provisions, and in ten days must leave his cruizing here, to get a supply, if none arrives from Boston; and Capt. Tyng is in the same condition; and the army will (I fear) suffer if I spare any. I received your Excellency's directions relating to Col. Gorham's going to Annapolis, which I shall pay regard to, as to every of your commands. The weather continues thick and dirty, with the wind at north-east; impatiently expect an opportunity to push forward on our design. As the season of the year is so far advanced, that we may expect some of the French fishermen will be coming out, I design to send out a small vessel, the night before we sail from hence, to go on before, that if any French boats, or other small vessels are come out, they may, through fear of its being a privateer, be induced to return into port, before they make any discovery of the approach of the fleet.

I am your Excellency's

humble and obedient servant, W. PEPPERELL.

P. S. As the success of the expedition so very much depends upon a sufficiency of provisions, I have determined at all hazards, to write to the committee of war, giving them a particular account of our necessities on that head, a copy of which your Excellency has herewith.

To

SHIRLEY to PEPPERELL.

SIR, *Boston, April* 10, 1745.

I RECEIVED yours, dated the 27th of last month, from Sheepscott, and hope this will find you and the army safely arrived at Cape Breton, and in good health and spirits, and in possession of at least the royal battery.

Having heard nothing further from Commodore Warren, I conclude he must have met, upon his designed passage, with some of our fleet; and thereupon altered his course, and, instead of coming to Boston with the three of his Majesty's ships under his command, proceeded directly for Canso or Cape Breton, where I hope he is now blocking up the enemy's harbour, in conjunction with our cruizers, and that Mons. Duvivier will soon bring us an account of it to Boston. It is a general observation, that the land and sea forces, when joined upon the same expedition, seldom or never agree, but I am persuaded it will not be so between you and Commodore Warren, as any misunderstanding between you might prove fatal to his Majesty's service in the expedition.

Immediately after the receipt of your last, I made inquiry after the two flat bottomed boats, the spare arms and pistols and white caps, and found that they went with the transport vessels, under Saunders's convoy, and this afternoon I engaged the committee to set about equipping a sloop, which they have taken up, to transport part of the remainder of the provisions, with carriage guns, swivels, &c. and to load also another sloop or schooner to go with her; by which vessels, you shall likewise have sent, some more shells, and fifty more barrels of gun powder.

I have continued the embargo upon all vessels bound for Annapolis Royal, according to your desire, till Monday last, and five of them are now waiting for a wind, to proceed to the garrison with Mr. Bastide, by whom I have wrote to Col. Mascarene, in the most pressing terms, to send Mr. Engineer Cowley to you; and have reason to think from Mr. Bastide, that he will certainly comply with my request, upon your sending one of your small armed vessels for Mr. Cowley, with a letter to Col. Mascarene, signifying your want of some engineer for his Majesty's service, which method, I have told Col. Mascarene in my letter, you will take, in case you desire the assistance of an engineer from him, or any thing else from the fort, which he can spare you, as what seems to me the surest and speediest.

I am in hopes the Connecticut forces will have joined you before you receive this, and that by the middle of next month, if not sooner, you will be supported from England with ships and marines, or other troops in the reduction of Louisbourg, if that shall not be effected before the arrival of that reinforcement, which I pray God may be the case; in the mean time nothing shall be wanting on my part, to contribute towards it.

With most ardent wishes for your success and prosperity,

I am, Sir, your most assured friend,
and humble servant, W. SHIRLEY.

P. S.

P. S. Be pleased to assure the gentlemen of your Council, of my constant and most devoted attention to the service of the expedition, and my warmest wishes for their success and safety.

I shall write Brigadier Waldo, by the next vessel. Our friends on the expedition, is an health, that constantly follows next after his Majesty's, where I have the direction of the toasts.

April 11th. I just now received the advice, which the inclosed contains.

Marblehead, Thursday, April 11th, 1745.

May it please your Excellency,

SIR,

BY one of our fishing vessels, which sailed the last Monday, and which arrived this afternoon, they inform me that they spoke with Commodore Warren, and the two other vessels of war, who sent his boat on board, and inquired if the forces were sailed for Cape Breton, who, having given him what information they could, took out of them the master of said schooner and another able pilot, and ordered the said schooner to keep with him, till he had wrote some letters to your Excellency, the purport of which, they understood, was to acquaint your Excellency that he designed immediately to go down to Cape Breton without stopping at Nantasket, as he first purposed: but the wind blowing fresh in the night, the schooner lost sight of them, and they suppose that Capt. Warren, with the other two ships, proceeded directly to Cape Breton, the schooner endeavouring the next day to get sight of them, but could not, and their not being arrived here as yet.

From, Sir,

your Excellency's most obedient,

and most humble servant,

Copy. JAMES SKINNER.

P. S. The men of war were spoke with, about forty-five leagues to the eastward of Cape Anne.

From Capt. SNELLING *to General* PEPPERELL.

SIR, *At sea, April 16th,* 1745.

THIS serves to acquaint you that this day I have taken a Brigantine that came from Martinique, about a month's passage, loaden with two hundred twenty-four hogsheads of rum, forty-three hogsheads of molasses, twenty-six barrels of coffee, thirteen loaves of sugar, a case of sirup. He had on board twelve men and six carriage guns; I have sent you all the letters and papers of any value; I have been jammed in the ice this twenty-four hours, and just as I got out, I took this Brigantine, which was in the ice also; it is my opinion that there *is so much ice on the coast, that there will not be any coming down with the fleet till it is clearer;* I find that he has taken one of our fishermen, and sent her to Cape Breton,

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and cannot find by examination, that he has any commission so to do; he says he sent them overboard; so I conclude,

Sir, your most humble servant,

JONATHAN SNELLING.

P.S. I found that this is the Brigantine that was Capt. Loring. I desire, if you think proper, that she may be ordered to Boston.

SHIRLEY *to* PEPPERELL.

SIR, *Boston, April* 22, 1745.

SINCE my last I received a packet from Commodore Warren, dated on board the Superbe, 15 leagues to the eastward of Cape Sables, in his passage to Canso, with the Launceston and Mermaid in company, in order to join you in the expedition, and I hope he is arrived with you before now; enclosed in the Commodore's packet I received his Majesty's orders to me respecting the attacking of the enemy's settlements (a copy of which I send you) whereby you will perceive how well disposed the ministry is towards our present enterprize, notwithstanding they were not particularly apprised that this expedition would be set on foot from hence; and it gives us the utmost reason to hope that his Majesty will be pleased to support us from England, upon the arrival of my letters there, giving an account of the expedition in the manner we desired, which must be an infinite satisfaction to the army. You will perceive also, upon your perusal of his Majesty's orders to me, that in any attempt against the enemy's settlements, he has plainly given Capt. Warren the command of the shipping or naval force, with which I am ordered to assist him from hence, in general, upon any expedition, which you are sensible must supersede any commission from me, as to any sea armament; and doubtless Commodore Warren will expect and insist upon the armed vessels, with which, since my receiving his Majesty's orders, I am assisting him, in obedience to the royal commands, the command of those ships, and I doubt not, Sir, from the extraordinary conduct and vigilance, with which you have hitherto acted for his Majesty's service, that you will instantly give orders to Tyng and the other cruizers, to follow the Commodore's directions and orders to them, the omitting of which may create a most unhappy disagreement and variance between you and Mr. Warren, which may prove fatal to the service. Had I not received these precise orders from his Majesty, which so evidently give Mr. Warren a general command at sea, in all expeditions from hence, I should have insisted upon my command given you over the sea forces (which, as it is, is only suspended during Capt. Warren's presence, and would revive upon his going off) against every person whatsoever, and you must be sensible that this is not a preference given to him by me, but only acting in obedience to his Majesty's orders. Capt. Durelle is, I hope, by this time joined with Mr. Warren, pursuant to his orders, to follow him; he sailed from Piscataqua for Canso, on Tuesday, with a fair wind and high spirits;

spirits; and Gayton will follow on Wednesday or Thursday. Mr. Warren has left orders for all his Majesty's ships, that shall arrive here, to follow him, some of which I expect daily; and he has also sent orders for the Newfoundland ships to join him; so that I hope in God we shall have a strong armament with you soon, sufficient to enter the harbour. The Connecticut forces, I hear, sailed with a fair wind, the middle of last week. I received your packets from Canso, by Fletcher's prize, which is safely arrived here. The contents of your own, Brigadier Waldo's and Col. Bradstreet's letters, give me the utmost satisfaction and pleasure in your good conduct, for which I hope your country will have reason to bless you, and the King and Great Britain to make their acknowledgments to you. Provisions for 4000 men, for two months more, will be sent you in three days, and the first sloop load comes with these packets, the rest with Gayton, by whom I shall send you the powder and shot. I have had infinite trouble and uneasiness about it; but no more of that at present; I pray God this may arrive in time. In the mean while I shall apply to the assembly, which meets next Thursday, for a further grant for provisions. You will receive a letter from the committee, in answer to your's, to which I shall refer you. Commodore Warren's heart seems by his letter, to be thoroughly set upon the reduction of the place. God grant you success. Whatever you do, keep up a constant frequent correspondence with him, and let the utmost harmony be preserved between you, as what must (under God) secure your success more than any thing. You have the entire affections, I understand, from Mr. Waldo and Bradstreet, of the army, and their hearts entirely, together with the perfect esteem of

Sir, your faithful friend,
and servant, W. SHIRLEY.

My service to Brigadier Waldo, and Col. Bradstreet. Send Smethurst away hither by the seventh of May, if you can spare him, for the protection of our own coasts.

April 30. This comes by Capt. Gayton, on board of whom I have put 100 half barrels of powder, and 15 large shells, being all I had, which will be delivered to the commandant at Canso, to wait your further orders.

SIR, *Whitehall, January 3d.* 1744-5.

HIS Majesty having thought it necessary, for the security of the Colonies in North America, and particularly of the province of Nova Scotia (which has been already invaded by the French, and upon which there is great reason to apprehend, that they will, early in the spring, renew their attempts, by attack of Annapolis Royal) to employ such a strength of ships of war in those seas under the command of Commodore Warren, as may be sufficient to protect the said province, and the other neighbouring colonies in North America, and the trade and fishery of his Majesty's subjects

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in those parts, and may also, as occasion shall offer, attack, and distress the enemy in their settlements, and annoy their fishery and commerce. I have his Majesty's commands, to signify to you his pleasure, that, if Mr. Warren shall apply to you for assistance, either of men, provisions, or shipping, to enable him to proceed either to the relief and succour of Annapolis Royal, or of any other of his Majesty's forts or settlements, or for making any attempts upon the enemy, you should, in all such cases, be aiding and assisting to him in the most effectual manner, and according as, upon consultation together, shall be judged proper for carrying on his Majesty's service; and you will be ready to concert and advise with Mr. Warren upon all occasions, that may arise, that shall have relation to the services, on which he is employed, and particularly, you will procure, and communicate to him, the best intelligence you shall be able to obtain, of the state and condition of the enemy's settlements, and of the ships in their harbours; that he may be enabled to judge whether it may be practicable, and advisable, to make an attempt upon any of their ports.

A copy of his Majesty's orders to me signified in a letter from the Duke of Newcastle.

Examined. W. SHIRLEY.

To Commodore Warren.

Shirley Galley, in Canso harbour, April 23d, 1745.

SIR,

I HEARTILY congratulate you on your safe arrival, with your squadron, the advice of which, by your favour of this day, gave me abundant pleasure; I am very confident that nothing, which the highest vigilance and prudence can foresee, or courage put in execution, will be wanting on your part, and make no doubt, it will be attended with such success, as to prevent the introduction of provisions, or succours into Louisbourg; and promote our meeting with pleasure in that place very shortly. I shall take care on my arrival at Chappeaurouge bay, to send out a schooner, by which to correspond with you. And shall give the commanding officer at Canso, the directions you have desired; knowing your time in waiting my answer is precious, shall not add but that I impatiently wait to kiss your hand at Cape Breton, and wishing you all imaginable success and happiness, I subscribe,

Sir, your most humble servant, W. PEPPERELL.

The Hon. Peter Warren, Esq.

The bearer, Col. Bradstreet, will communicate to you the plan of the operation proposed, and deliver you a plan of this place.

WARREN TO PEPPERELL.

SIR, *Superbe, off Canso, 23d of April,* 1745.

ONE of your schooners gives me an opportunity to send a letter, for the gentleman I sent to Boston for provisions; you will please to leave it with the officer that is to command at Canso, after

after you depart, which I hope will be soon, for dispatch is the life of business.

You will be sure to find me off Louisbourg, where I hope to intercept any succours to that place, and to hear from you very soon.

I am, with great regard,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

P. WARREN.

To Gov. SHIRLEY.

April 28th, 1745, per Capt. Bennett.

May it please your Excellency,

ENCLOSED is a copy of my last, from this place, by a French prize sloop, which sailed from hence for Boston, 11th instant. It is with much regret that I am now to inform your Excellency, that the army remains yet at Canso, being detained by a continued series of contrary winds, and large quantities of ice with which the Cape Breton shore is crowded, for many leagues off; which I have taken care to know the certainty of, by boats sent on purpose to make discovery, *de Die in Diem*, and also by the information of our cruizers. The remainder of our transports are arrived here, one of them, viz. Capt. Honywell, I am informed was not employed in the service. I have taken care to keep the men employed in such exercises, as might contribute to the benefit of the expedition in general, as well as keeping them in health and spirits; which last has not been without success. On the 14th inst. Capt. Donahew brought in eight Indians, which he took in the gut of Canso; by a separate examination of whom, found that the French inhabitants had abandoned St. Peter's, and retired into the woods; and that the cannon were removed to Louisbourg, only an officer with about 23 soldiers remaining there. Upon which I convened a council of war, who were unanimous in their opinion, that it was an unforeseen emergency, which your Excellency had been pleased to leave to my discretion to act upon; and that it was adviseable to omit sending the designed detachment to that place. On the 17th inst. Capt. Fletcher brought in a Brigantine (lately Capt. Loring's) which was taken by him and Snelling, bound to Louisbourg from Martinico; by which we had intelligence of another Brigantine and a schooner expected from thence, also that the said Brigantine had taken two fishing schooners; upon which I immediately ordered out Capt. Donahew and a schooner, with a company of men on board; who the next day brought in the Brigantine; on board of whom found Capt. William Adams, who had been taken six days before in a schooner from Boston, bound to Newfoundland; who informed me that he brought a packet from your Excellency which he sunk. He had on board sundry stores for the army; upon which I immediately ordered out some small vessels in quest of her; and this day she was happily retaken by Capt. Furnell, in the New-Hampshire guard sloop. The two fishing schooners are retaken

by

by Capt. Snelling and Smethurst, and sent in here. On the 18th inst. we were alarmed with the report of a cannon, fired at a distance to the north-east, off the harbour; upon which I immediately ordered out Capt. Rouse, Saunders and Furnell to join and assist any of our cruizers. The firing proved to be some of them in chase of a French ship, of about 30 guns, which was bound to Louisbourg. They stood in after her as far towards the land, as the ice would permit; and had they had more day light, after being joined by Rouse, in St. Peter's bay, would undoubtedly have determined her fate; but by favour of the night, which proved very dark, she escaped, and got off to sea. Capt. Rouse afterwards fell in with her, and continued his chase all that night, and the next day, till four o'clock in the afternoon; she struck her colours to him, but afterwards renewed her firing, and being an incomparable sailor, got from him. The other cruizers were not able to keep near her, and returned to their station off Louisbourg, in order to intercept her further attempt to get in. And I flatter myself they will by the blockade off the harbour, be able soon to give an agreeable account of her, and of Mr. Duvivier, who it is probable is on board. Though we had not the happiness to take her, hope shall be able to keep her, and all other vessels from getting in with recruits, or intelligence to the enemy. Am under much concern on account of several vessels, which I am informed, are bound from Boston, to Newfoundland, lest they should meet with the same fate as Capt. Adams. One of the vessels has brought in a sloop, —— Frost, master; which, with Lafievre and one Salter, bound to that place, are now in the harbour, and I shall detain them till the sailing of the fleet. I fear also that the fishermen coming out so soon after us will be attended with bad consequences; as they are every day exposed to the enemy, and are quite defenceless. I shall keep what men may be retaken in any of them for the service of the expedition. On the firing of the forementioned guns, and the inhabitants at Petit de Grats seeing something more than common on the hill of Canso, the commanding officer at St. Peter's sent over two Frenchmen, and an Indian, to make discovery of what might be here, two of which we have taken prisoners, the Indian making his escape. By them got intelligence that there was an officer and about 23 soldiers there, and four vessels in the harbour, laden with wood; that their cannon were removed to Louisbourg last year; upon which I judged it proper, lest the Indian might get back to St. Peter's, with intelligence of our being here; and to prevent any more spies from that place, to order two schooners and a number of men, 21st instant, with five whale boats, to go there in the night, and if possible surprise the officer and men, burn the houses, &c. and bring off the vessels; imagining that destroying that place at this time will not occasion any discovery of our further designs; our cruizers having been seen from Louisbourg several times, who take them to be privateers; which party returned without success, not having carefully conformed to their orders, for landing in whale boats by night, and finding

there

there several vessels, which though of no force, yet well manned for trade, and a number of Indians being alarmed ; their whole force appeared so considerable, that our party did not think it safe to land ; but boarded two sloops, one of which they were obliged to quit ; the other, a wood sloop, brought off and run another on shore, we had three men wounded, but hope not dangerously. Whereupon ordered Capt. Furnell with the Piscataqua guard vessel to lay off the mouth of St. Peter's harbour, to keep in the vessels that are there, till the fleet should sail for Chappeaurouge ; then to be joined by a party under command of Col. Moulton, to be landed under cover of his cannon, or by night. I am informed by some of the prisoners that about a fortnight past, a vessel went from Louisbourg up the Bay Verte, with arms and ammunition, &c. for 260 men, who were come from Canada, to join in besieging of Annapolis Royal ; also that there are several vessels in the Bay Verte, bound to Louisbourg ; and that a party was lodged near the gut of Canso, to make a signal to said vessels to go round the island of Gaspee, in case of seeing an English privateer. Upon which immediately ordered Capt. Donahew to proceed to the Bay Verte, taking Capt. Beckett with him, who was in the gut, and endeavour in the night to surprise the party, posted to give the signals ; and then to proceed to take said vessels, but not to land ; have not heard of his success. Also that 10 days ago there was no vessel arrived at Louisbourg from France. That the soldiers had been very uneasy with their treatment, and obliged the officers to comply with their demands ; am further informed by one of the Indians, that the Governor of Canada had, last fall, sent down large presents to the Cape Sable's and St. John's Indians, inviting them to come up to Canada to be furnished with arms, ammunition, &c. in order to make a descent upon the back of New-England, and that they had agreed to meet at Menis this spring to distribute the presents and consult on the affair, and that Mr. Duvivier was expected from France in May, to besiege Annapolis Royal. By the letter taken in the French brigantine from Martinico, we learn that they are in a miserable condition ; great part of the town having been lately destroyed by fire, and the people starving ; and no vessels able to turn out of the harbour without falling into the hands of the English privateers. Since our laying in this harbour, the soldiers have voluntarily, by parties, assisted in carrying on the works here, which are in a good forwardness, the blockhouse was erected the 15th inst. which being the anniversary of the birth of his royal Highness Prince William ; his Majesty's flag was hoisted, and we called the fort Prince William. Am much distressed that I have heard nothing of a further supply of provisions for the army ; I have with advice of my Council, taken the cargo of rum and molasses out of one of the prize Brigantines, and part of the other, and Capt. Adams's cargo, for the use of the army and cruizing vessels, from whom have advice that they are suffering for all kinds of provisions ; shall immediately send them a supply of rum, and what else we can possibly spare them, notwithstanding the difficulty

culty on that head or any other. The army continues in good spirits, and general health (except colds with which they are generally visited.) Shall send some of the prisoners to your Excellency by this opportunity; also copies of Capts. Tyng and Snelling's letters, and of Capt. Adams's orders, by which it appears, that though he had sundry stores for the army, he was not to have put in here, had he not been taken. On the 23d inst. received the agreeable news of Commodore WARREN's with three ships, besides Capt. Durel's being off Canso, who are gone to cruize off Louisbourg. On the 24th inst. the Connecticut guard sloop and transports arrived here, with the Major General all in good health; by whom was informed that the Rhode-Island guard sloop, who came in company with them, fell in with and was chased by a ship the day before, off Cape Sables, which sloop arrived here next day, and finding by the description of the ship, that it was the ship which our cruizers had met with, I removed on board Capt. Saunders, and ordered out Rouse, and the Rhode-Island sloop, to cruize to the westward after her, with directions to Rouse, that in case he should run as far as St. George's banks, to proceed to Nantasket, and receive your Excellency's orders, relating to his convoying down some provisions to us; being under much concern, lest that ship should be gone upon the coasts of New-England, and might intercept them. We impatiently wait for a fair wind to drive the ice out of Chappeaurouge Bay, and, if we do not suffer for want of provisions, make no doubt, but we shall (by God's favour) be able soon to drive out what else we please, from Cape Breton.

W. PEPPERELL.

SHIRLEY *to* PEPPERELL.

SIR, *Boston, May* 5, 1745.

I HAVE the pleasure to inform you, that two hours ago arrived here his Majesty's ship the Princess Mary, of 60 guns, Captain Edwards commander, who was sent in company with the Hector, a 40 gun ship, Capt. Cornwal commander, to assist in the expedition against Cape Breton, and was designed to proceed directly before Louisbourg harbour, but her bowsprit being sprung she was forced to come hither for another, with which Hallowell will furnish her some time to morrow, and Mr. Apthorpe with provisions by the same time, and I am in hopes she will be dispatched from hence, to join Commodore Warren in three or four days, with the Hector, who is hourly expected in. Capt. Loring, by whom I sent my dispatches, advising of the expedition to the Duke of Newcastle, staid but twelve hours in London, before he was ordered to go on board the Princess Mary. The Duke of Newcastle being out of town, his secretary, Mr. Stone, instantly laid my letters before his Majesty, who upon reading them, was pleased to express his approbation of the expedition, and referred the letters to the Lords of Admiralty, whereupon a board was called at 11 o'clock at night. I understand their Lordships received the scheme with very great

pleasure and ordered away those two ships upon the spot, and would scarce give Loring leave to sleep, whom I sent for a pilot to his Majesty's ships, before he went on board Capt. Edwards.

I am, Sir,
Your faithful friend,
and humble servant, W. SHIRLEY.

P. S. I take this opportunity of recommending to you Capt. *Macdonald*, commanding officer of the marines on board the Princess Mary, as a very worthy officer, and who has had the experience of several campaigns in Flanders; he is well respected by the Duke of Newcastle, and I should esteem your favours to him, as obligations to myself. W. S.

To his Excellency Governor SHIRLEY.

Camp, before Louisbourg, May 11, 1745.

May it please your Excellency,

THE letter herewith enclosed contains an account of the state of the army, during our stay at Canso, since which a more agreeable scene has opened. I have now the pleasure to inform your Excellency, that on the 29th ult. we set sail from thence, with hopes of reaching Chappeaurouge bay that night, but the wind failing, rendered it impossible, and obliged us to lay aside the thoughts of surprise; the next Monday morning (April 30) about 8 o'clock, we were off the mouth of the bay, upon which the enemy made an alarm, by firing a number of cannon. We came to anchor with all expedition, and though it was a difficult time, determined immediately to land the troops, under cover of Capt. Fletcher's, Bosche's and Saunder's guns; a party of about 150 of the enemy, sallied out to annoy our landing, who were well received by the troops first on shore, who killed six or seven, and took as many prisoners, among which were some persons of distinction, without loss of any on our side, and only two wounded. The enemy soon retreating to the garrison, we landed about 2000 men the first day, during which time the enemy burnt a number of houses, between the town and grand battery, and sunk some vessels in the harbour. The next day (May 1) landed the remainder of the troops, and proceeded to put the army into a proper disposition, for such operations as should be found most expedient. Next morning (May 2) found that the enemy had deserted the grand battery, in a very precipitate manner, having spiked up the guns, but left their trunions on, and many of the carriages whole, and a quantity of shot; upon which immediately ordered a regiment there, the union flag to be hoisted, and workmen to drill the cannon, who soon got several of them cleared, and turned them on the town, with good success, almost every shot lodging within the town, and a considerable number among which were, the 3d, 4th and 5th, fell into the roof of the citadel; we have now got about twenty ready for service, four only of which can bring to bear upon the town, most of the others command

mand the mouth of the harbour; hope soon to get the whole number drilled, which will be 42 pounders, and two 18 pounders, three of the 42 pounders being split. Cannot conceive of any reason why the enemy should desert so fine a fortification, but extreme want of men. They return our fire, with some cannon and more bombs, some of which have shattered part of the wall and building, but hurt none of our men. The landing and transporting of the artillery and stores, proves very difficult, have got the small mortars and cohorns to a hill about 400 yards distant from the town, and the large one to another hill near that, from which have thrown some into the town, but the bed of the large one, on which our chief dependance is, has twice given way, and put us to difficulty. The enemy have twice sallied out towards that battery, but were repulsed by the detachment posted for the security thereof, without loss on our side, and only one man wounded; but by some cannon they have turned upon it from the town, we have had a man killed and two or three wounded. We have also thrown up a fascine battery, at the west part of the town, where expect this night, to have mounted the eight 22 pounders. On the 7th inst. by advice of the council, at which had the pleasure of Commodore Warren's presence, a summons was sent in to the commanding officer at Louisbourg, which, with the answer, have enclosed, upon which determined to proceed in the most vigorous manner, to attack the island battery, in boats, the first favorable opportunity, to the assistance of which, Commodore Warren offered to send a number of his sailors and marines, as yet have not had opportunity to prosecute it. I had the pleasure of meeting with Commodore Warren, on my passage to Chappeaurouge bay, who assured me of his readiness to contribute to his utmost, in any shape, for the good of the expedition, and since our landing he has been so good as to come on shore with the kindest offers of the same, which are very acceptable and engaging. Yesterday I received your Excellency's letters of the 10th, 22d ult. by an express from Canso: Capt. Bradford being detained there by the loss of his boom, delivered Commodore Warren his enclosed packets; what relates to that gentleman is perfectly agreeable to me, I shall, on all occasions be fond of the assistance and advice of a gentleman, whose generous attachment to the welfare of the Colonies in general, and this expedition in special, added to his well known personal merit, in his active and successful service of our nation, entitles him to the highest esteem and regard from every well wisher to New-England. I had, before the receipt of yours, wrote to Capt. Tyng, that he should, with the vessels under his direction, wait upon the Commodore for his orders, and strictly to observe the same, have acquainted him with your orders to me, relating to sending Smithurst to New-England.

I make no doubt of his Majesty's and his ministry's entire approbation of your Excellency's conduct, in setting on foot this expedition, and that they will support it, but hope we may accomplish our design, without waiting for any additional force from thence.

I imagine

I imagine that it would be fruitless, to send to Annapolis for any part of their strength, at a time when they may apprehend themselves in danger of a siege. Col. Moulton has joined us with the detachment sent to St. Peter's, having destroyed that settlement and taken some plunder and prisoners, burnt four schooners, and brought off one. He lost one man, and had one wounded; the greatest part of the inhabitants made their escape. Have also advice from Capt. Donahew, of his return with Becket, from the Bay Verte; in going up the gut, he met with a party of Indians, upon which Capt. Jacques and Stanford, with their companies, going on shore, though contrary to orders, the former had the misfortune to be killed and the other wounded. The Indians were beat off, without other loss on our part. In the Bay of Verte he took two small vessels that were empty, the others were hauled up, where he could not come at them; he burnt a considerable number of houses, and birch canoes, but was not so fortunate as to meet with any further success. I find Chappeaurouge bay a fine harbour for the transports we have ordered to remain there, under the care of Captain Saunders. Should have dispatched a vessel to your Excellency immediately on our success, at the grand battery, but the wind has proved contrary, and I was in hopes of being able to give your Excellency an account of some addition to our acquisitions. By advice of the Council this day, have determined to encamp in a regular manner, near the North-East Harbour, and throw up a battery there, in which to mount the New-York Train of artillery, and some of the guns from the grand battery, and to post one regiment in the grand battery, to support and repair it, which may be soon done, in such a manner, that 200 men may defend it against 2000, and with that, and the other battery proposed, imagine we may command the harbour, against any thing that will attempt to get in, and by posting two regiments to protect the batteries on the west side, and intercept any recruits getting in by land, we shall entirely cut off any communication with the town. As it has been judged not adviseable to attempt the storming the town at present, and as a considerable reinforcement may be daily expected by the enemy from Canada, as well as force from France, which it is possible may find means to get in; I am advised by the council, to move to your Excellency the sending us a reinforcement of one thousand men, as also another large mortar, and a number of shells, and a spare bed, for the large mortar now here; shall send up fourteen of our transports, under convoy of Capt. Smithurst for that purpose, by him, and then shall send up the prisoners, list of which have enclosed.

Am much obliged to your Excellency, for your care in regard to us. Have just received yours of the 23d ult. which Capt. Donahew brought down from Canso, by whom am informed that five of the vessels, with provisions for the army, are arrived there, having narrowly escaped the French ship, that has been upon the coast for some time, who had obliged one of them to strike, but she afterwards escaped by meeting with Rouse, who, to prevent the transports,

transports, falling into the enemy's hands, gave the ship opportunity to chase him, by which means, those of them got safe to Canso; am fearful one or both of the others are taken, the French ships having made use of our signals for a decoy. Have not yet heard further of Rouse, hope Capt. Cutter will be able to give you a good account of him, by this opportunity. Have desired Commodore Warren to send up a convoy to Canso, to bring down the provision vessels there. Shall write to your Excellency, again by Capt. Smithurst whom I expect will be here very soon; in the mean time, must pray, that multiplicity of business, may excuse what is wanting in this. I am,

Your Excellency, &c. W. PEPPERELL.

SHIRLEY *to* PEPPERELL.

SIR, *Boston, May* 10, 1745.

THE enclosed which accompanies this, is a copy of my last, by the New-Hampshire provision vessel, since which Capt. Edwards has got ready to proceed for Cape Breton, the Hector, Capt. Cornwal not being come in yet, for which reason we hope she may have proceeded directly to join the Commodore, upon receiving advice where he was, by the way. Capt. M'Donald, who commands the detachment of marines, on board Capt. Edwards, having informed that there are to the amount of near 300 marines, on board the several ships in Mr. Warren's squadron, and proposed their landing, if I would put him upon such a rank as that he could serve; as I think such a body of regular troops landing, would strike a terror into the enemy, and be of infinite service to you in many respects, I have given him a Colonel's command over the marines, who may act as an independent corps, subject to your command only, which he will most readily and punctually obey. I shall be exceeding glad, if these troops are permitted to do duty in the land service, and have proposed a method to the Commodore for their being subsisted with provisions, and furnished with tents, in such case.

Capt. M'Donald is a captain of five years standing, and a pretty gentleman, of good interest with the Duke of Newcastle, and other persons of distinction at home, and esteemed a good officer by his Colonel, and will, I am sure, behave in a perfect agreeable manner to you; but it is best to keep the corps in as distinct a service from the New-England troops as may be, to avoid all little jealousies and competitions of command, &c. Whatever favor you shall shew him, I shall esteem an obligation, and am, Sir, your faithful friend, and humble servant, W. SHIRLEY.

To his Excellency Gov. SHIRLEY.

Camp, before Louisbourg, May 20, 1745.

May it please your Excellency,

ENCLOSED herewith is a copy of my last, by Capt. Bennet, who sailed from hence the 12th inst. since which, have to inform your Excellency, that notwithstanding the incredible difficulty in transporting

transporting the artillery, &c. over bogs, morasses, and rocky hills, we have, by indefatigable industry, got our train of 22 pounders mounted at a battery on the west of the town, some days since, from whence, in conjunction with the mortars and cohorns, we annoy the enemy considerably; but those cannon prove very bad; two of them are burst, and two others broken by the enemy's shot. We have also, two nights since, with the utmost difficulty, thrown up a fascine battery, within two hundred yards of the west gate, and planted in it two 42 pounders and two 18 pounders, from the royal battery, which have beat down the draw bridges, and part of the west gate, with some of the wall adjoining; we have since, unhappily, split one of the 42 pounders, and the enemy are using their utmost efforts to beat us from that battery: The want of a sufficient number of experienced gunners, occasions great difficulty, two of which are killed, and another has lost one of his legs; I have employed all I can find capable of that service, and have promised them considerable rewards, in case of their good behaviour. Capt. Gayton is not yet arrived; we shall soon be in want of the powder he has for us, and must pray your Excellency's care for a considerable further supply, as speedily as possible, which will be absolutely necessary, in order to our making progress against the enemy, especially as the 42 pounders, which consume large quantities, are what we must depend much upon; our 22 pounders proving so bad, and the New-York train not yet landed. Capt. Rouse is arrived here with all the provision vessels under his convoy; it is very agreeable and animating to the army to receive these supplies. Commodore Warren with his squadron, is cruizing off the harbour, which hourly hope to see joined by the Princess Mary, and Hector, also by several men of war from Newfoundland. The packet that I dispatched to that place, on my arrival here (which must beg your Excellency's excuse, for omitting to mention in my last to you) being returned, with advice that no men of war were arrived there the 12th instant, but that Commodore Edwards, with five or six ships, was daily expected, which, Commodore Warren informs me, will (except one) immediately upon their arrival, proceed to join him here, I should also in my last, have informed your Excellency that two of the men of war here have taken, in one of the eastern harbours, a ship from France, laden with provisions and stores, with 27 men on board, but no news, excepting that a squadron of four men of war and two frigates, lay at Brest, which some said were bound to Louisbourg. He has also sent some of the cruizers to St. Ann's and Nigonist, who burnt about forty houses, and as many small vessels. A French snow got into Louisbourg, some days ago, in the thick weather, she kept so close in with the eastern shore, that she was not discovered at the grand battery, till she had got round the light house point, we gave her all the fire we could from that battery immediately; but the enemy from the town and island battery, firing furiously on us there, to favour her entry, she got into anchor under the walls of the town; We have since discovered a number of cannon

non, about 30, in the N. E. harbour, at low water mark, which have design to improve in a battery there, as soon as possible. In the mean time, have hoisted an English flag on the light house, and posted a regiment near it, it having been impracticable to remove the main body of the army there, as yet, have also ordered some guard boats to be kept out, to intercept succours from getting into the town by night. A party of the enemy, of about 100 men, went over from the town some nights ago, to cut off the guard, they supposed, posted at the light house, who, being repulsed by our men, made their escape, excepting one taken prisoner, from whom can get but little intelligence; he says the snow that got in was from France, laden with wine, and some bread, and that our shot and bombs have done considerable execution in the town. I hourly expect Smithurst here, to take under his convoy the transports mentioned in my last, by some of whom, shall send back seven barrels of grenadoe shells, on account of their thickness.

Am sorry I cannot inform your Excellency of further progress made by us, but flatter myself, that when the various, and great difficulties we have to encounter with, come into consideration, we shall not be thought chargeable with want of diligence, at least. The difference between such an army as ours, in such a place as this, being vastly great, and disciplined troops in a Champaign country, and moderate climate. As many of the army are ill (chiefly with fluxes, which however have not proved mortal) and delays may be dangerous, on many accounts, I design, as soon as possible, to consult with Commodore Warren, in a general council, on some measures for a speedy and vigorous push. I have received your Excellency's letter of 26th, 28th, and 30 ult. also of 5th May, and carefully regard the contents. It is with the utmost pleasure that I observe the reception which the news of this expedition met with from his majesty and the ministers at home; hope I shall soon have the pleasure to inform them of its happy issue.

Since the above, the Rhode-Island sloop has taken a Brigantine from France, laden with provisions, &c. for Louisbourg, by which have intelligence, that four men of war, viz. one of 72 guns, and three of 56, also 3 company ships, of 30 guns each, may be hourly expected here from France. and just now advised by Capt. Rouse, that a French ship of 70 guns was met with yesterday by him, in company with the Mermaid who both engaged her till dark. Commodore Warren came up with her about 7 o'clock in the evening, whom Rouse left engaged at 9 o'clock, but as the night proved dark and foggy, fear she made her escape.

P. S. As there is reason to think that the enemy will hold out to the last extremity, must earnestly request that powder be hastened to us, chiefly cannon powder. We have found in the grand battery, shells sufficient for the large mortar.

Your Excellency's most humble,
and obedient servant,
W. PEPPERELL.

To his Excellency Gov. Shirley.

WARREN TO PEPPERELL.

SIR, *Superbe, off Louisbourg, May* 24, 1745.

I AM sorry to give you the trouble of so many plans of operation, against the garrison of Louisbourg, and beg leave to assure you, most candidly, that they all have been such as appeared best to my weak judgment, under the several circumstances that you were in, at the different times of my proposing them. In one, I think I informed you, of my intention to call a consultation of officers, so soon as the Princess Mary and Hector should arrive, who were then daily expected ; at which I proposed your assistance, or that of some of your Council ; but you see that is not to be always done, in our uncertain situation, therefore we can only send you our opinions ; they have now joined me, and as many of my captains are with me, as the weather, and the uncertainty of our affairs will permit, before I laid the enclosed Plan, which you will please to observe they approve of, and I make no doubt, but every absent captain, will do the same, if it has the good fortune to meet your approbation, it will save me the trouble of being any more so to you, and may be put in execution the moment the weather will permit, and the Vigilant can be put in a condition to join us, which I hope will be in forty eight hours ; if you will please to order the troops mentioned in the plan immediately on board of our ships.

I have just now received letters from Gov. Shirley, by the Hector, who sent me the enclosed for you, which he says is to the same purport with mine. I think we can say nothing to it, till we know the fate of my plan.

I am, with great regard,
Sir, your most obedient,
And humble servant,

P. WARREN.

At a consultation of Officers, held on board his Majesty's ship Superbe, off the harbour of Louisbourg, the 24th May, 1745.

Present. Peter Warren, Esq. Commander in Chief, Captains, James M'Donald, Richard Edwards, Frederick Cornwall, Richard Tiddeman, Edward Tyng.

WE having maturely weighed, and considered the slow advances made upon the enemy, by our troops on shore, owing we suppose, to the difficulty of landing and transporting their cannon to the proper places, for annoying the town, and that they are daily growing weaker, by sickness, and other accidents, and that the enemy may have succour introduced into the garrison, especially by sea, in a country so subject to fogs, let the vigilance of our sea officers be ever so great.

We therefore, for the more speedy reduction of the town, and fortress, of Louisbourg, are of opinion, that the following plan will be the most regular and effectual method, to attain so glorious an acquisition to our King and country, viz. That

That all his Majesty's ships, and all the Colony cruizers, except two, all the schooners, and transports, go into the harbour, and attack the town and batteries with the utmost vigour, with his Majesty's ships, and the Colony cruizers, in such order of battle, as shall be agreed on, upon a consultation for that purpose, and that all the schooners and transports, anchor in the N. E. harbour, out of gun shot; taking all the boats of his Majesty's ships, and the Colony cruizers, except one yawl to each, under their care, to prevent their being shot to pieces by the enemy, and to be ready upon a signal to be made by me, to bring them, and all the whale boats, and others, with all the men in every vessel, manned and armed, on board his Majesty's ships, and Colony cruizers, on the off side from the enemy, in order to land men, if necessary, or to go on any other service; and the better to enable the ships of war to execute this service, we think the General should embark on board of his Majesty's ships, sixteen hundred men, six hundred of them to be put on board the Vigilant, the remaining thousand to be distributed into the rest of the ships of war, as shall be thought proper, by the Commander in Chief of his Majesty's ships, &c.

That the marines be landed, under the command of Capt. James M'Donald of Col. Jeffry's regiment of marines, who has a commission to act as Colonel, and an officer of service, we reposing confidence in his ability, recommend him, as a proper person, to command the first attack on shore, not doubting of his being effectually sustained, by your men, and that the said forces, be as near as Capt. M'Donald shall judge proper, in order to attack, when the Commodore makes a signal, by hoisting a Dutch flag, under his broad pendant, which is to show, that he is determined to go into the harbour, with the squadron.

This plan, properly and speedily put in execution, we are of opinion, with the assistance of God, cannot fail of success, and will be greatly for the honour of his Majesty's arms.

Several of our ships, having been almost three months at sea, and having had no refreshments of any kind, and many of our men falling sick daily, makes it absolutely necessary to proceed in this expeditious manner.

P. WARREN.

To Commodore WARREN.

SIR, *Camp, May 26th*, 1745.

YOURS of 24th I received yesterday with the plan of operation proposed by yourself and council for attacking Louisbourg, which have laid before my council, whose determination thereon, have now inclosed you. Our batteries continue to shatter the wall, near the west gate, and of the circular battery, and I am not without considerable hopes that we shall at least dismount the cannon, which may most annoy the entry of the ships, by the time the Vigilant is ready to join you. Am very sorry for the repeated disappointments on the affair of the island battery, but have not laid aside the thoughts of attacking it as soon as the sea will give opportunity for it. I flatter myself you will think the reasons given for the landmen, not coming on board the ships, are of weight. As the sea forces and trans-

ports are entirely at your direction, you will be pleased to dispose of them as you may judge most to advantage. I have ordered carpenters to assist in fitting the Vigilant, have also ordered assistance for securing the prisoners. As you observe, Sir, an opportunity to consult with you, is very precarious; but pray, if possible, we may unite our councils in some method for a speedy attack on the town, so soon as your ships can be got in readiness therefor. We have many men sick occasioned probably in a great measure by their fatigue in hauling the heavy cannon in foggy nights, &c. in which must do them the justice to say they were very active and diligent. As there is reason to expect a number of French and Indians are drawing near in order to annoy our camp, or throw themselves into the town, have ordered out scouts to make discoveries. I am of opinion with you that the answer to Governor Shirley's letter must be deferred at present.

Your's, &c. W. PEPPERELL.

WARREN *to* PEPPERELL.

SIR, *Superbe, off Louisbourg, the 26th May*, 1745.

I AM very sorry to be so troublesome to you, but his Majesty's service requires it. I informed you how much it would be for the advantage of the present expedition, to get the Vigilant, who is of greater force than any ship here, manned and fit for sea, at a time that we may daily expect our enemies with a very strong squadron; it is impossible for us to man her out of our ships, without weakening all the squadron, and rendering them unfit to make any figure (but a bad one) against the enemy.

I therefore applied to you for men, but none are yet gone on board her; there are no doubt, a number of seamen among the troops and transports, that would readily go on board her, upon my promise, which I solemnly give, to discharge them at our return to Boston, or when the expedition is over, and I believe such a number as she will want, will contribute more to the success of the expedition, in her than in any other shape they can be employed.

She took two ships laden with rice, and as they are ordered to Louisbourg, it will not be amiss to direct the officer at the grand battery, to be prepared to annoy them, if they should escape us; they have but fifteen Frenchmen in each ship.

What shall we do with all the prisoners? it is very improper to keep them on board our ships.

We that have been now almost three months at sea, grow very sickly for want of refreshments; if we could get fish for our people, it would be some service to them.

I have not been favoured with your answer to the plan of operation I sent you: For God's sake let us do something, and not waste our time in indolence.

If you will order men on board the Vigilant, she will very soon be fit for service.

Pray how came the island battery not to be attacked? please to let me know.

I sincerely wish you all the honour and success imaginable, and only beg to know, in what manner I can be more serviceable, than in cruizing,

cruizing, to prevent the introduction of succours to the garrison. I fear if that be all that is expected from the ships, or that they can do, Louisbourg will be safe for some time; for my part I have proposed all that I think can be done already, and only wait your answer thereto.

Would you have the Mulinox, and Rhode-Island ship and snow go to Boston with the prisoners, if so, might I not take some men out of them.

I am, Sir,
your most obedient
humble servant, P. WARREN.

PEPPERELL *to* WARREN.

SIR, *Camp, May 28th*, 1745.

IN answer to yours of 26th inst. I beg leave to represent to you that this is now the 29th day since the army first invested the town of Louisbourg, and drove the inhabitants within their walls. That in this time we have erected five fascine batteries, and with hard service to the men, drawn our cannon, mortars, ball, &c. that with 16 pieces of cannon, and our mortars mounted at said batteries, and with our cannon from the royal battery, we have been playing on the town, by which we have greatly distrest the inhabitants, made some breaches in the wall, especially at the west gate, which we have beat down, and made a considerable breach there, and doubt not but shall soon reduce the circular battery. That in this time we have made *five* unsuccessful attempts upon the island battery, in the last of which we lost about 189 men, and many of our boats were shot to pieces, and many of our men drowned before they could land; that we have also kept out scouts to destroy any settlements of the enemy near us, and prevent a surprise in our camp—that by the services aforesaid and the constant guards kept night and day round the camp, at our batteries, the army is very much fatigued, and sickness prevails among us, to that degree that we now have but about 2100 effective men, six hundred of which are gone in quest of two bodies of French and Indians we are informed are gathering one to the eastward, and the other to the westward. The council's opinion has been taken, whether we shall make another attempt upon the island battery, by boats; their opinion is, that considering the surf, the strength of the place, and the great advantage the enemy have, to sink our boats, before landing; such an attempt is impracticable. We shall still prosecute the best endeavours in our power for the effectual and speedy accomplishment of our designs against the enemy; in which desire, doubt not of your assistance. As soon as opportunity will admit, I propose to myself the pleasure to come on board your ship with some of my council to confer and determine on the most suitable measures therefor. If you will be pleased to stand in towards Chappeaurouge bay as soon as it suits you; there are two shallops with fish in the harbour ready to send out to you; and as the schooners are under your command, you will be pleased to order out what of them you please, to fish for your ships and our camp. My council are of opinion that it will be of service to send a vessel to Annapolis for a large mortar, and some other warlike stores, and assistance if you think proper. Yours, &c. W. PEPPERELL.

WARREN *to* PEPPERELL.

SIR, *Superbe, off Louisbourg, the 29th May*, 1745.

UPON the receipt of the resolution of your council, of the 25th inst. and your letter of the 26th, I laid them before the captains of my squadron, who all agree in opinion with you, that the taking the island battery, and reducing the circular one in the town, would greatly facilitate the entrance of the ships into the harbour, and think when that is done, it will be practicable to attack the town, with the naval force now here without the addition of the sixteen hundred men mentioned in our plan, by which time we hope the Vigilant will be ready, and may be manned out of the troops, many of them being seamen, and have offered their service in her.

I am very sorry no one plan of mine, though approved of by all my captains, has been so fortunate as to meet your approbation, or have any weight with you. I flattered myself, from the little knowledge I have endeavoured to acquire in military affairs, my advice singly would have had some influence in the conducting of the present expedition, and I believe Governor Shirley thinks so too. This I conclude from the following paragraph of his letter to me, dated the 28th January last, which I received at Antigua; when speaking of the expedition, he says,

"Indeed this province (meaning the Massachusetts) in particular, greatly depends upon the assistance you shall send, upon this occasion, and I must acknowledge that the hopes I have entertained of it, have been no small encouragement to me, in forming the expedition, and if the service in which you are engaged, would permit you to come yourself, and *take upon you the command of the expedition*, it would be, I doubt not, a most happy event for his Majesty's service, and your own honour."

I do not mention this, from any desire of command, because I think it impossible to do one's duty well in two capacities, both by sea and land, especially as I pretend to know very little of the latter, but to show that my opinion, which I shall ever give candidly to the best of my judgment, might have in conjunction with the captains under my command, some weight and force with you; for my own part (and I believe the same of every gentleman under my command) I am so anxious for the success of this expedition, in the operations of which, his Majesty and all the Colonies concerned, have done me the honour to repose so great a trust, that I would leave no stone unturned to contribute to the success of it, and though by the plan of operation formed by Mr. Shirley, nothing was proposed by a naval force here, more than to prevent succours being thrown into the garrison by any sea force, superiour to the Colony cruizers, it being looked upon as impregnable by sea (which I am far from thinking) therefore am ready and desirous, to make the ships as useful as possible, at all hazards, in an affair of so much importance to our King and country, and that was the motive that induced me to send you the plan of operation, dated the 24th inst. As to the sixteen hundred men we desired from you, it was in order to land them from our ships, when we should think proper, and it is impossible, that any body else should be so good judges, when to land them as we on board the ships, their officers would no doubt come with them on board of our ships, and would land

with

with them, when proper; the Vigilant will fight six hundred men very well; if you had approved of our plan, you would have had above two thousand men, to have attacked the breach, at the west gate, and where else you might have thought proper, on the land side, at the same time that we attack the town, and if we found our seamen could do better by landing than fighting with our ships, we could land them, but the whale boats must carry the ladders.

As to landing from the grand battery, under our fire, we look upon that as impossible.

Had the Vigilant got in, which might have happened, I believe you will allow, you must have raised the siege, and as other ships are expected, who may, notwithstanding all the diligence of the cruizers; surely then we ought to lose no time at this juncture.

Every body will allow, that the going in with the ships, before the taking the island battery, or reducing the circular or any other of the town batteries, will be a bold attempt where there is no retreat; it is therefore worthy of Englishmen; if the island battery was taken, it would be a much more reasonable one; but what can be, should be done, for the honour of his Majesty's arms.

What is the reason, that though many preparations have been made for attacking the island battery, no attempt has yet been made? The fault is somewhere, and time will discover it.

The difficulty that attends a communication with you and the ships, occasioned by fogs, gives me the greatest concern. I have been now three days in a fog, that I could not see the length of my ship, nor one of my squadron; when that is the case, I look upon myself to be as far from you, as if I were at Boston.

It is very lucky I find, that we could spare you some powder. I am told you had not a grain left; sure more care should be taken, than to leave you without ammunition.

I cannot help being of opinion, that though you have had no deserter from the garrison, you may have taken some prisoners, who for a promise of secresy, and a considerable reward, would tell you the state of the garrison, as to the number of men, quantity of ammunition and provision, the reward not to be given till the town is taken; for, by what I can find, we are all blind as to those circumstances, which if possible, should be known. I would myself gladly join in giving such a reward.

I should be glad to know why the camp was not moved near the grand or advanced batteries, agreeable to the resolution of your Council, when I was ashore, the 11th inst. in order to be more compact, and to succour each other, which is impossible, at the distance they are now from the camp, for people are fatigued greatly, by marching from the camp to the batteries.

Captain M'Donald tells me if you do not guard your trenches, the enemy may nail up all your cannon, and that you should keep up a constant fire, at the west gate, and fire as many guns as you can at a time, which is the only method to make a breach.

I sent Capts. Durell and M'Donald, to confer with you, by whom I hope I shall know your determination upon all I have now wrote.

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As to the transports being under my directions, I never understood it so, but if they were, they have enough to do to take care of the prisoners.

I beg nothing in this may be construed by you, otherwise than it is meant by me, which is only to forward the present scheme, without giving you the least offence, for I wish you well, and shall be much obliged to you, if you will point out any thing that may occur to you, that can conduce to the success of this expedition, that you, I, and all of us, both land and sea, may, God willing, return home crowned with laurels, and receive the thanks of our King and country, for adding to his territories so valuable an acquisition as Louisbourg ; this is the end for which we are met here together, and let us persevere with our united force, in the pursuit of it, without any reflections upon past miscarriages, for that does no good, and be persuaded that our mutual endeavours, with the assistance of God, will be crowned with success.

I am, &c. P. WARREN.

PEPPERELL *to* WARREN.

SIR, *Camp, June 1st*, 1745.

YOURS per Mr. Loring and Newmarch I received this morning. Am extremely sorry the fogs prevent me from the pleasure of waiting on you on board your ship, but since it so happens, I have advised further with my Council upon the contents of your letter and plan, who are come to a determination, forthwith to furnish you with 600 men to man the Vigilant, which we propose to take from the transports and land army ; have also determined to send off to your ships at least five hundred men, with their officers the morning you design to go into the harbour with your ships, to be landed with your seamen. Am very much obliged to Col. M'Donald, for the readiness he expresses, of assistance with his marines on shore, and if an equal number of men more than the forementioned 1100 can be found, that are likely to be serviceable on board your ships during the marines absence, I will gladly send them in their stead. I shall exert myself that all the preparations necessary to be made on shore, for the attack to be effected whilst the Vigilant is getting ready. The battery near the light house, Col. Gorham informs me, is almost completed, that there are three embrazures facing the island battery, and six facing the sea ; hope to have several of the carriages finished ; and the guns mounted there in two days more. He also informs me that he has two shallops laying without the light house in order to take out Bosch's guns, which I shall order to be done as soon as possible. I have directed Bosch to take your directions in the affair. Am very well pleased that your plan for the shipping going in is concerted in the best manner, but if the men be taken out of the transports for the Vigilant, they cannot go in with the ships. Our batteries continue to make some considerable good progress against the enemy's walls. We aim as much as possible at the circular battery, though the fog is so thick we cannot play so briskly as would be glad to do. We are also short of ammunition, hope a supply will very soon arrive from Boston, in the mean time shall make use of your goodness in borrowing fifty barrels more of powder, and some shot from the Vigilant. Our scouts

scouts have met with some parties of the enemy, whom they have routed, having killed several, and brought in some prisoners. I propose to wait on you on board this day, if the fog does not set in to prevent it. Yours, &c.

W. PEPPERELL.

WARREN to PEPPERELL.

SIR, *Superbe, off Louisbourg, the 1st June, 1745.*

I LAST night directed all the Captains of my squadron to be near me off Chappeaurouge bay this morning, in hopes of having a conference with you and your council; but you see what a fog prevented it; if the fogs continue in this manner, there will be no possibility of corresponding with each other, nor to do any thing but take care not to run our ships on shore; for God's sake Sir, hasten the battery at the light house; I am told it will be of great service, in annoying the island one, the pilots and Mr. Loring thinking it impracticable for the ships to go in till that battery can be silenced; if ships can lie against it, they shall. I long much to confer with you about it, and all other measures, and will, the moment it clears, use my endeavours, to be as near you as possible, for that purpose; if you have any prisoner that has been in the town since the arrival of the snow, please to send him to me; I will give five hundred or a thousand guineas, for intelligence, that may be a means of taking the town, for it is of the utmost consequence to know the situation of the enemy, as to their numbers, and quantity of ammunition, and prisoners.

Would it not be right for you to send to the French Governor, and let him know the Vigilant of 64 guns, and 600 men, commanded by the Marquis of Mason Fort, with succours for the garrison, has fallen into our hands, and that you understand great barbarity by murdering and scalping has been experienced by some French and Indians, upon some English prisoners that have fallen into their hands, contrary to the rules and usage of war among civilized nations; that you therefore take this occasion to let him know; that as you never did, or will suffer such barbarity to be used upon any of the subjects of the French King, that may through the chance of war, fall into your hands; you therefore expect the same treatment from them, to any of his Britannick Majesty's subjects that may fall into theirs; and that you shall look upon the ill behaviour of their Indians to prisoners of war, as directed, and influenced by them, under whose power they are, and that you shall be very sorry to be under a necessity of acting to prisoners in your power, with that inhumanity, that has ever been unknown and unpractised by Englishmen, therefore hope he will not force you to it; you will pardon this opinion of mine, but if agreed to by you and your Council, it may have a good effect, and it is possible *when they know of the Vigilant being taken, and the reinforcement we have lately had, and seeing a battery carrying on at the light house, if they are in any great distress, they may surrender* upon the articles of your first summons, though it should not be mentioned by us to them, and should they offer it, the gentleman that goes in should in my opinion, be directed to tell them, that he believed it would not now be accepted, but that he would acquaint the General, and commander in chief

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at sea of it, who no doubt would give them an answer; this is what has occurred to me, and you will act as you judge most proper in it, but believe me to be very truly and sincerely, Yours, &c.

P. WARREN.

PEPPERELL *to* SHIRLEY.

Camp, June 3d, 1745, pr. Geddins and Gayton.

May it please your Excellency,

I HAVE just received your favour by Donahew. It gives me the highest pleasure to find that my best endeavours in the management of the expedition meet with your Excellency's and my country's approbation. The supplies by Donahew are extremely welcome, and a fresh instance of your Excellency's continual care of us, hope we shall improve them with discretion, and for the good of our King and country. I repose entire confidence in your Excellency's further care for the supply of what may be wanting for the accomplishment of our important enterprise, of which wants, mine of yesterday's date will acquaint you. I imagine that the news your Excellency mentions of Mons. Duvivier being expected from France with 2000 men, also of the French and Indians gathering at Menis, and parts adjacent, will be an additional inducement for our country speedily to send us the reinforcement applied for. Col. Bradstreet sends his duty to your Excellency, I have had abundant experience that the surmises some persons entertained of that gentleman were entirely groundless, and cruelly injurious to him. No person in the army could possibly have behaved with more zeal, activity, and judgment in the measures taken for the accomplishment of our design, which, added to his particular knowledge in the circumstances of this place, justly entitle him to the esteem and thanks of every well wisher to the success of the expedition. I find that every thing turns out according to the information he gave at Boston, and had Providence permitted us to have put in execution the measures he advised to, I believe we should have been now in Louisbourg. I have not yet dispatched a vessel to England to inform of our situation. Am desirous to send news of some further progress against the enemy, but if Commodore Warren advises I will dispatch one forthwith. What your Excellency observes of the *army's being made acquainted with any plans proposed, until ready to be put in execution*, has always been disagreeable to me, and I have given many cautions relating it. But when your Excellency considers that *our Council of war consists of more than twenty members*, am persuaded you will think it is *impossible for me to hinder it*, if any of them will persist in communicating to inferiour officers, and soldiers, what ought to be kept secret. I am informed that the Boston newspapers are filled with paragraphs, from private letters, relating to the expedition. Will your Excellency permit me to say, I think it may be of ill consequence? Would it not be convenient if your Excellency should forbid the Printers inserting such news?

I am, &c. W. PEPPERELL.

At a consultation held on board his Majesty's ship Superbe, off Louisbourg, the 7th of June, 1745.

Present. Peter Warren, Esq. Captains, Edwards, Durell, Calmady, Cornwall, Douglass, Tiddeman, Montague.

THE question being put, whether with the naval force we have now here, it is practicable, and adviseable to go into the harbour of Louisbourg, and attack the town and fortresses, without the island battery being first taken, considering the assistance proposed to be given by the land forces, by General Pepperell's plan, dated the 26th of May last.

After having examined the pilots, and the draughts of the harbour, and considering the distance the ships must lie from several batteries, and that there is no material damage done to any of them by our troops, and the difficulty of bringing our ships to pass, and after they are brought to pass, they must then leave the island battery, consisting of thirty-five, twenty-four, and thirty-eight pounders in their rear, and in case they do not succeed in their attempt on the town, the little probability of the ships ever getting out again. We therefore are unanimously of opinion that it is not practicable, or adviseable to attack the town, without the island battery being first taken.

The question then being put, whether the island battery is to be attacked, and in what manner?

It was resolved, after having examined the pilots, already on board his Majesty's ships, who declare that they do not know how near ships can be carried to the battery, therefore decline taking charge of them; that if proper pilots can be found who will take charge, and anchor the ships within half a cable's length of the island battery, so as not to be exposed to the fire of the town, and further, if the General will supply us with proper officers, and five hundred men in the whale boats, to be sent on board the Commodore, and to land when he shall think proper to attack the island battery under the protection of the ships that have been a battering, we will then use our endeavours to attempt it as soon as the wind and weather will permit.

P. WARREN.

PEPPERELL *to* WARREN.

SIR, *Camp, June 7th*, 1745.

YOUR favour of yesterday I received by Mr. Bastide, whose coming here I think very happy. I am very much obliged to you for hastening away the Rhode-Island sloop for the gut of Canso—hope she will hinder the enemy from landing on this island, which however should they do, we shall keep out a strict look out, and endeavour to give them an early reception, and by all means prevent their getting into the garrison; sending a schooner to hasten back the ships, will I think be very convenient. Imagine the sloops that are gone up the gut of Canso, will be sufficient to secure Canso from an attack, without sparing any other of our force for that purpose. Hope Governour Mascarene will send the mortars and shells I wrote for. The sloop at the harbour's mouth shall remain there whilst you judge it needful. Am extremely obliged to you for the fresh instance of your goodness in the loan of more powder, which I received an order for

by Col. Bradstreet; shall endeavour that it be not unprofitably fired away. I have sent you the minutes of the most material information, I had from the deserter whom I sent to you. Shall send you what I propose to write to the Ministry of our situation, and pray your free opinion and advice in that matter. *I hope the Marquis de la Maison Forte has wrote to the Governor of Louisbourg, agreeable to your desire, which if you desire it, will send in.* I shall immediately order the smiths to make langrell shot for you. I send this off by the schooner designed, if you please, to carry your packets to Annapolis, shall not therefore detain her. Yours, &c.

W. PEPPERELL.

P. S. I send you open my letter to Governour Mascarene, which when you have read, please to let it be sealed, and forwarded with yours. When I have opportunity, shall shew you all the letters I have wrote, since my being here, of a publick nature.

WARREN *to* PEPPERELL.

SIR, *Superbe, off Louisbourg, the 7th June*, 1745.

CAPTAIN M' Donald waits on you with the Marquis of Maison Forte's letter, to the commanding officer at Louisbourg; you will after seeing the contents, and that of mine, which produced it, please to send both. I hope it will have a good effect; *it will at least convince them, of our being in possession of the Vigilant*, and the rice ship, and other prizes, that have fallen into our hands, laden with provisions, for their port. Captain M'Donald will talk to you about the landing the marines, which shall be done (if you desire it) as soon as you send some of your men, to serve in their room, till they can come off again.

I am, &c. P. WARREN.

WARREN to the Marquis de la MAISON FORTE.

SIR, *Superbe, off Louisbourg, the 6th June*, 1745.

I HAVE been informed by the General of our forces here, that some prisoners, subjects of his Britannic Majesty, have by the chance of war, fallen into the hands of some French and Indian scouts, who have barbarously murdered and scalped them, contrary to the usage of war with civilized nations, and what should never be encouraged or suffered. I therefore, knowing the weight your remonstrance upon this head must have with the French King's commanding officer at Louisbourg, to prevent such inhumanity to prisoners of war for the future, take this occasion to tell you, that our General and army are so irritated at the treatment the prisoners have met with, that if such barbarity is any more suffered to be exercised upon the King of Great-Britain's subjects, it may have the worst consequence to the parties engaged in the war. I flatter myself, the treatment you, Sir, and all the prisoners that have fallen into our hands, have met with, has been such as will induce you, to let the commander in chief of Louisbourg know of it by letter, which I will convey to him by a truce, and which will no doubt prevent such inhuman behaviour for the future. I am, &c.

P. WARREN.

The Marquis de la MAISON FORTE *to* DUCHAMBON, *Gov. of Louisbourg.*

On board the Vigilant, where I am a prisoner, before Louisbourg. June 18th, 1745. New-Stile.

TRANSLATION.

HEREWITH I send you, Sir, the copy of a letter wrote me by Mr. Warren, Commodore of a squadron, who informs me that the French have treated some English prisoners with cruelty and inhumanity; I can scarcely believe it, since it is the intention of the King our Master, that they should be well treated on every occasion. You are to know, that on the 30th of May, I was taken by this squadron as I was about to enter your harbour, and it is fitting you should be informed, that the Gentlemen the Captains and officers treat us not as prisoners, but as their good friends, and take a very particular care that my officers and equipage should want for nothing. To me it seems just, that you should treat them in the same manner, and see that they be punished who act otherwise, and offer any insult to those whom you may take prisoners. I am persuaded that you knew nothing of what has passed, and of which they so justly complain; but if you can discover the ill doers, please to let them be punished, and give out your orders to prevent such cruelties for the future. You cannot have too great regard for the English prisoners you take, nor can you treat them too well, since they wage war in such a generous manner, and take so much care of the prisoners they make. My compliments to Mons. Bigol, and believe me, Sir, with esteem and veneration, yours, &c.

DE LA MAISON FORTE, Capt. of the vessels.

Send me your news for Mr. Warren.

PEPPERELL *to* WARREN.

SIR, *Camp, June 8th, 1745.*

YOUR favours per Col. M'Donald, I received, with a copy of the opinion of the Commanders of his Majesty's ships of the squadron relating to attacking the town and island battery; since the experience we have had of the strength of the island battery, with the great difficulty of landing, and the reason we have to think the enemy will be still transporting themselves there, I cannot think it adviseable to attempt it again in whale boats, which a few musket balls will sink. The circumstances of the army do not allow of our coming into more vigorous measures at present than were proposed in our plan of May 25th. As there is nothing I have more at heart than his Majesty's service in the present expedition, it is my constant care day and night, in the best manner I am capable with my troops, to forward every thing which appears to me best for the speedy success of it. Am very sorry that you and the gentlemen, who have the honour to command his Majesty's ships here, by misrepresentation from any of what has been done, by our troops, should apprehend that no material damage is done to any of the enemies batteries, when I am able to assure you that the circular battery, the most considerable by far of any in the town and of the utmost consequence in regard to the ships, is now almost wholly reduced; of sixteen cannon which usually have been mounted

mounted there, not more than three or four are remaining. If you continue in the opinion, that it is not adviseable to go in with the ships, we shall continue to make what further progress we can with our batteries; hope very soon to have our battery near the light house completed, to annoy the island battery, and if some of your ships should attack it on the outside, it might probably be attended with good success, and at all events, your ships would be sure of a retreat. We have pilots that will undertake to anchor the ships near it, if you should think fit; have sent off to you three, viz. Mr. Hodge, Mr. Flag, Mr. Treferren. Capt. Kinselagh is gone up the bay for the others. *Col. M' Donald has been in with your and the Marquis de la Maison Forte's letters, and is returned with an answer to them, which he* will wait on you with. If his majesty's service and your convenience will allow of it, should think myself happy in an opportunity to wait on you on shore. Yours, &c. W. PEPPERELL.

WARREN TO PEPPERELL.

SIR, *Superbe, off Louisbourg, the 11th June*, 1745.

WHEN the wind is fair, and I expect to get in the same day, I will hoist a Dutch flag under my pendant, at the main-top-gallant-mast head, and as a signal to let us know you are ready, you are to make three smoaks.

When I hoist a Dutch flag, you should march towards the town, drums beating, colours flying.

When I hoist the red flag on the flag staff at my fore-top-gallant-mast head, you may then be assured, I shall be in, and begin the attack in about half an hour. P. WARREN.

PEPPERELL *to* WARREN.

SIR, *Camp, June 13th*, 1745.

I HEARTILY congratulate you on the arrival of the Canterbury and Sunderland with the other ships that accompanied them, which hope prove good prizes. I am making the necessary preparations with all the dispatch possible for attacking the town, when the ships go in. Have ordered out to you Saunders and all the transports to receive all your commands, have also ordered all the boats that are now in the harbour to be fitted with oars and ladders. Shall take due notice of your signals, and give them in charge to the commanding officers at the grand and light house batteries. Have sent you the cohorns and shells, and a quantity of moss, and what oakum could be collected. "*The remainder of the men to make up the number of six hundred shall be sent off when you think it best; among which will be Colonel Moore and the chief part of his regiment.** I pray the loan of the fifty barrels of powder more, which you have been so good to give us the offer of. We have got two more forty-two pound cannon to the battery, between the grand and west gate batteries, and design this night to have another removed there. So that I hope the enemy will not be able to annoy the ships from the Circular battery.

Yours, &c. W. PEPPERELL.

* *The regiment of New-Hampshire.*

DUCHAMBON *to* PEPPERELL *and* WARREN.

Louisbourg, June, 15th 26th 1745.

GENTLEMEN,

DESIROUS of putting a stop to acts of hostility; and prevent the effusion of blood on one side and on the other, I send you an officer of our garrison, to deliver you the present, in order to desire of you a suspension of arms, for so long a time as shall be needful for me to make proposals to you, upon the conditions of which I shall determine to deliver up to you, the place which the King my master has entrusted me with.

I am, &c.

DUCHAMBON.

PEPPERELL *to* WARREN.

SIR, *Camp, June 16th*, 1745.

I UNDERSTAND you have had an hostage from the Governor of Louisbourg, as well as I have, to signify his consent to our proposals made this day, except their troops going out of the garrison with their arms and colours, &c. We have considered the affair here, and are of opinion it is too small a point to hinder any time upon, and are willing to grant it to them—but have thought proper to know your opinion on it; and if you consent, please to send and take possession of the island battery as soon as possible. I shall lose no time in getting our troops into the town.

Yours, &c. W. PEPPERELL.

WARREN *to* PEPPERELL.

SIR, *Superbe, off Louisbourg, the 16th June*, 1745.

I RECEIVED your favour by Col. Moore, and am glad our sentiments agree, with regard to allowing the troops the honours of war which they desired; the uncertainty of our affairs that depends so much on wind and weather, made it necessary not to stickle at trifles. I find you have got an hostage, I have another, and have sent Capt. Durell to the Governor in his room, and at day light propose to send men to take possession of the island battery, and to go into the harbour with the ships, if possible. I have wrote to Saunders to order all the vessels in Chappeaurouge bay to follow us immediately in. I rejoice at our success; be assured sir, that I shall always be glad of your approbation of my conduct. I beg we may all behave to the prisoners that fall under our protection by the chance of war, with the humanity and honour becoming English officers, and be persuaded it will add greatly to the reputation which we acquire by the reduction of this formidable garrison. I believe you will think it right to send an express both to England and Boston as soon as possible. I will write no letter but what I will show you, that you may be convinced, that I do you and all the gentlemen employed on this expedition all the honour in my power.

I am, &c. P. WARREN.

PEPPERELL *to* DUCHAMBON.

SIR, *Camp, June 17th*, 1745.

I RECEIVED a letter from Commodore Warren this morning in answer to mine to him last night, in regard to your being allowed the liberty of marching with the troops out of the town, with their arms, drums beating, and colours flying, which he was as ready to comply with as I was, which gives me pleasure.

I desire the favour that your officers and families, with the inhabitants and their families, may repair to their own houses as soon as possible, where they may depend they shall not meet with the least bad treatment, nor any person suffered to give them the least disturbance, and that your troops' arms may be put by themselves in a magazine, where they shall be safe, and delivered to you the day they are to march out of the town. I shall send Col. Bradstreet with a detachment at four o'clock this afternoon to take possession of the town and fort, to whom I desire you will deliver them up with all the warlike stores and keys. Pray send out a gentleman to let Col. Bradstreet know what gate he is to march in at.

W. PEPPERELL.

WARREN TO PEPPERELL.

SIR, *Louisbourg, the 17th June*, 1745.

I CAME ashore to the island battery, and from thence to town, in order to settle matters relating to the capitulation as soon as possible. The Governor has shown me your letter, desiring he would deliver up the town, &c. to you at 4 o'clock this afternoon. It is not regular, you will please to observe, to do it till the articles are ratifyed on both sides, which I will hasten to get done, and will meet you at 3 or 4 o'clock at Col. Richmonds, and if the papers proper can be by that time done, I will bring them with me. *I am sorry to find by your letter a kind of jealousy, which I thought you would never conceive of me, after my letter to you of last night;* and give me leave to tell you, I do not want at this time to acquire reputation, as I flatter myself mine has long before I came here been pretty well established. I shall be glad to see Col. Bradstreet, Mr. Basteed, or any other of your council or officers with you. My squadron are now coming in, but believe it will be night before they can get in. I beg leave to tell you that the Governor expresses some little resentment at your letter of this date, and be assured that a proper treatment and strict adherence to the capitulation should never be violated, but on the contrary should be righteously and religiously observed, otherwise we may bring dishonour upon ourselves and our country, which I am persuaded you never intend. I am, &c.

P. WARREN.

PEPPERELL TO SHIRLEY.

June 18, 1745, *in Louisbourg.*

May it please your Excellency.

IT is with the utmost pleasure that I now congratulate you and my country on the happy issue of our enterprise against Louisbourg, which was effected through God's goodness, by the surrender of this strong

strong fortress, &c. on the 16th inst. upon terms of capitulation agreed to with the Governor of said place, by Commodore Warren and myself, copy of which have enclosed to your Excellency : And accordingly the fleet came into the harbour, and a detachment of our troops with myself entered the town. Yesterday and this morning the French troops marched out, and were embarked on board the ships. We are with all possible speed removing every thing from the camp into the town, and are taking an account of the state of the garrison and of the stores found here, which shall send your Excellency with this, if it can be accomplished in season ; find our shot and bombs have prodigiously distressed and damaged the enemy ; the circular battery is almost entirely demolished, but must needs omit particulars, being impatient that your Excellency may have this intelligence as early as possible, well knowing your great concern for us. I imagine many of our army will be impatient to return home. Desire your Excellency's directions on that head, also relating to Canso, and what part of the ordnance sent with us shall be ordered back, and in every other thing you judge necessary. I shall forthwith forward dispatches to the Duke of New-Castle to inform his Grace of our success and situation. I need not again express to you, sir, that I esteem it of the happiest consequence that his Majesty's ships were sent here, under the command of a gentleman whose distinguished merit and goodness, New-England claims a peculiar right to honour and rejoice in. I should want words to express the instances of his zeal in the affair, and the entire readiness he has shewn through the whole of it to give the army all possible assistance ; but to your Excellency, and every one who has the pleasure to know that worthy gentleman's character, it is enough to say Commodore Warren was here. I was favoured with his company on shore the day Mr. Duchambon sent out his first letter, desiring a suspension of hostilities, and we had just before agreed upon a general attack by land and sea the first opportunity. But heaven has given us an easier victory than that might probably have been ; we have not lost above one hundred men by the enemy in this vast enterprise, including the disaster at the island battery. I received your Excellency's favour of the 3d inst. by Smith, this day, and carefully regard the contents. The provisions voted in the Jerseys, will be of great service to us, especially as we must supply a considerable quantity for the prisoners that are to be sent to France. And a large garrison must certainly be maintained here until his Majesty's pleasure is known. We want three new flags to hoist at the town and batteries, being now obliged to commodore Warren for some of his ships jacks. The morning after we took possession of this place, a ship was discovered off the harbour, upon which Commodore Warren sent out the Chester and brought her in, which proved a French ship from Bourdeaux laden with wine and brandy. I have just advice that a large body of Indians, said to be 2500, are arrived within six or seven miles of us, upon which shall take the necessary precautions by completeing this day, the removal of all our stores and baggage into the town, drawing off the cannon from our fascine batteries, and demolishing our camps. It is happy they did not arrive a few days sooner. We

want

want a quantity of boards, shingles, nails, and other materials to make the necessary repairs; believe such ruins were never seen before, which however is not to be wondered at, as we gave the town about nine thousand cannon ball and six hundred bombs, before they surrendered, which sorely distressed them, especially the day before they sent out a flag of truce; when we kept such a constant fire on the town from our batteries, that the enemy could not show their heads, nor stir from their covered ways; and at the same time from our battery near the light house played on the island battery with our cannon, and large mortar, that they were ready to run into the sea for shelter, which (it is said) some of them actually did. I expect an opportunity to write to your Excellency again in a day or two, by the Lark man of war, until which time must defer the particular account of the state of the garrison, as the news of the Indians keeps us in the greatest hurry to get all our things into the town. In the mean time, am with all possible respect, Yours, &c.

W. PEPPERELL.

To the DUKE *of* NEW-CASTLE, *per Commodore* WARREN *and General* PEPPERELL.

May it please your Grace. *June* 18, 1745.

WE presume you have been made acquainted by Governor Shirley, of the expedition intended against Louisbourg and the territory thereunto belonging. We have now only time to congratulate your Grace on the success of his Majesty's arms, by the surrender of said place on the 16th inst. after a siege of forty nine days, on terms of capitulation, copy of which have enclosed to your Grace herewith. The repeated timely assistance of the squadron of his Majesty's ships, sent here for that purpose, deserves our most grateful acknowledgment. The acquisition of this very strong fortress, which much exceeds our most extended apprehensions, will, we are persuaded, be thought of great advantage to his Majesty's dominions, especially in North America, and that immediate care will be taken for the defence and maintenance thereof by the nation; also that his Majesty's subjects, who voluntarily engaged in the expedition, will be entitled to such favours from his Majesty, as will animate them to make further progress against the settlements of the French King in America, which we have encouraged them to expect, and flatter ourselves his Majesty will be graciously pleased to approve of, by confirming such persons in their posts here as we from our observation of their zeal, and good behaviour, shall take leave to recommend to his Majesty's favour. We are not able by this opportunity to transmit to your Grace a particular account of the state of the garrison and stores found here, but find in general that there is very little, either of warlike stores or provisions, a speedy large supply of which must therefore be absolutely necessary; also that a strong garrison of troops be posted here before winter, as most of these employed in this expedition are in such circumstances as will induce them to desire to return home, as soon as possible, which is agreeable to Governor Shirley's promise in his proclamation for the encouragement of the expedition. We further beg leave to represent to your Grace, that we humbly apprehend it will more

more than any thing conduce to the speedy settlement of this island, which would be greatly to his Majesty's advantage in the protection and maintenance of this fortress, that a civil government should be established here, and Louisbourg made a free port for some years.

We are, may it please your grace, with all possible respect,

yours, &c. P. WARREN.
W. PEPPERELL.

ANECDOTE, *communicated by the Hon. Judge* SEWALL.

"AT the taking of Louisbourg in 1745 by the New-England troops, under the command of General Pepperell, the Rev. Samuel Moody of York, was Chaplain to the General and his particular regiment. After the surrender of the fortress, the General made a dinner, more especially for Commodore Warren and the officers of the navy, who co-operated in the capture. Mr. Moody, who was usually very lengthy in craving a blessing, was called upon by the General to perform this duty. Moody's friends were very anxious, lest he should disgust the guests, by a prolix performance; but his temper was so irritable, that none of the most intimate of them would venture to suggest to him, that brevity would be acceptable. They were very agreeably disappointed and highly gratified by his performing it in the following manner.

"Good Lord, we have so many things to thank thee for, that *time* will be infinitely too short to do it, we must therefore leave it for the work of *eternity*. Bless our food and fellowship upon this joyful occasion for the sake of Christ our Lord, Amen."

DR. CHAUNCY TO PEPPERELL.

DEAR BROTHER, *Boston, July 4th*, 1745.

I HEARTILY congratulate you upon the news we received yesterday (about break of day) of the reduction of Cape-Breton. The people of Boston, before sunrise, were as thick about the streets as on an election-day, and a pleasing joy visibly sat on the countenance of every one you met with.

As God has made you an instrument of so much service to your country, at the hazard of your life, and the expense of great labor and fatigue, your name is deservedly and universally spoken of with respect, and I doubt not will be handed down with honor to the latest posterity.

We had last night the finest illumination I ever beheld with my eyes, I believe there was not a house in the town, in no bye-lane or alley, but joy might be seen through its windows. The night also was made joyful by bonfires, fire works, and all other external tokens of rejoicing. But I hope we shall in a better manner still commemorate the goodness of God in this remarkable victory obtained against our enemies. I hear next Thursday is set apart for a day of general thanksgiving through the province; and I believe there is not a man in the country but will heartily join in thanksgivings to God for his appearance on our behalf. I have

I have no personal acquaintance with the brave Mr. Warren; but I sincerely love and honor him. Had his Majesty given us the choice of a sea-commander, on this occasion, we should have selected that gentleman from all the rest, and desired he might be sent. I hope this country will always have a grateful sense of the great service he has done us, and be ready at all times and in all suitable ways to express it. God Almighty bless and reward you both, direct and prosper you in what is still before you, and return you in safety to us. Please to make my compliments acceptable to him.

Your good wife and daughter are well, and much rejoiced. Father Flynt desires me to send his congratulations to you, and will do it himself the first opportunity.

I am, &c. CHARLES CHAUNCY.

DR. CHAUNCY TO PEPPERELL.

DEAR SIR, *Boston, July 27th*, 1745.

YOURS by Capt. Saunders gave me a great deal of pleasure, and it would give me much more to have a few hours conversation with you.

I do not know that I ever saw the town so universally joyful, and to so great a degree, as at the news of the reduction of Cape-Breton; nor did I ever see a day of thanksgiving more religiously observed than the 18th of this inst. which was set apart by Authority for this purpose. The sermon I preached upon the occasion is now printed, and I enclose one of them, begging your acceptance of it.

We hear Capt. Montague was sent home, soon after the surrender of Louisbourg with the happy news; but that no messenger is gone from the army. This has occasioned a pretty deal of talk; and it is feared (I cannot but think justly) that New-England will not, from a sea-officer, have its due share of the glory of this conquest. There will be no need of sending now, if a suitable person is not already gone; for Mr. *Bollan* is going upon this affair, and as employed by the government. He is a gentleman of capacity, and has his heart thoroughly set to do his utmost that New-England may lose none of the honor it has merited by this noble action.

It is commonly talked in town, that *the keys of Louisbourg were delivered, not to you, but to Commodore Warren*, and that he has acted too much as though the command of the place belonged to him. You will see the sense of both branches of our Legislature upon this head, in their address to the Governor to go to Cape-Breton. It is indeed *highly resented by every New-Englandman in Boston, that Mr. Warren should pretend to assume the government at Louisbourg*, and he has lost a great deal of credit by his conduct in this affair. And some things are said to your disadvantage, for not exerting yourself for the honor of New-England upon this occasion. How far you did exert yourself we do not indeed know; but your best friends wish you had insisted upon the preeminence due to you and the troops under your command, so as even to have given up the capitulation if it had not been conceded to. *If the High-Admiral of England had been there,*

he

he would not have had the least right to command any where but in his own ships. How far a certain Colonel *(Bradstreet)* may have had an hand in making mischief we know not—But some of your very good friends are of opinion, that affairs would have been managed full as well, if he had not been there, or less regard had been paid to him.

I believe the Governor will come down with a firm resolution to do all honour to you and the New-England troops; I doubt not his being well received by you; though if he should exert himself in giving you the full power and glory that belong to you, I do not know how the Commodore would look upon him. I hope under the Governor's influence, you will be installed in the sole command of Louisbourg; and unless this should be the effect of his visit, no news would be more welcome to me and your best friends, than that your resentments were so enkindled as to quit the place and come home.

I know you will overlook my freedom in writing after this manner. I have a most sincere regard to you, and this may have urged me to speak, it may be, more than was proper.

I hope it will not be long before things will be in a condition for your return to us. We all want exceedingly to see you, and rejoice with you, and have the story of the siege, and surrender of Louisbourg from you.

Your friends all desire to be remembered to you. My wife and family present their love and duty. And accept the same from,

Yours, &c. CHARLES CHAUNCY.

From HENRY FLYNT, *Esq. to* PEPPERELL.

HONORED SIR, *Boston, Aug.* 20, 1745.

I HAVE desired to write to you sooner, but commencement, and after it, a journey into the country, and illness since I came home, have hitherto prevented me. I now, though late, congratulate you and the gentlemen concerned with you, for the signal manifestations of the power and goodness of Divine Providence, in crowning the enterprize against Cape Breton with such glorious success; which as it astonished us here, so I think it will Europe; and particularly the Court of France; who must resent it to the last degree, and how they will revenge it, I do not know. I hear the history of this affair will be written; I hope it will be well done, I am sure it will make an entertaining narration of providences and events, as can not easily be matched. I am glad Divine Providence has honoured you as a principal instrument in this great affair, the rather because I think you engaged in it with a disinterested view to serve your King and country, and with a suitable submission to good Providence. How comfortable and happy is it to engage in great and important undertakings, when we find them seconded and over-ruled by the gracious and irresistible Providence of God! You need nothing more to add to the glory of your life, but a heart full of humble and permanent gratitude to Almighty God, who has improved you as a remarkable instrument to bring about this happy event so glorious to yourself, your King and country. Our joy was something abated in hearing of *misunderstanding*

understanding between yourself and the Commodore; but revived again when we were informed there was so little ground for those reports. I earnestly wish for your good agreement in every thing, that may concern the interest and service of your King and country; which will be the glorious crowning of this affair so far as you are concerned in it. You hear so often from home that I can send you little of what can be news to you. Your friends at Boston and Cambridge are well, and as you have had their prayers for you, so you have their thanks and congratulations. I desire your favour to my cousin Quincy, who I suppose is now at Cape-Breton. I am, &c. H. FLYNT.

P. S. Please to give my duty to his Excellency and Commodore Warren.

PEPPERELL *to* SHIRLEY.

May it please your Excellency,

HOW things may be represented to you or to any others in the management of the reducing those strong fortifications and city of Louisbourg, I cannot say, but am sure his Majesty's troops, raised by your Excellency, deserve a full share of the honor, as do all the land forces, and make no doubt but that you will duly represent things.

Never was a place so mauled with cannon and shells; and we killed from our advanced battery a considerable number of the enemy with our small arms, neither have I read in history, of any troops behaving with more courage, when I consider the difficulty we had in landing our cannon, provision, &c. by reason of the sea falling on shore in an open bay, the miserable swamps and hills in transporting the cannon to the several batteries we erected so near their fortifications, in doing which we had several of our men killed and wounded, with small arms, that when I look back, it is matter of surprise to me to think of the hardships and difficulties we have gone through in a cold, foggy country; the Almighty of a truth has been with us.

I hope your Excellency will not be unmindful to recommend us to his Majesty's favour. Am sensible my leaving my business as I have, cannot be less than ten thousand pounds damage to my estate, without made up to me some way. Brigadiers Waldo and Bright have behaved themselves worthy of their posts. Col. Bradstreet, who has behaved himself as a good officer, hopes you will think of him; and if his Majesty should continue regiments here, you will be pleased to recommend him. Mr. Benjamin Green, whom you was pleased to appoint Secretary in this expedition, it would be a pleasure to me if you would be pleased to mention him at home to be continued Secretary, if his Majesty should be pleased to make this place a government. Commodore Warren voluntarily offered to join with me in a letter home for that or any thing else, and has mentioned to him to send for his wife to come here with Madam Warren.

Commodore Warren did say publickly, that before the circular battery was reduced, he would not venture in here with three times the sea force he had with him, and through Divine assistance we tore that and this city almost in pieces. Am afraid if I should go now from hence

hence, it might give the troops great uneasiness, and might cause many of them to desert. Your Excellency's directions shall be strictly observed according to the best of my capacity.

May it please your Excellency, *July 4th*, 1745.

The foregoing letter is a copy of my last; I have sent by Captain Saunders one hogshead of the best claret I could procure here, of which beg your acceptance.

I can truly say that I have condescended, and will in every respect for the good of the publick interest; if I have done amiss, where your honour is concerned, which I can truly say is as dear to me as my life, I would as a child to a tender parent beg your forgiveness; I long and hope to see you, then shall say more.

Yours, &c. W. PEPPERELL.

P. S. If your Excellency should be pleased to think of recommending Mr. William Winslow as either commissary of the provisions, or store keeper to the garrison ———

Mr. Bastide no doubt would have done all in his power, had he come sooner, for the service of the expedition; but our batteries were erected and played on the enemy before he came, and the affair almost over.

Your Excellency did tell me, that this summer, you did design to bring Madam Shirley here. Nothing would give me more pleasure than waiting on you before my removal. I should be glad your own eyes may see this place, for I cannot make a just representation of the strength and formidableness of it.

From Agent BOLLAN *to Secretary* WILLARD, *stating the difficulties attending his solicitation for a reimbursement of the expience of the expedition to Cape-Breton.*

SIR, *Charles Street, St. James's Square, April 23d*, 1752.

I RECEIVED the favour of yours of the 24th of January, with the copy of a grant of £.1500 sterling, made me by the Great and General Court, for my service in soliciting the reimbursement of the charges the government were at in the reduction of Cape-Breton; which sum, I am persuaded, the Great and General Court will not think a sufficient recompense for that service, if they will be pleased to consider the importance of it, the difficulties that attended it, together with its success, and also the great length of time it continued, the losses I thereby suffered, and the hardships proceeding from it.

With respect to the importance of it, I beg leave to refer myself to the sense of the General Court, expressed in their petition to his Majesty to obtain that reimbursement, which concluded with "beseeching his Majesty to preserve his subjects of the Province from sinking into ruin by the expedition" and saying that "their very being depended on their being relieved as to the charge of it."

With respect to the difficulties attending this solicitation, they were too many to be all now enumerated; but I must beg leave to observe,

I. That, upon my arrival in England, the first newspaper I met with upon the road, contained an address to his Majesty from a seaport which trades to Boston, wherein they congratulated his Majesty on the success of *his navy* in taking Cape-Breton, without making the least

least mention of the land forces employed on that occasion. I need not, I believe, say that this gave me surprise, disgust, and concern. When I came to London, I there found the footsteps and effects of the arts used to have this conquest deemed a naval acquisition, as it was afterwards, in the most publick manner, declared to be, by a noble Lord then in the Ministry. I was sensible that this was laying the axe to the root of the credit justly due to the New-England forces, and consequently to the expectations of the Province, to have the charges of those forces reimbursed to them. At this time the war abroad, and the rebellion at home, were objects challenging so much attention, that it was difficult moving any thing with the Ministry, especially what was not altogether agreeable to them; however, after much consideration and perplexity of mind, I determined, as a proper foundation for farther proceeding, to attempt to establish the credit of the New-England forces, and for that end drew up a petition to the Secretary of State, praying that the account of their behaviour, taken on the spot by the Governor, at the desire of the General Court, and transmitted to the Secretary of State, might be published by Authority; after several months solicitation this was promised me; but I soon afterwards received such treatment as was, in effect, openly declaring that it was determined not to comply with that promise; apprehending the fatal consequence of failing in this point, I then pressed with greater earnestness, and, before I could prevail, was forced into a sharper contest than I should ever choose to be again concerned in.

II. The Lords of the committee of Council, to whom the Province petition was referred, in June 1746, unanimously declared their opinion, that satisfaction should be made the Province for their expenses in the expedition; but, notwithstanding a constant solicitation, I could not obtain a settlement to be made of the report to his Majesty of their Lordships' opinion, before November following, when it was made to stand thus: Their Lordships were of opinion that *some* satisfaction should be made the Province for their expenses, &c. I need not observe that this was reducing entire satisfaction to satisfaction in part, and, at the same time, making it altogether uncertain what that part should be. When the Clerk of the Council shewed me the report, by special leave of the Lord President, he said he was ordered to tell me, at the same time, that no alteration would be made in it. I wish the General Court would be pleased to consider in what situation their demand then was, and what recompense they would then have thought the getting over this difficulty only would deserve. With great difficulty I got the matter again moved by Lord President, at a meeting he had with the first Lord of the Treasury and several other the chief persons in the Ministry, and the result was, that they were of opinion the report stood well; and thus the danger was increased. However, I did not despond, but determined not to submit to this, without making every possible effort to avoid it, and accordingly proceeded to use all the proper means I could devise to shake this Ministerial determination, and at last declared, that after waiting so long, this was worse for the Province, than doing nothing at all would have been; that I would absolutely go to Parliament without it, if I could not get something better. (I need not observe what a great majority

in

in both Houses, at that time generally voted with the Ministry.) This struggle continued till the day appointed came for the report's being made to his Majesty in Council: That morning, after pressing in vain, for the report's being made to stand according to the declaration made by their Lordships in June, I urged for a delay, till better consideration could be had of the matter, but could not prevail: I then thought myself obliged to declare that I never would agree to what was proposed, let the consequence be what it would; and thus parted with the Clerk of the Council, who was going directly to attend his Majesty in Council, and went myself to the palace, utterly uncertain what would be done, and there at last it was agreed that the report should stand thus: That the Province should have *reasonable* satisfaction for their expenses, &c. and the report was accordingly then made to his Majesty in Council, and approved: This was on the 15th January; and I can truly say, that during this hard struggle, which lasted two months, I had such terrible apprehensions of the Province's danger, that I never had any ease of mind, by day or night.

III. The examination of the accounts of expenses of the expedition, before the Lords of trade and Secretary at war, was a work of time, labour, and difficulty. I had there numerous objections to answer, the reasonableness of many articles to ascertain, the sterling value of the bills of credit to settle, many matters to explain, and the justice of the whole account, and the sufficiency of its proof, to establish.

IV. When the reports of the Lords of trade, and the Secretary at war, came before the Lords of the Council, a new difficulty arose, because the Lords of trade and Secretary at war had not adjusted and liquidated the account, (as I had urged and entreated them to do) but instead thereof, stated all the evidence at large; whereupon the Lords of the Council referred the whole to the Lords of the treasury, who appointed their Secretary, and one of their Clerks, to examine the accounts; they passed upon the same accordingly; their examination was less tedious than the former, yet some new difficulties arose there, the chief of which was to ascertain, to their satisfaction, the value of the bills of credit expended in the expedition, at the making of it, and to assign reasons for their fall in value, so that the Province should be entitled to the former value, and not be paid off according to the fallen value, as was proposed; they were valued in the account by me delivered into the Lords of trade and Secretary at war, according to the valuation made some time before the expedition, by a committee of the General Court; but the Secretary and Clerk of the treasury required such further evidence of the value, as was not easy to be obtained: At last this difficulty was got over. I need not observe this was a tender point to handle, and what made it more so was, I had by Mr. Pelham's direction, given him some time before, an estimate of the amount of the expenses of the expedition, wherein the bills were valued at the rate of 600*l.* old tenor bills for 100*l.* sterling; this was before I had got the valuation of the bills made by the General Court's committee, who had valued the bills at the rate of 570*l.* old tenor for 100*l.* sterling, this made a difference of about 8500*l.* sterling in favour of the Province, which they finally received; and with regard to our being paid off according to the fallen value of the bills, I conducted

ducted that point in the best manner that I possibly could, and, as I understood, settled with these gentlemen the reasonableness of payment being made, according to the value of bills at the commencement of the expedition.

V. When the matter came to be considered by the Lords of the treasury themselves, new difficulties arose; the first Lord, on my appearing before the board, told me, that as the Province undertook the expedition *without orders*, whatever was paid us must be considered as *bounty*. I immediately perceived this was putting the whole affair upon a most dangerous foot; for if what we received was to be considered as a mere bounty, in that case the sum given, and all the circumstances of the gift, must depend entirely upon the pleasure of the donors, and I should then have nothing to do, but to beg heartily, and receive thankfully, whatever I could get for my principals, little, more, or less. Upon this I observed to their Lordships, that if we had waited for orders, the expedition could not have been made with success; that soon after our beginning it, an account thereof was dispatched to the Secretary of State; and that his Majesty's approving the expedition, and receiving the fruit of it, was, in my humble opinion, equal to any antecedent orders that could have been given for it. Their Lordships also then questioned whether we ought to be paid more than the fallen value of the bills of credit emitted for the expedition; I used my best endeavours to shew the unreasonableness of making payment at that rate, and to convince them that the Province ought to be paid the full value of the bills at the time of their emission; their Lordships at last declared that the matter must be left to Parliament; though I remember that one of the persons, to whom the accounts had been referred by their Lordships, told me, at coming out of the room, that I had or should carry my point. I know not whether it may be amiss to observe, that for some time before I was ordered to attend their Lordships I had been very dangerously ill, and although grown considerably better, I was so weak at the time of my attendance, I with difficulty walked up the treasury stairs, and certainly run a great risque in going out; but as the reimbursement had then been delayed between two and three years from my arrival, I was extremely loth to be the least occasion of delay myself, apprehending that, in that case, the past, as well as future delays, might possibly, by some, be imputed to me.

VI. When the matter came before Parliament, the great question was, whether the Province ought to receive 183,649*l.* 2*s.* 7½*d.* sterling, the value of the bills of credit at making the expedition, or only 104,680*l.* sterling, the value to which the bills were fallen. The preceding treatment of the Ministry, with the nature and importance of this question, drove me to the necessity of printing the case of the Province at large, to be perused by all the members, a thing not usual in the case of claims on the treasury, as a noble Lord, who is a member of the lower House, told me, seeming not to be pleased with it: However this, with such other conduct as I thought the occasion required, was followed by an agreement of the Ministry that the Province was *justly* entitled to a reimbursement of their expenses in the expedition, and that we should receive the larger sum, viz. 183,649*l.* 2*s.*7½*d.*

2*s.* 7½*d.* I then thought all matters well settled; but, afterwards, on the day appointed for passing on this affair in the House of Commons, a new difficulty arose, viz. it was proposed that, instead of payment of the entire sum in a short time, such portions thereof should be annually paid as should be equal in value to the respective sums in bills of credit, by the laws of the Province appointed to be annually drawn into the province treasury. I need not observe what great delays and difficulties would have attended this method of payment. This point was likely to come on so quick, that I was forced instantly to draw up, in the lobby of the House of Commons, the substance of what I had to offer against this method of payment. The affair afterwards went off to another day, and the ministry became more easy as to the time of payment, though they would not absolutely agree that it should be as I desired, but said they would leave it to the sense of the House. It then became necessary for me, by applications, to incline as many members as I could to have a favourable sense of the affair; these applications had good effect; and at last, you are sensible, Sir, it was resolved by the House, that it was just and reasonable that the expenses of the expedition should be reimbursed to the several Provinces and Colonies, and that a sum not exceeding 183,549*l.* 2*s.* 7½*d.* was granted to his Majesty to reimburse our Province their expenses therein, and that an act passed, that session, providing that out of certain aids or supplies the sum granted should be issued for reimbursing the same to them.

VII. During the whole of this contest there was actually lying in the office of one of the Secretaries of States a petition from the Great and General Court to his Majesty, made on the 4th of March, 1744, wherein they set forth the motives which induced them to make the Expedition, and said that "so vast a charge attended so great an affair, and so heavy a debt must necessarily be incurred, that a greater burden would lie on the inhabitants of the Province, than any of his Majesty's subjects in America ever felt, or could subsist under: Wherefore they made their most humble application for his Majesty's gracious favour and compassion to them, by relieving them from *such part* of this distressing, if not insupportable burden, as to his royal wisdom should seem meet."

VIII. When the votes of the House of Commons were obtained, and the act of Parliament passed, I apprehended that the payment of the sum granted was effectually secured; and would certainly in a little time, be made without any new difficulty; but I afterwards met with such dilatory and unsatisfactory answers to all verbal applications, as obliged me to present a memorial to the Lords of the treasury, setting forth particularly the distressed state of the Province, and the pressing necessities which required the payment of this money for their relief. Three months after this their Lordships were pleased to determine and declare, that upon the persons who should respectively receive the money granted to the several colonies giving security in his Majesty's Exchequer, for their duly applying and accounting for the same, their Lordships would issue one third of the money voted, immediately, and direct notice to be given of the same to the Governors of the several Provinces and Colonies; and, upon their signifying

to my Lords their approbation of the manner of issuing the same, or proposing any other method, to be approved by their Lordships, they would issue the remainder. Receiving the Province's money, subject to account for it in the Court of Exchequer, which is a Court of record for the King's affairs, and to find security for accounting there, (which by the way, would have been wholly impracticable) appeared to me to be laying the payment under so many and great difficulties, that no man could certainly foretel the number, nature, or end of them; wherefore, upon this method of payment being proposed, I desired time to consider of it; a week was granted; and in that time I prepared a memorial to their Lordships, insisting upon the Province's interest and property in the money by the statute directed to be issued, without any limitation or condition, precedent or subsequent; and that the Province had as good right to the sum granted, as any other creditor of the Kingdom; body politick, or natural, had to any debt due to them. On reading this memorial, their Lordships were pleased by their order made thereon, to acknowledge the money voted by Parliament to be due, and that they were ready to pay it to the Province, and to make the payment, thereafter, depend on the sufficiency of the authority from the Province to receive it; and thus the proposal for putting the Province's money, or the receivers of it, into the power of the Court of Exchequer came to an end, and the Province's right to receive the money granted, free from all clogs and incumbrances, was established.

Having mentioned the importance of the service, and given a detail of the chief difficulties that attended it, and therein shewn the several points of success of my conduct, and at the same time, I should think, shewn, in a great measure, (for it can never be fully known to any but myself) what a hard service it was to negociate this important affair, with so great advantage to the Province; and the time spent upon it being well known; I beg leave, Sir, to observe, in the first place, that in my humble opinion, the great length of time considered, with the notoriety of my circumstances at the time of entering upon this service, are sufficient to shew, that, besides maintaining myself and family, I might have gotten by my common business a sum considerably larger than what the General Court have been pleased to grant me for this great service: Whereas all the expenses of my family, during the service, are to be deducted out of the sum granted; so that there will be left for me clear, not above 1000*l.* sterling, if so much. It is, I think, notorious, that I was concerned in all the best business of my profession in the Province, and in a great deal of profitable business in some of the neighbouring Governments: that I concluded it with general satisfaction, and as much ease as was consistent with the quantity of it; that I followed it with constant application, and was always well paid for it; and the gains I hereby made were certainly such, that the same gains continued, during the time of this solicitation, (and there is not, I apprehend, the least reason to imagine they would have been diminished) would have cleared me twice as much as I shall clear by this grant. I must also observe, that on the 19th of June, preceding my engaging in this service, I was, by commission, appointed collector of the customs at Salem and Marblehead, &c. The

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discharge of the trust reposed in me by the Province rendered it impracticable for me to take the charge and care of the office of collector upon me, whereby I lost the profits of that office, which, I suppose, after a handsome allowance to a deputy, would have amounted, at least, to 100*l.* sterling per annum, and I may add, that the Province service laid me under difficulties touching that office, which are not yet removed, and possibly never may be; nor indeed am I solicitous about any thing else, at present, but making such settlement with the Great and General Court as shall be just and equitable, and to their entire satisfaction, and conducting the other affairs, committed to my trust, in the best manner. I must also, in justice to myself, take notice, that what estate I have in the Province suffered various ways by my long absence, not by the want of probity in the person whom I entrusted with it, but by the want of that disposal which every man can best make of his own affairs: And indeed I had no notion that I could have suffered so much as I did, till settling my affairs at coming away the second time convinced me of it. It is also necessary for me to add, that the clear gains I should have made by my business I could have improved, and from time to time increased the sum gotten: Whereas, on the other hand, besides the expense of my family, I had advanced for the necessary service of the Province about 1500*l.* sterling, of my own and borrowed money (some of which was borrowed with less ease than I could have wished) before I received any from the Province; and during three years of this solicitation, or thereabouts, taking one time with another, I was in advance for the Province 1000*l.* sterling at least, according to the calculation I can now make: So that if it be considered that it is almost seven years since this solicitation commenced, and how long it continued; that I have never received a penny for it, or towards supporting my family during the continuance of it; what gains I could have made by my business, and what increase of those gains, and of the money advanced for the Province service, only by common interest, together with the other losses I have suffered by the service; I think, Sir, it must be apparent that the sum granted me falls very far short of an equivalent to the gains I should have made, in case I had not been employed in this service. But, Sir, from what has been said I would by no means be understood to suppose that any one member of the General Court can imagine I am in justice entitled to nothing more, for this extraordinary service, than such a sum as I should have gained otherways; for, in my humble opinion, there is not the least foundation in reason for such an opinion; and that justice may take place on this occasion, I humbly apprehend, Sir, it is necessary to be considered, that the knowledge of the rights of men, and the means to attain them, is my bread, and the only means I have to make a provision for myself and family; that I always was, and with reason, I think, expected to be paid for every service I performed, in proportion to the importance and difficulty of it; that, with respect to this service, I was upon the foot of being paid what I reasonably deserved for it; that there is a great and manifest difference between the light transitory cares of my common business, and the continual anxieties attending the care of a business of this important and difficult nature; a very

a very great difference between contending with my equals, and contending with some of the most powerful ministers, in such a manner as to overcome their determinations, remove all their difficulties, and prevail for the Province in every material point; that there is a wide difference between living at ease in my own family, among my friends, and being confined, year after year, to this town, to the prejudice of my health, and kept in a continual state of attendance and dependence on the motions and pleasures of the great, subjected to all those vexations which the arts of this place have multiplied beyond measure, in order to render uneasy the situation of those who have disagreeable applications to make; without a proper readiness to submit to the sense of their superiors, whatever it shall happen to be; that during this tedious solicitation, I stood alone, without any kind of support or assistance, obliged to depend on my own judgment in the most arduous circumstances, under a necessity sometimes, of taking sudden measures with an utter uncertainty of their operation, and with an anxious solicitude at all times for the event, knowing that the welfare of so many persons depended thereon, and apprehensive that, notwithstanding all my toils and endeavours, a failure of success, however it came about, would be imputed by some to defects in my conduct, though I should be so happy as to take no improper step in such a long and difficult transaction; but I confess, without the uneasiness of ever thinking that so great success in my negociation for the Province could afterwards be attended with any difficulty to myself.

When these things, without adding others, come to be fully considered, in my poor opinion it will plainly appear, Sir, that paying me for this great service abroad only such a sum as I could have gained at home, would be treating as equal, things in their nature very unequal, and consequently would not be such a just and equitable proceeding as the Great and General Court certainly intend: and yet how far the clear sum to be received by this grant falls short of what I should, in the time of this service, have otherwise gained, has been already observed.

You are sensible, Sir, I was never heard by the Great and General Court upon the point of a reasonable recompense for this solicitation; and that the Province service now renders that, and all solicitations for myself, impossible; so that all my endeavours on this head are confined within the limits of this letter; yet, nevertheless, I submit the whole matter to the Great and General Court, with a perfect confidence in their justice, and a full assurance that they will grant me such a further sum, in addition to the sum already granted, as shall make up, in the whole, a sufficient and just recompense for that faithful, laborious, important, and successful service; humbly praying that they will be pleased, at their first leisure, to pass upon it; so that my mind may be set at ease upon this subject, and wholly employed in the care of the Province affairs, and my own health, both which are, at present, in such a state as require a very particular attention.

I am with the greatest respect for the Great and General Court,

Yours, &c. W. BOLLAN.

A TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE DUTCH COLONY OF SURRINAM. BY GEORGE HENRY APTHORP, IN A LETTER TO HIS FATHER JAMES APTHORP, ESQ. OF BRAINTREE.

As you desire me to give you some particulars concerning the country in which I live; and as I am now perfectly at leisure, I shall do it in as satisfactory a manner as I am able, hoping only that I shall not by being too lengthy, be tiresome to you.

PARAMARIBO lies in 6 deg: North Latitude and about 55 deg: Longitude west from London, about 4 Leagues from the sea; on the river Surrinam, on the continent of South America, at a curve of the river which gives its greatest breadth, and free current of air. This is by far the finest river I have ever seen, pretty uniformly near three quarters of an English mile broad, on each side thickly skirted to the water's edge with mangrove trees, which like all other herbage here never lose their agreeable verdure. In some places are seen openings, where the wood has been cleared to make room either for the cane or coffee grounds, or for the buildings of the different plantations. The depth of water in this river is like that of the whole of this coast, not great, but sufficient to admit the largest vessels to this town; at which arrive annually 50 or 60 Dutch vessels from 300 to 900 tons burthen, and about the same number of small North American vessels, who sell their provisions, &c. and take in return the molasses of the country, amounting to about 7 thousand hhds. annually.

Ascending this river, about 70 miles from the sea, one meets with a village consisting of about 40 or 50 houses, inhabited by Jews, which, (with this town) are the only ones in the Colony: At a considerable distance from thence the navigation of the river (which still continues a very fine one) is interrupted by falls, but the source has, I fancy, never been explored by any European.

Besides this river are two other capital ones falling into it near its mouth, and many smaller.

This town contains about 10,000 souls, viz. 2000 whites, one half of whom are Jews, and 8,000 slaves. The houses are, for the greatest part, of wood, covered with shingles, tolerably large and airy. Some of the principal ones having glass windows, but in general wooden shutters; the streets are straight and spacious, planted on each side with a row of orange or tamarind trees, and being formed upon a ridge of shells, are in all weathers dry, without being dusty, but in the dry season, cast so strong a reflection from the sun as to be unpleasant and hurtful to the eyes. Through the whole country runs this ridge of shells, nearly parallel to the coast, but 3 or 4 leagues distant from it, of a considerable breadth, and from 4 to 8 feet deep, composed of shells exactly of the same nature as those which form the present coast. From this and from other circumstances, there is great reason to believe that the land on which we live is all *new land*, rescued from the sea, either by some revolution in nature, or other unknown cause.

On each side of the rivers and creeks, are situated the Plantations, containing from 500 to 2000 acres each, in number about 550 in the whole colony, producing at present annually about 16,000 hhds. of Sugar, 12,000,000 lb. Coffee, 700,000 lb. Cocoa, 850,000 lb. Cotton: All which articles (Cotton excepted) have fallen off within 15 years, at least one third, owing to bad management, both here and in Holland, and to other causes. Of the proprietors of these plantations, not above 80 re-

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side here; and it is by the administration of those belonging to the absentees, that people in this country expect to attain to fortune, and this is also when once got into, a sure road to it, for exclusive of the single article of 10 per cent. on the whole amount of the produce, there are many other advantages attending these administrations. On the plantations, and at the Jews' town are about 1200 whites and 35,000 slaves, making with those in the town 3,200 whites and 43,000 slaves in the whole Colony. The buildings on the plantations are many of them very costly, and the dwelling houses good, with piazzas before and behind, which render them very cool and convenient. The sugar plantations have many of them water mills, which being much more profitable than others, and the situation of the colony admitting of them, will probably become general. Of the rest some are worked by mules, others by cattle, but from the lowness of the country none by the wind. The estates are for the greatest part mortgaged for as much or more than they are worth, which greatly discourages any improvements which might otherwise be made. Was it not for the unfortunate situation of the colony, in this and in other respects, it is certainly capable of being brought to a great height. Dyes, Gums, Oils, Plants, for medical purposes, &c. might and undoubtedly will at some future period, be found in abundance. Rum might be distilled here; Indigo, Ginger, Rice, Tobacco, have been, and may be farther cultivated; and many other articles of which we are still ignorant. In the woods are found many kinds of good and durable timber, and some woods for ornamental purposes, particularly a kind of Mahogany called *Copie*. The soil is perhaps as rich and luxuriant as any in the world; it is almost uniformly a rich, fat, clayey earth, lying in some places a little above the level of the rivers at high water (which rises about 8 feet) and in most places considerably below it. Whenever from a continued course of cultivation for many years, a piece of land becomes impoverished (for manure is not known here) it is laid under water for a certain number of years, and thereby regains its fertility and in the mean time a new piece of wood land is cleared. This country has never experienced those dreadful scourges of the West-Indies, hurricanes; droughts from the lowness of the land, it has not to fear; nor has the produce ever been destroyed by insects or by the blast. In short this colony by proper management, might become equal to Jamaica or any other. Land is not wanting; it is finely intersected by noble rivers, and abundant creeks; the soil is of the best kind, it is well situated; and the climate is not very unhealthy, and is growing every day better, and will continue so to do, the more the country is cleared of its woods, and cultivated.

The climate is, in the months of September, October and November, certainly very unhealthy, and particularly so to persons lately from Europe, full of blood and youth, and inclinable to putrefaction, and of such people we see (in those months) a dreadful havock; otherwise the climate is by no means *very* unhealthy.

The disorders of this country seem to be principally fevers of all kinds, from a common ague to the most shocking putrefactions, and of this last, the greatest number of people, particularly young ones, drop off. Also the dry belly ache, which if it spare the sufferer's life, leaves him for the remainder of it, or for a considerable time, lame hand and foot. The dropsy is common among the soldiers and poor people, from their salt meat and great quantity of bad water; and other common diseases; among the negroes are many others. Ascend-

Ascending this river about 100 miles, we meet with quite a different soil, a hilly country and a pure, light, cool air, in which a fire would sometimes be not disagreeable. Here below the air is damp and inclinable to putrefaction, always warm, though never intolerably so, the general range of the thermometer being 75 and 90 degrees throughout the year. In this and the two last months, which may be considered as the Surrinam summer, it has always been about 85 at noon: this would indeed be almost intolerable, were it not tempered by a never failing breeze from the north-east, rising about 9 o'clock, and continuing through the day. As it is, I cannot say I am incommoded by the heat, and the days and nights throughout the year being of equal length within half an hour, the air can never become heated to so great a degree as in a latitude more distant from the equator, when they have long days and short nights.

The seasons were formerly divided regularly into rainy and dry; but of late years so much dependence cannot be placed upon them, owing probably to the country being cleared of its woods, and an uninterrupted passage being opened to the air and vapours.

As to living, I cannot say it is here very good; we have however almost all European tame animals. Our butchers' meat is small and not very good, and costs from 9*d.* to 1*s.* per lb. Poultry is in great abundance. Of European vegetables some flourish here, others do not; there are some few vegetables natural to this country, which are pretty good. The great abundance and goodness of Surrinam fruits (which I am told are hardly equalled by those of any other part of the West Indies) fully make up the entire want of all European ones, of which I believe not one succeeds here. We have every production of the West Indies in its highest perfection, and that greatest of blessings for these countries, the *Plaintain*, grows no where so well.

The water of the rivers is brackish and unfit for drinking; the rain water on the contrary is so pleasant as to exceed almost any other I ever drank: It is caught in cisterns placed under ground, with which few houses are unprovided, and set before drinking, in large earthen pots to settle and evaporate, with which it becomes beautifully clear, well tasted and wholesome; these cisterns are so large and numerous that water is seldom a scarcity, except in long droughts, when a bottle of wine has been given for a bottle of water. The rivers abound with fish, some of which are good; at certain seasons of the year we have plenty of Turtle. In the woods are Deer, Hares, and Rabbits, a kind of Buffaloe and two species of wild Hogs, one of which (the Peccary) is remarkable for having its navel on the back.

The woods are infested with several species of Tigers, but I fancy with no other ravenous or dangerous animals. The rivers are rendered dangerous by Alligaters from 4 to 7 feet long; and a man was a short time since crushed between the jaws of a fish, but it is not known what fish it was. Scorpions and Tarantulas are found here of a large size and great venom, and other insects without number, some of them very dangerous and troublesome. The Torporific Eel also, the touch of which, by means of the bare hand or any conductor, has the effect of a strong electrical shock. I had almost forgot to mention the Serpents, some of which are venomous, and others as I have heard from many creditable persons are upwards of fifty feet long. I myself have seen

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the skin of one of half that length. In the woods are monkeys, also the sloth, and parrots in all their varieties; also some birds of beautiful plumage, among others the flamingo, but few or no singing birds.

It appears to me from every thing I can see here, that the English scheme concerning the slave trade, might easily be put in practice; they were for limiting the importation of slaves by degrees, in such a manner, as at last entirely to put an end to it. If that were done, every planter would do as some few only do at present—they would treat their slaves at least with some little appearance of humanity, and by that means raise as great a number of creoles on their estates as were required, and of a quality in every respect far superior to the savages imported from Africa. On the subject of the general treatment of slaves I shall say little, it being a disagreeable one, but I consider them as the most unfortunate of all human beings, not so much on account of any ill treatment from their masters (whose *interest* it is to treat them well, *humanity* being a word unknown in Surrinam) but from the cruelty of barbarous managers, who being for the greatest part old soldiers or others of low extraction, are people, who to great ignorance add a total carelessness with respect to the property or interest of their employers, and as long as they can make annually their stated quantity of produce, care not by what means; thence comes and not from the owner, the cruel treatment and overwork of the unhappy negroes; and a slave has no law to guard him from injustice.

The river Surrinam is guarded by a fort and two redoubts at the entrance, and a fort at this town, but none of them of any strength, so that one or two frigates would be sufficient to make themselves masters of the whole colony; and never was there a people who more ardently wished for a change of government than the inhabitants of this colony do at this time. The many grievances they labour under, and the immense burthen of taxes which almost threaten the ruin of the colony, make them in some measure excusable in their general desire to change the Dutch for a British or French government. The colony does not stand immediately under the States General, but under a company in Holland, called the Directors of Surrinam, a company first formed I believe by the States General, but now supplying its own vacancies: by them are appointed the Governor and all the principal officers both civil and military. The interior government consists of a Governor and a supreme and inferior council, the members of which latter are chosen by the Governor from a double nomination of the principal inhabitants, and those of the former in the same manner. By these powers, and by a magistrate presiding over all criminal affairs, justice is done, and laws are enacted, necessary for the interior government of the colony; those of a more general and publick nature are enacted by the Directors, and require no approbation here by the Court.

The colony is guarded farther by about 1600 regular troops paid by the Directors. These troops together with a corps of about 250 free negroes paid by the court here, and another small corps of chasseurs, and so many slaves as the court thinks fit to order from the planters from time to time, are dispersed at posts placed at proper distances on a *Cordon*, surrounding the colony on the land side, in order, as far as possible to defend the distant plantations and the colony in general, from the attacks of several dangerous bands of runaway slaves, which from very small beginnings have, from the natural prolificacy of the negro

gro race, and the continual addition of fresh fugitives, arrived at such an height as to have cost the country very great sums of money and much loss of men, without its being able to do these negroes any effectual injury.

The whole of this coast from the river Oronoque to the Marowyne is claimed by the Dutch; upon it are situated their colonies of Essequebo, Demmarara, Berbice, and Surrinam; the latter beginning with the river Saramacha and ending with the Marowyne, including a length of coast of about 120 English miles; the whole range of this coast from the Oronoque to the Marowyne is about . Between Cayenne and the river of Amazons is no settlement. The colony of Cayenne belongs to the French.

The country all around us is thinly peopled with the native Indians, a harmless, friendly set of beings, but not over-charged with understanding. They are in general short of stature, but remarkably well made, of a light copper color, straight black hair, without beards, high cheek bones, and broad shoulders. In their ears, noses, and hair, the women wear ornaments of silver, &c. Both men and women go naked. One nation or tribe of them tye the lower part of the leg of the female children, when young, with a cord bound very tight for the breadth of 6 inches about the ancle, which cord is never afterwards taken off but to put on a new one; by this means the flesh which should otherwise grow on that part of the leg increases the calf to a great size and leaves the bone below nearly bare. This, though it must render them very weak, is reckoned a great beauty by them. I cannot conceive what should be the origin of so remarkable a custom: it resembles a little that of the Chinese with respect to the feet of their women. The language of these Indians appears to be very soft. They are mortal enemies to every kind of labour; but manufacture nevertheless, a few articles, such as very fine cotton hammocks, earthen water pots, baskets, a red or yellow dye called Roùcaù, and some other trifles, all which they bring to town and exchange for such articles as they stand in need of.

They paint themselves red, and some are curiously figured with black. Their food consists chiefly of fish, and crabs, and cassava, of which they plant great quantities, and this is almost the only produce they attend to. They cannot be said to be absolutely wandering tribes, but their huts being merely a few cross sticks covered with branches, so as to defend them from the rain and sun, they frequently quit their habitations if they see occasion, and establish themselves elsewhere. They do not shun the whites, and have been serviceable against the run-away negroes.

This colony was first possessed by the French as early as the year 1630 or 40, and was abandoned by them on account of its unhealthy climate. In the year 1650 it was taken up by some Englishmen, and in 1662 a charter was granted by Charles 2d. About this time it was considerably augmented by the settlement of a number of Jews who had been driven out of Cayenne and the Brasils, whose descendants (with others, Jews) compose at present one half of the white inhabitants of this colony, and are allowed great privileges. In 1667 it was taken by the Dutch, and the English having got possession about the same time of the then Dutch colony of New-York, each party retained its conquest; the English planters most of them retired to Jamaica leaving their slaves behind them, whose language is still English, but so corrupted as not to be understood at first by an Englishman. I don't know what farther I shall

I shall add, than that people live here as the Dutch do every where, pretty well, and with great regularity and sobriety, and without much excess in any way. We rise at 6, and dine at 2 o'clock; at 11 o'clock at night scarce any person is to be seen in the streets, and few houses have lights in them at that hour. As for amusements we are badly off; there are however two play houses, one of Jews and one of Christians, in which the inhabitants of this town are performers; we have also a concert and now and then a private ball. Society is bad here on account of the men being entirely drawn off from the company of white women, by the coloured ones. We have two respectable clubs or societies, in which people who have not sixpence above their daily expenditure, play for larger sums than they perhaps ever saw in their own country. We are well supplied here from Holland with every article of European produce or manufacture, but pay from 30 to 100 per cent. above prime cost.

There are some very rich people here, but the greatest part (and among them some who make the greatest show) are poor, and live no one knows how. Our money consist of stamped cards, signed by two members of the Court, from 1*s.* to any value, and also Danish silver coin of six pence and three pence value, other silver money bears a premium of 10 or 15 per cent. but never remains long in the colony: bills on Holland are worth about 6 per cent.

I don't know how I am now to excuse myself for being too tedious, except by bringing this long story to an end, begging you to pardon me if I have told you some things which you were before acquainted with, and others which are uninteresting to you. *November*, 1790.

The following letter was written by Mr. Comptroller Weare, who was afterwards Consul at Madeira, where he died, about the year 1769. *——It was never published before, but communicated in manuscript, to the Society by a worthy friend, to whom they feel themselves indebted for more than one instance of his attention and politeness.*

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE EARL OF———

MY LORD,

WAS I as conscious of other abilities as I am of the rectitude of my intentions, I should offer the following observations on the British colonies in America with the same respect and duty, but with less diffidence, to your Lordship's perusal; to which nevertheless, I am encouraged by the experience of a former condescension upon a similar occasion.

The natives of America, my Lord, are the only part of mankind who retain to this day, all those original rights which each individual held independently in the state of nature; and though exposed to numberless evils, and deprived of as many comforts; yet is it still a question, whether others have not paid the full price of whatever they have acquired beyond the simple acquisitions of more savage life; for what advantage may not be over balanced by the loss of liberty? or what can compensate for the abjectness of that miserable state into which, with too few exceptions, the remaining three fourths of our species are by the most execrable of all treasons degraded? But as Great Britain, through the superior excellence of a constitution, favoured by infinite natural advantages, has alone been able, amidst this general a-

abuse

base of all the rights of mankind, not only to maintain the dignity of human nature, by reconciling, agreeably to the primary intentions of all government, liberty with obedience; but has also actually been the first that ever derived power from its true source; national labour acquiring property under the sanctions of equitable laws; it were to be wished, for the honour of our species, that her empire, and government, might be perpetual.

If to contemplate principles which seem to lead to this end, with pleasure more than ordinary, be enthusiasm, the writer of these observations must acknowledge himself an enthusiast; but should any degree of deception be necessarily implied in the same idea, where that deception begins, and how far it misleads him, cannot possibly escape your Lordship's discernment, whose part in the administration, by a right equal, in the opinions of a free and grateful people, to that of birth, sufficiently manifest the propriety of this address.

As far however as regards the actual state of the British plantations, I have not dared to approach your Lordship with gleanings from the vague conversations of this town, upon the authority of pamphleteers or news writers, the groundless reports of cursory travellers, *or more criminal misinformations of interested men*, whose bold impositions upon an over credulous public I have long observed with indignation. My great concern is, that after many years' experience, through several provinces in various characters, I should still find myself incapable of furnishing that exact and minute detail of things, which the importance of the subject merits, and which your Lordship's distinguished attention, to whatever relates to the British Colonies, gives so much reason to believe would be acceptable. But observing how difficult an affair the coming at truth is, at the distance too of a thousand leagues, and that no circumstance conducive to it, though in ever so remote a degree, could be immaterial, I presumed it pardonable, even in me to attempt giving some further insight into a country and people, who are now become of such importance to the British empire. But conceiving that upon this occasion it would best express that truth at which alone I aim, to report without reserve things as they really stand in my own mind, whatever mistakes I may fall into ought not to be ascribed to prejudice, partiality, or undue bias, from any private views of interest or gain; so far at least as it was in my power to divest myself of every such influence; an affair, after all, not very difficult to one who, on many considerations, can have no possible concern in any measures the government may think to pursue in regard to America, where he has few connexions and no interest, and who at an advanced time of life, spent in the pursuits neither of ambition or gain, would think the remainder well laid out in adding a single day to the independency of Great Britain.

Observations on the British Colonies on the continent of America.

THE acquisition and increase of power have ever been a principal concern of kingdoms and commonwealths, who, nevertheless, till of late seem to have equally mistaken its true principle. The profession of arms, and the accumulation of treasures, the means of violence one, the other of corruption, have passed as such in their turn. When, therefore,

therefore, upon the discovery of the new world, Spain laid her hands upon Peru and Mexico, it was little doubted, but that all Europe must submit to so formidable a conjunction of both those principles. Time however has proved that England, by planting her Colonies there with a view to trade, and upon the principles of *national labour*, has advanced in wealth, reputation, and power, whilst the proprietor of all the gold and silver of America, as well as others, who for ages have been professing war as a trade, are obliged to content themselves with a very moderate proportion of each.

A galleon, navigated by perhaps fifty men, imports into Cadiz half a million in specie. A hundred ships and a thousand seamen are employed in distributing through the several ports of Great Britain, raw materials of half that value from her American Colonies: laziness and pride the usual attendants on wealth, acquired without labour, are the effects of Spanish importations; of the British returns, further employment for millions. From the constitution of human nature, as well as from the general arrangement and disposition of the planet, given us to inhabit; it is obvious that labour is the condition of humanity. Animals moved only by instinct, and apparently destined to no other end than to eat, propagate and die, attain, through the mere force of original mechanism, their respective growth: and incapable of further improvements, are exempt from unnecessary toil or care; for nature takes upon herself to provide for their subsistence. But man with a capacity that entitles him to the sovereignty of a world, leads the life of a brute, till the several faculties and powers of his body and mind are awakened and called forth by discipline and exercise: upon all occasions, therefore, is he referred to his own labour and contrivance, and exposed to wants, that may continually remind him of the necessity of self exertion. Indigent, naked, unarmed; appetites numerous and craving; the supplies few and remote; the world itself is to him a savage and deformed wilderness till subdued and arranged by his industry; no region is so fruitful as to yield spontaneously the necessaries of life; nor is there any so barren as to refuse, upon proper culture, even superfluities to spare, in exchange for different growths of other climates; and indeed both the form and division of this terraqueous globe, so apparently calculated for a general correspondence and mutual interchange of its various productions, proclaim the whole to have been intended one universal *common*, where all nations however dispersed, may claim a right; but which those alone enjoy, who evincing by labour, industry, and contrivance the superior powers of human nature, assert and maintain their proper rank in the creation.

It was with this view that political combinations were formed. Men did not submit themselves to government on account merely of defence. The greatest possible improvement of their condition was very reasonably proposed in a state where the several talents, so variously bestowed on individuals, might be brought to unite, and to co-operate under a wise direction; but in order to draw those talents forth, the people must necessarily be engaged in suitable employments, and a spirit of industry diffused through the several orders of the commonwealth.

Now in no age nor country has this been ever effected but by *commerce*, which, as obscure as science in its origin, first entered our hemisphere from Egypt, Greece, and Africa; thence along the islands and coasts

coasts of the Mediterranean sea, and eastern shores of the Atlantic; dispersing that darkness, which involved human nature, and quickening the intellectual world in its course, as the sun does the material, till savage men began to comprehend the idea of a common interest, and laying by their ferocity, consented to associate upon that friendly principle; and thence arose the famous distinction which, afterwards under the terms Grecian and Barbarian, divided the civilized, that is the commercial world of that day from the other unenlightened parts of mankind. Upon the dissolution of the Roman empire, when Europe had almost relapsed into her pristine barbarism, whoever shall attend commerce into her retreat at the bottom of the Adriatic gulph, and through her several dispersions and removals afterwards, may see in her advance or retreat, the rise and decay of liberty, of arts and of science, and perhaps at this day, on a strict review of the several nations throughout the world, the state of their commerce would best indicate the degree of their improvement from savages, stupidly ranging uncultivated deserts in quest of a miserable and precarious subsistence, to the full display of reason, and of all the other powers which distinguish human nature, in *this great capital of the commercial world*; for the inhabitants on the banks of the Thames and those on the Ohio, are the same species; it is *commerce* has occasioned the difference, antecedent to which man was every where found without sense of religion, law, or humanity. Gain, therefore, though ever pursued as the principal object of commerce, is very erroneously made the standard of value, whenever we would estimate our different trades with other nations; for that in truth depends on the nature and amount of the domestic labour produced, and not on any balance in money; which at best *depreciates by its own increase*, but if acquired without labour, becomes a mischief; it is however necessary in trade not merely as a medium, but as it serves to excite all ages and dispositions, all tempers and complexions to such a continual exertion of their several talents, as furnishes the state with subjects, qualified for all manner of services, and though it supersedes the disinterestedness of friendship, yet are ample amends made by multiplying exceedingly all offices of kindness amongst mankind, at a rate that surpasses the languid impulses of humanity. The legislator therefore who proscribed money was mistaken; and indeed it appears, how little he knew of what he was about, from a subsequent proclamation against all arts that were not absolutely necessary, as if the whole, without exception, and what else may embellish and adorn human life, could have been proscribed in terms more emphatical than those of the former prohibition.

Money is the circulating fluid of the body politic, which being equally exposed to inflammation and excesses with the natural, ought to receive its supplies only through the labours of its own members, or individuals, and that too in no greater proportion than may serve to excite, diffuse, and circulate the animal spirit, industry.

The admirable stands very inconsiderable associations of mankind, even single cities, have been often observed to make against potent empires, founded on different principles, proceeded from that improvement of themselves which has resulted from the carrying trade, of which, only through want of territory, or other defect, they have been capable. But such limited communities, when the full measure of

their

their improvement is made up, must necessarily suffer a decay of internal vigour and virtue under an excess of gain no longer flowing in, but from foreign labour, and superseding the necessity of their own; and it is here that luxury begins; an evil no otherwise provided against, even in the greatest kingdoms, than by a judicious attention to foreign commerce, that by all possible means, the stock of national or domestic labour may be increased, at least not permitted to diminish.

But where there is a real *foundation* for extending *commerce* upon native produce and manufactures, especially of such species as are most essential to human life, and which require much hardy and invigorating labour to bring forward, as happily is the case *in this island;* what more appears needful, in such circumstances, to the attaining all that can enter into the most elevated idea of human greatness, than a proper direction of the people's industry; and as they may well impart in exchange the most precious commodities of the world, they may, likewise, by a good policy, give a very considerable direction to the labours, and consequently to the genius and abilities of any neighbouring nation. But in regard to the duration of such a state, as far as that may depend upon internal strength, which is only to be accounted by the number of strong bodies and stout hearts of native subjects, a numerous race of such can never fail, in a country of liberty, while lands remain to be cultivated; and what is mistakenly called luxury contributes to augment and diffuse that labour, without which nature's best efforts are insufficient: So that to dissolve a constitution, formed and continued upon this principle, will require some mighty force, beyond the power of the firmest to resist, or the reach of human precaution to guard against.

That *commerce*, therefore, should never have been attended to as a principle of power, till since the discovery of the new world, seems much more surprising, than that Great-Britain by an improvement of her's, beyond what any other nation was ever capable of, should, in the midst of her pursuits of gain, find accessorial and unforeseen power, resulting from the accumulated labours of industrious multitudes, sufficient to protect those she honours with her alliance from the most formidable combinations; to maintain her undoubted sovereignty on the ocean; and to command respect to her name from the most distant nations; in a word, a power flowing from principles altogether favourable to the general interests of human nature, more solid, permanent, and irresistible, than was ever acquired by the usual methods of ruin, devastation, and violence. Nor are those armaments, which at present carry terror through the earth, and far exceed all our ideas of the boasted power of former ages, the transitory effects of any strained efforts, or desperate exertions of her strength, but the natural redundancy of labour, by which, in times of peace, her fields are cultivated, her manufactures perfected, and her commerce extended throughout the world.

But the eyes of all Europe are at length opened, and trade has so far become the universal object, that Great-Britain already finds herself in too great a measure reduced (through the indefatigable industry of so many rivals, and the fluctuating nature of commerce) to her plantation trade; so that to preserve the lead she has hitherto taken in the commercial world, seems materially to depend on whatever measures she shall think fit (and that very speedily) to pursue in regard to her American

American colonies. But when the rational frame of her government, the nature of her produce and manufactures ; the felicity of her insular situation ; the convenient extent of her territory, and the genius of her people ; are all distinctly and attentively considered, it becomes a reasonable hope, that, by *securing the dependency and improving the advantages* of those very countries in the new world, which, though fortuitously her's, the most deliberate choice would actually have recommended, as most conducive to support and extend that commerce, without which, all the rest are as nothing, it may prove within the compass of human prudence to perpetuate, equally to the duration of our species, an empire whose existence is a common benefit to mankind.

The British colonies on the continent of America, notwithstanding their present growth and importance, were at first undertaken by private adventurers ; and though struggling in their infancy at a thousand leagues distance from the mother country, under numberless embarrassments, apparently insurmountable, they have, from very trifling beginnings, most unexpectedly increased, in little more than a century, to a million and a half of people, and all difficulties are now vanished.

The two great sources of this increase, foreign accession and propagation, must infallibly continue to enlarge themselves progressively, till no more room shall be found in countries capable (even as possessed by us at present) of containing many more millions ; or till all cause of discontent shall cease amongst the crowded or persecuted societies of Europe, and men be no longer attentive to the difference between indigence and plenty.

Where the means of life are so attainable, that none are restrained from marriage through apprehensions of the expense attending a family, and no devastations have ever been made by pestilence or famine, the natural increase must exceed prodigiously that of any other country in the world, and may well be supposed, even from the present stock, to exceed in less than a century more, the present inhabitants of Great-Britain.

But if we take into the account the prodigious annual accession from abroad, with their natural increase likewise, it is reasonable to expect the whole should equal those of Great-Britain in half the time mentioned.

For besides the continual influx from all parts of the British dominion, that continent being layed open, as it were, a great *common* to all the protestant nations of Europe, most of whom, allured by the fame of British government and laws, have already found their way thither, upon every revolution, commotion, or even disgust, from which human societies are not like to be more exempt than heretofore ; what numerous emigration may not reasonably be expected from any of those countries to the new world, where all may find comfortable settlements already completed by their respective countrymen, of the same language, religion, and manners ?

And when the most useful and industrious amongst the lower orders of the people here, who, by the circumstance of birth, are cut off from any higher views in life for themselves or their offspring, than

that

that of a scanty subsistence only, shall once come to understand and to believe, that the climate of North America is temperate and healthy, the soil productive of all things necessary, in great perfection and abundance, that a plentiful subsistence may be there gained by very moderate labour, and even opulence acquired from no other stock than is to be found in industry and economy only ; that under the forms of a democratical government, all mortifying distinctions of rank are lost in common equality ; and that the ways to wealth and preferment are alike open to all men, what shall be sufficient to restrain those most useful classes of mankind from abandoning a necessitous and servile condition *here*, for property and independency *there*; where no want is known but of hands to improve it ?

Nor can the inhabitants fail of sufficient resources within themselves, whenever they shall be unanimously disposed to attempt independency. Beside wool, flax, leather, and every species of provision, in the greatest abundance, no parts of the world could afford such quantities of timber, iron, hemp, and every material necessary to the constructions of a naval power, equal to any undertaking. Many foreign productions of great value have already been transplanted thither, and many more will undoubtedly find suitable soils and climates, amidst so great a variety of both. The people are collected from the several quarters of Europe, and its arts and manufactories are daily and successfully introduced by them ; the Atlantic ocean washes near two thousand miles of their shore, and a communication is opened by vast lakes and many navigable rivers into an immense continent ; whence human industry will doubtless in time know how to draw all that can be farther wanting to commerce which, from such a situation, may well be extended throughout the world.

An event so fatal to the British empire, might the less be apprehended, did a single instance remain of any colony, that ever continued in subjection, after it could assert its liberty, or could the desire of independency be thought irradicable from the human heart ; or that a thousand leagues distance from the eye and strength of government, should never suggest *to a people accustomed to more than British liberty*, a thought of setting up for themselves ; or finally that every principal power in Europe would not countenance a defection, which whenever it shall happen, must, it is obvious, necessarily involve all the *West-India islands*.

Instead therefore of disputing the expediency of England, having at all planted upon that continent, or of straining to enlarge our possessions there, already more than sufficiently extensive on many considerations, it would be of infinitely more importance to attend to the prudent improvement of what properly belongs to us, and to consider in time how most effectually to secure the future *dependency* of a people, for whose sake the blood of England has been spilt in such profusion, and her lands mortgaged to the hazard of a redemption.

Whatever vague ideas may have been conceived of the value of these remote colonies, it is plain that England can desire no advantage from them, but merely by the way of commerce. When therefore it is asserted that one man in the plantations is of more importance than several in England, it is little understood that it must be in consequence

sequence of his being properly employed, that he can possibly be of any value at all there; for suppose a planter content with the furniture, utensils, &c. of the country, manufacturing in his family their own apparel, and perhaps a surplus to help in payment of his necessary tradesman, so that a guinea may exceed his European consumption, and that too perhaps illegally imported, a dozen such planters or Colonies, I affirm ought not to be considered as of equal value with the meanest labourer in Britain, who must contribute, since all must eat, to the support of government, and may be called upon in person to the common defence of the state.

Should therefore those Colonies once come to work up their own materials, to the exclusion of British manufactures, or should their trade be transferred elsewhere (and every clandestine importation is a step towards it) they might with much greater propriety be denominated after whatever country enjoyed that benefit, than after the mother country: notwithstanding they may still profess to acknowledge her government and laws, and continue to give bread to a few of her servants; and yet those Colonies, though endeavouring by all possible means to establish among themselves all kinds of manufactories, and when they are sending all the money they can scrape to foreign countries for what they have occasion for, are extremely offended if you question their continual dependence on the mother country.

But in the view of *commerce*, they have been of great, and may be of infinitely more advantage. Whatever Great-Britain as a maritime power can have occasion for, may be drawn from thence; all manner of naval stores, plank, masts, iron, &c. whenever her connexions with other States shall permit it: hemp may be raised there to the full demand of her own great consumption; some Colonies at this day could build ships of war completely, and load them home annually with these and other raw articles, which the mother country is now content to receive, at great expense from foreigners, whose supplies are as precarious as their friendship.

Neither does Great-Britain, as a commercial State, receive less benefit from those Colonies; for not to mention their supporting, with provisions and lumber her West-India islands, they furnish over and above the home consumption, large quantities of tobacco, rice, fish, and shipping for foreign markets, and considering the great success hitherto attending every trial made under proper encouragement from hence, particularly of indigo in Carolina, flax-seed in Pennsylvania, &c. and recently of potash, and madder in New-England, one is persuaded to believe that many of the drugs, dyes, and gums of Asia, may be advantageously introduced into some province or other.

But in regard to a market for woolens, and other manufactories of Britain, such an enlarged utterance might be opened there for them, as would require the labour of infinitely more hands to supply it, though demands hitherto have been greater, than the Colonies have as yet been able to make returns for; and in a country where the winter's extreme severity at once prevents the raising large flocks, and makes the warmest cloathing necessary; where the excessive price of labour too discourages the inhabitants from carrying on manufactures, wherein much labour is required, those demands must increase as the people multi-

ply : *Provided always that an effectual stop be put to all clandestine importations, and that the people be drawn off from interfering in those manufactures themselves ; not by prohibitary laws, which are too frequently impracticable, but by leading them into other employments less detrimental to the mother country, and more profitable to themselves, a method so apparently adequate to that most of all objects the farther increase of the inhabitants of Great-Britain that it requires the aid of no other expedient to render it effectual.*

Upon actual knowledge therefore of these northern Colonies, one is surprised to find that, notwithstanding the indifference of their wool and the extravagant price of labour, the planters throughout all New-England, New-York, the Jersies, Pennsylvania, and Maryland (for south of that Province no knowledge is here pretended) almost entirely clothe themselves in their own woolens, and that generally the people are sliding into the manufactures proper to the mother country, and this not through any spirit of industry or economy, but plainly for want of some returns to make to the shops ; that their trade, so valuable to Great-Britain, should, contrary to the policy of all other nations, be suffered to run off into clandestine channels ; and that Colonies, on which the fate of this country will be found to depend, should, without the least regard to influence of impressions early made on the human mind, be suffered to remain to this day under these little factions, *democracies*, which had their first rise in the republican ideas of licentious times ; instead of introducing such political systems and establishments, as might, agreeably to the genius of the British constitution, have formed them upon rational principles of subordination, as well as of liberty, and have prepared a people so remote for that just submission to the crown, which can admit of no departure from it, without weakening in every instance, the very foundation of their dependency.

So that in whatever light those Colonies are viewed, an heterogenious and indigested populace presents itself dispersed through a prodigious range of country, without order or precaution ; without friendship with the natives, or union among themselves, even when their all was supposed to be in jeopardy ; and though claiming to the mother country for protection against an enemy, not a tenth of themselves in numbers ; yet betraying an unreasonable jealousy of her dominion, by their critical disputes with his Majesty's servants, sent on the very errand of their preservation : Hence however it is less surprising to find them, in times of peace and security, arguing certain charter privileges, against royal instruction evading acts of parliament, and conveying the benefit of their trades to foreign nations.

Nor is this to be wondered at, considering how many of the subjects of alien states are settled there, without that reverence for British government, or partiality to British interests, which can be derived only from education ; and farther reflecting, that foreigners who are greatly disposed to settle in neighbourhoods by themselves, and no care being ever taken to wean them from the customs and manners of their respective countries, or to mix them down with our people, not only retain their old prejudices and attachments, but transmit them to posterity ; so that one sees and hears the religions, languages, and manners of

of Germany, spoken and professed in the British plantations by subjects born under British government.

Called by my duty, in the last war of 1745, to Albany, I was much surprised at the difficulty of finding, in so populous a city, any who understood English; and I could plainly discover, not only in the manner and speech of the people, but in their very anxious inquiries after the fate of Bergen-Opzoom, and concerns of Holland, as passionate an attachment to the interests of that republick, as their ancestors who had left it at least a century before; and so little had they been accustomed either to act or think as subjects to this crown, though under English government since Charles II. time, that they actually proposed a neutrality for themselves during that war, and endeavoured the same at the commencement of the present, in hopes of being more at liberty to continue a former contraband trade with the enemy Indians of Canada; but even the British subjects who first settled in America were not remarkable in their day for principles of submission or obedience, and having generally abandoned their native country in disgust, could not well be supposed to have impressed their offspring with any lively sentiments of duty or affection towards its modes of religion or government, whilst the great improbability that ever they should arrive at what they are at this day, occasioned in the several charters of liberty (condescended to doubtless through the confusion of those times) that little care was taken for maintaining the dignity and authority of the royal administration, amongst a people who were probably considered rather as out-casts than subjects.

By those charters, the populace in Rhode-Island and Connecticut elect annually their Governors, as well as representatives; and in both governments, if such may be called so, all military and civil officers are nominated, by the assemblies, so that a Judge of the Admiralty was some years since refused admission into Rhode-Island, only because appointed by the crown; and if those Colonies are sometimes disposed to consider themselves as out of the reach of an act of Parliament, it is no more than might well be expected, in consequence of that extraordinary indulgence, the permitting their own appointments and laws to take place, without *waiting* for the royal approbation.

In Pennsylvania, the Legislature consists but of two branches, and men principled against bearing arms are admitted into one of them; what a foundation is here laid for waging eternal disputes in favor of anarchy and confusion; what chance has a Governor, unsupported by a Council, against such an Assembly.

In Massachusetts Bay, the House of Representatives choose annually his Majesty's Council, who consequently make but a very insignificant part of that Legislature.

In New-Hampshire, a King's government, the Assembly, so late as since the last war, have ventured to keep back the usual supplies for two or three years together, during which time all the operations of government were actually suspended.

For even in the Provinces where the King appoints both Governor and Council, the authority of the crown is not sufficiently supported against the licentiousness of a republican spirit in the people, whose extreme jealousy of any power not immediately derived from themselves,

selves, and whose affectation of considering England, rather as an ally and friend, than as a country to which they belong, and should be subordinate, dispose them generally to send as representatives the most artful and factious amongst them. These meet like so many tribunes, upon a principle of opposition, and as they clearly perceive the full extent of the advantage of having their Governors dependent upon them for his subsistence, altercations quickly arise; in which royal instructions if not early given up for the sake of the salary, are too often with little respect and decency canvassed and rejected; to the great prejudice of his Majesty's authority; to the overturning all sense of order and good government in the mind of the people, in whose face all this is transacted, in terms purposely adapted to the vulgar prejudice; to the sapping the very foundation of all that dominion which Great-Britain has so unquestionable a right to over them. If the foregoing representation be not distant from the truth, much remains to be done, before these Colonies are sufficiently digested into the state of subordination and improvement, which their own interests as well as that of the mother country equally require.

For which happy purpose never could a more favourable opportunity than the present I have offered, and if an effectual reformation be not introduced before those troops are withdrawn which could have been thrown in upon no less occasion without giving a general alarm, one may venture to pronounce it impossible afterwards, and also to add, that the northern Colonies ripened by a few, a very few more years to maturity, must, agreeably to nature's ordinary laws, drop off from that stock whence they originally sprung; which policy may long retard, though perhaps not finally prevent.

Without entering into vain speculations concerning the natural rights of mankind, which the most ignorant of our Colonies assume to understand, and are sufficiently tenacious of, but of which the very idea of government implies an abridgement; or without presuming to investigate the precise point, to which the common good might require such abridgement should be carried, nothing seems clearer, than that the rights and liberties of the people in America ought to be adapted to the genius of that government to which they belong. For Colonies are not planted with a view to founding new empires, but for the sake of trade; and the interest of those, who are at the charge of planting and protecting, should give law to them; besides, as a part of the great Commonwealth, their particular interest must give way to the general good; the *salus imperii* is not only the great first law, but the only one which admits of no exception, the American charters were expedient at the beginning, *they have answered their ends and they are now become nuisances pregnant with mischief.* But into whatever new systems those people shall be formed, it will be necessary to check the licentiousness of a democracy, by reducing the present exorbitant power of Assemblies.

No thought, it is presumed, will ever again be entertained of uniting all the Colonies into one government; or of forming, after the manner of Greece, any general Councils or confederacies amongst them; whilst they remain, as at present, broken into several petty governments, their reciprocal jealousies and aversions must be esteemed a very

very considerable security against their conspiring in any undutiful attempts ; and the time will most certainly come when those provincial dissensions may be of no use.

All Governors ought undoubtedly to be paid by the crown, and his Majesty should *nominate his own Council in every Province.* And were the counties and trading towns only to choose representatives, and that but triennially at the most ; besides several other good effects, the people, in order to recommend themselves to the public choice, would not so universally distract their heads with wretched politicks and artful contrivances, how to oppose and embarrass a Governor, to the great abuse of their time, the prejudice of their morals, and frequent defeating his Majesty's purposes *in the present war* on the most critical occasion.

Were a Chief Justice, and an Attorney-General sent from England into each Province, the laws would be administered with more impartiality as well as dignity ; orders from his Majesty in Council would at no time risque being treated with insolence and disrespect, which at present is by no means the case ; and the authority and dignity which ought always to accompany the King's administration, could not fail of a very considerable additional support, in all its branches, from the establishment of two such officers.

But there is one thing which still remains to be mentioned, of more consequence, solely, than all that has been recommended. Governments are founded in consent, or in *terror ;* and supposing these equally effectual, yet it is presumed the former will be thought preferable ; for a continually armed force is necessary to the other ; and how dangerous an instrument of government an army is at best, even those who employ them are sensible ; but when they are to be stationed at a thousand leagues distance, may it not be very reasonably demanded, *Quis custodiet custodes ?* Man is disposed by nature to submit himself to the direction of superior wisdom and virtue ; reasonable laws therefore in discreet hands are easily carried into execution ; and as it would be unjust to attempt the contrary upon a free people ; so the folly would equal the injustice, were these people at a great distance. The Americans can judge of the government of the mother country, only by the specimen they see of it amongst themselves ; and as in all the Colonies there is a distinction made, and the prejudice is apparent, in favour of their own Provincial officers and laws (which they consider as more immediately springing from themselves) in opposition to those appointed them from England ; it is of the last consequence to consider, how much the authority of his Majesty's administration amongst a people so remote must necessarily depend on the wisdom and expediency of whatever laws or instructions are extended thither ; and on the integrity and disinterestedness of those who are entrusted with the execution of them ; for if subjects have been provoked by oppression and venality to pull down their own governments, may not a remote people be at length induced to withdraw themselves from that of others, when they see *that power*, which they cannot persuade themselves ought ever to be exerted except for the general benefit, employed apparently to private purposes and under the pretence of laws, the enacting of which can only be justified by the public necessity ; their properties being invaded to enrich some individuals ?

But

But admitting all possible improvement of their internal police, whatever has a tendency to render the protection of the mother country unnecessary ought surely to be avoided, seeing man ever affects independency, the moment he finds himself in a capacity of taking care of himself. By the treaty of Utrecht our limits in America are more than sufficient to answer all the purposes of Great-Britain. A foreign establishment therefore on their backs, which might indeed alarm but never could endanger our Colonies there, seems a favourable circumstance, and not to be inconsiderately parted with ; the war was undertaken purely to ascertain these limits, and though our success may, by inflating the minds of men, affect the medium through which things are viewed, they can by no means change the nature of the things themselves. There is a proportion of members as necessary in the body politick as in the natural. Britain may be the largest island in the world, it is however but an island ; and how far it may be prudent to give into the present rage of conquest, or passion for retaining all we are possessed of, especially on a continent as large as Europe, and capable of an infinite population, whether considered in the view of exhausting the mother country, or attending to the disproportional increase of distant provinces where already nothing is wanting but numbers to put them upon an equality ; seems to be a matter beyond the comprehension of the people, and in which of course their clamours ought to have but little weight. The entire removal however of the French off that continent has by one of our Colonists been strenuously pressed upon the public, as a measure preventive of future wars in Europe ; as tending to an infinite increase of the demand for British manufactures ; as necessary to the preservation of our Colonies there ; and as the most rational means for confirming and perpetuating their dependency upon this country. The intrinsick value of Canada is never insisted upon : The truth is, that can be of none to Great-Britain, as it affords no exports ; the French have possessed it near a century and a half ; and the fur trade which they have forced against the supineness of their English neighbours, who are equally well situated for it, probably never amounted to one hundred thousand pounds annually ; as to the lumber of that country it is not so good as that of New-England ; and as to provisions it never yielded sufficient for the French King's troops, who were supplied annually by contracts from Boston or New-York. It is indeed extremely probable, should the French evacuate America, that Europe would no more be involved in any wars that could arise between Great-Britain and France in that quarter, but will there be then no other pretence for war between these rival nations ? and what security shall Europe receive that our Colonies shall not take it into their heads to extend themselves under southern climates rather than toward the inhospitable regions of the North ; and that very speedily ? For Mexico will have alterations : The Mississippi may not prove as insufficient a barrier against a people who are at present a million and half, and who according to the author already mentioned, double themselves in sixteen years, as the great river St. Lawrence, its huge lakes and a vast desert, are now said to be, against an inconsiderable and hunted French Colony ; no security appears but this ; that probably, by that time, should this measure be embraced,

the inhabitants of Great-Britain would be no way answerable for the conduct of any people in America. But the public are assured that no manufactures are carried on in our Colonies ; that such as were attempted have, through the legal price of labour and insurmountable difficulty of collecting the whole necessary apparatus, been laid aside ; and that, as the people will always confine themselves to agriculture, the demand for British manufactures must keep pace with their increase, and it is even added that in 1745 the British exports amounted to more than twelve hundred thousand pounds, that is, twenty shillings a head, without including the negro race, amounting at least to three hundred thousand upon the whole continent, who must not however be supposed to go naked in countries certainly exposed to rigid cold. Now if it be considered that the very lowest orders of the people there are really better fed, cloathed and every way accommodated than the most industrious and discreet of our journeymen artificers in London, and that the manner of life in every other class is in proportion higher than that of the same rank in England ; can the smallness of the export be otherwise accounted for, than by supposing the people to be farther supplied either by a clandestine trade or their own manufactures ? The truth is they both contribute ; and it would be ridiculous to imagine that people bred in all the improvement of Europe should, by crossing the Atlantic, so unaccountably lose all remembrance of former skill and knowledge, as to betake themselves entirely to agriculture, and not once dream of improving those advantages, or applying those materials with which that country abounds, to the common use of human life ; neither can it be supposed that because there may as yet be no such manufactory as those at *Abbeville* or *Sheffield*, that every planter in America raised flocks of sheep only for the table, and flax only to supply Ireland with seed ; nor because hats, bottles, paper, braziery, &c. appear in the list of British exports, that hatters, glass houses, paper mills, founders, &c. &c. &c. were not to be found in several of the Colonies. Their industry however in these respects is not mentioned to their discredit, only as a matter of fact and truth ; but the great point in which these are really culpable is, their clandestine trade, of which perhaps some judgment may be formed from this particular ; that tea throughout America is of so general a consumption, that at the company's price, this inconsiderable article probably amounts to one fifth of what is said to be the value of the whole British export ; the East-India Company can tell from their books how much of this must be smuggled. As to the future dependency of these Colonies ; if perceiving their remoteness, and long inattention of the mother country to their concerns, they have from the earliest periods, continued to give proofs of an untractable temper and spirit, can it be supposed that by enlarging their limits, removing their neighbours of a different government, religion and language, and thereby increasing wonderfully their own numbers, they are likely to become more tractable and obedient ? In short, whether the most probable way to perpetuate their dependency on Great-Britain can be to render the future protection of Great-Britain entirely needless !

But after all, of what value could that whole continent be to Great-Britain but on the supposition of the people's being properly directed in their employments, and all clandestine trade effectually prevented for the future? In regard to their employments, little more can be added to what has already been observed, except that they must necessarily interfere with the produce and manufacture of some country or other; the question then is, whether it shall be with those of Great-Britain, or of what other country? And if the former, it will then be which she can best spare, and with least prejudice to her own most essential interest? Besides naval stores, hemp, potash, madder, doubtless many other productions of Europe and Asia might be found practicable, was a person, properly qualified, sent expressly to examine the several soils and climates there; the people themselves are ready enough to enter into any new project that has the least lucrative appearance, and no doubt need be made, but the fruits of all their labour will centre in Great-Britain, at present, for articles they really want, and in time to come, for those of vanity, which they will not fail to imagine they want the moment they are able to pay for them; but what calls for the speediest attention of government is their *clandestine trade*, in which they have been so long and so unaccountably indulged; for as the profits are excessive, should the people generally rush into it, what adequate remedy to apply except fleets and armies, might be difficult to conceive.

Perhaps the following detail may not be useless.

The Dutch inhabitants of New-York, changing in course of time their residence, first introduced the Holland trade into the other Provinces; at Philadelphia it has been carried on by means of German transport ships; but from New-York, Rhode-Island, and Boston, ships are dispatched expressly to Holland, Hamburgh, &c. with Logwood, Bills of Exchange, &c. for linens, cambricks, duck, cordage, gun-powder, toys, tea, besides what is imported by the way of Statia, Curroso and Surrinam, in ships loaded with foreign rum, sugar and molasses, contrary likewise to acts of Parliament; as no duty is paid for them. Whatever wines, silks, lace, or other produce of France have been introduced, came principally by the way of Louisbourgh, a port opened by the French at the conclusion of the last war, very politically, in our very neighbourhood, whilst they excluded us their islands, and there were our Americans content to exchange their lumber and provision for the rum, sugar, and molasses of the French islands, contrary to the sugar acts, and indeed to the plainest dictates of common sense: giving up the double freight, and supporting a French garrison, by making it the rendezvous of a great trade. The New-England fish ships in their return from Spain, Portugal, and the Streights bring back wine, lemons, groceries, and sometimes a few velvets and silks. But as the great demand for the former of these articles might render a total prohibition difficult, or at least extremely disgustful, it might perhaps be more prudent, considering how immaterially the importation interferes with the trade of Great-Britain, rather to allow it paying a small duty. But besides their European, a very large share of their West-India trade is illicit. It is perhaps impossible to ascertain the quantities of foreign rum and sugar imported into the Northern Colonies,

Colonies, but as to molasses, it is certain that forty vessels, belonging only to Boston, have arrived within the year, into that port, with each at least one hundred hogsheads, of a hundred gallons each on board, and probably the whole importation throughout the northern district, may amount to twenty thousand hogsheads annually ; a quantity sufficient to prove the impracticability of the sugar act's ever taking place as a prohibition ; whence shall this great demand be supplied, all that is produced by our own island is likewise consumed ; or where could these northern people find a market for their spare provisions, lumber, &c. our own island does not take off above a third ; now over and above whatever injury may arise from all this to the British revenue, commerce, and manufactures, smuggling is productive of other consequences, very alarming to human society ; the habit of cunning and deceit introduced by it, is generally assigned as one cause of that great depravity of morals so justly complained of, in the plantations ; by the cheap importation of many articles of vanity only, the people are seduced into a degree of expense which they really cannot bear, and which disables them from discharging their debts to the mother country : All reverence for laws, and that idea of guilt, which the interest of the society requires should always accompany every violation of them, is utterly lost : And should the servants of the crown be known to share in those fraudulent practices, into what contempt might not so vile a specimen bring the royal administration ? The continent of America is divided at the river Delaware into two districts ; and over each is appointed a surveyor-general ; the southern comprehends Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia ; the northern includes the Jerseys, New-York, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, Massachusetts-Bay, and New-Hampshire ; and in them I think are ten ports opened ; it is not meant to accuse, much less to prejudice any man ; a general remissness throughout this district, seems to render each individual less culpable ; besides the plea of a long precription and example, it might reasonably be urged, that men stationed in remote countries, whence they are never like to return, with new connexions form new views, and when they find themselves abandoned to their own discretion relax in a duty, to which they are no longer animated by either of these two great springs of human action, *hope*, or *fear*, the fault however is readily enough laid upon the great extent of sea-coast, the proneness of the people to clandestine trade, their disregard to acts of Parliament, and jealousy of all officers appointed over them from England, upon the ambiguity or insufficiency of the present acts of trade, or the licentiousness of charter governments ; all which, as containing much truth, inforce the great necessity of applying some speedy remedy to an evil, fortified by so many alarming circumstances : But after a residence of several years in that district, I am clearly of opinion, that it would be impossible for a smuggler to dispose of a whole contraband cargo, were the servants of the crown disposed to do their duty ; and that until they are so, it will not avail to open more ports, to employ cruising ships along the sea coasts, &c. &c. chargeable proposals, which perhaps have been made only to divert the government here from the true remedy. Ships may indeed run from sea, into several obscure harbours and

coves, and there unload securely, but these cargoes must, to be vended, be afterward brought to the great towns; now, in all such, there are several officers, one or other of whom must unavoidably get scent of any thing considerable done in that way, and though even run goods, when covered with a permit from any port, are not seizable, yet, when a suspicion did arise, of any practice of this sort, the surveyor-general might quickly remedy it. The following hints upon this occasion, are most humbly submitted: That all the clauses respecting those Colonies, which are now dispersed in the several acts of trade may be collected into one act, as comprehensible and explicit as possible: That American governours be given to understand, that the old instructions, in regard to illicit trade, and for which they give bond here, are by no means to be considered absolute; that the surveyor-general be obliged to visit annually, or at farthest, once in two years, every port within his district; and was he to transmit annual accounts of all variations in trade, and of the rise or decay of every manufacture and produce, to the board of trade, it must convey so clear an idea of what the people there may be a doing in all ports, as could not fail to furnish, from time to time, excellent hints of conduct to the governments. Every collector ought to keep two books, the one for foreign, the other for coasting trade; this is so far from being complied with, that in some ports, they are not at the pains of keeping any books at all, and should little more be transacted in those, than to grant permits to cover illegal importations, it may perhaps be prudent, to leave as few traces as possible of their proceedings open; however, but one such port, and all the possible diligence of the officers in all the rest, will avail just nothing; no collector's accounts should be received here, unless properly vouched by the other officers there appointed for that purpose; and beside the usual quarterly accounts of the revenue, if general accounts of all exports whither, and of all imports whence, were quarterly or annually transmitted home, a single glance may discover any fraud that should arise, and in what ports. Every officer should be furnished with precise instructions respecting his own particular duty; this is more than the writer, after numberless applications, has been able to obtain to this day, and all should be encouraged to write home, for according to the present method of corresponding with the surveyor-general and collectors, no more information can be had, than those gentlemen are disposed to communicate; consequently, the checks that might arise from an apprehension of deficient accounts from other quarters, are absolutely removed. Should officers depart from England, with higher notions of the value of their places, than they can honestly make of them, they may be tempted upon their arrival there, to sacrifice duty to disappointments; but to load them with annual payment *to others*, is the sure way to make them *imprudently rapacious*. The custom house fees ought to be ascertained here, that the subjects may not be taxed at the discretion of every officer, nor the servants of the crown left at the mercy of American assemblies, whose trade they are appointed to check, for the quantum, which at present is the case; but no establishment however wise, no choice of affairs, however distinct, will avail, in these remote Colonies, without a steady and constant inspection into their conduct. In the

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body natural, an uninterrupted communication subsists throughout all the parts, and new supplies of life are continually passing from the heart to the most distant members; hope and fear are the two great springs of human action; it may well therefore be expected that servants should become remiss in a duty, to which they can be animated only by their love to their native country, where they are not likely to return, in proportion, as that love is superseded by new connexions, daily arising in distant regions: But if by the foregoing, or some such regulation, the exports from Great-Britain do not clearly, by the custom house books, and merchants' declaration, increase a larger sum annually, than the whole trade of Canada ever amounted to in any two years, the writer will be content to acknowledge, not only a diffidence of every other observation he has made as above, but that he has been all this while treating of matters which he is in reality an utter stranger to.

There is not a man on the continent of America, who does not consider the Sugar Act, as far as it regards molasses, as a sacrifice made of the northern Colonies, to the superior interest in Parliament of the West Indies, who are so far from having of that article to spare, that they are said to use foreign molasses in their own distilleries; how the apprehension of so imperious a preference, of one Colony to another, operates upon the affections of those northern people towards the mother country, may be easily imagined; but as nothing could be more popular than the repeal of that act, which apparently is in itself prejudicial to British navigation; nothing could more effectually palliate any necessary severity in putting an effectual stop to future clandestine importations from Europe; the great object to be attended to, for which the prodigious expense this nation is at now, gives so fair a pretence. Upon the whole; the present opportunity seems favourable for a thorough reformation on that continent; for with what case soever, slight disorders, proceeding from little inattentions or accidental neglects may be removed, such as have their sources in the original forms of the several governments, require higher and more effectual applications than temporary expedients or partial remedies, and it is presumed, no appearance of difficulty will prevent an undertaking, which so many considerations of the highest nature, urge the immediate necessity of; For should what has been suggested, of their infinite importance to the commerce, and consequently to the future existence of the British empire, be well founded; the most illustrious patriot could not render to his country, or to mankind, a service so extremely beneficial, as by forming some great and comprehensive plan, effectually calculated to secure an adequate and permanent foundation for directing their employment, and preventing all future clandestine importation, to establish, at least as far as human precaution could attain at, the perpetual subordination and dependency of those very remote, and growing provinces, on the British empire.

The founders of commonwealths, and such as have improved human society by civil institutions, have ever had their names transmitted with honor to posterity, by the grateful part of mankind. America now opens to our view regions not less extensive than, formerly, the whole world was supposed to contain, and the British subjects there,

there, bid as fair for perpetuity, as any people that ever preceded them, but to whom shall they look up with so much confidence, or to what name shall they perpetuate memorials of their gratitude with equal propriety, as to *his*, from whom they first received a reputation, and by whose distinguished attention to their interest, it became a fashionable knowledge to be acquainted with their concerns.

The following account of the examination of Dr. BENJAMIN CHURCH, *was written while he was in prison, at Cambridge, having acknowledged that he was the author of a letter containing the state of the army, stores, &c. which was intercepted, and thought to be part of a treacherous correspondence, as it was written to a gentleman in Boston. The letter was in cyphers, it was afterwards published; frequent reference is made to it in this relation.*

ON Friday October 27, the high Sheriff, How, a messenger of the House of Representatives, at ten o'clock, A. M. came to my prison, accompanied by Adjutant-General Gates, and the several officers of the guard, with a summons from the Honorable House, commanding my immediate attendance at the bar of the House. I requested to be indulged with an opportunity to change my linen, which was indulged me, while the guard was parading, and the officer of my escort waited upon the General for his directions. By the time I had put myself in decent apparel, I received orders to proceed: I had procured in this interim, a chaise from a friend, into which the messenger entered with me; in which manner we proceeded,* in the centre of a guard of twenty men, with drum and fife, from my prison in Cambridge to Watertown, being three miles. When arrived at the Meeting House in Watertown, where the assembly then sat, the messenger of the House announced my arrival; upon which, we received orders to tarry at the door till called for; after waiting a few minutes, the door keeper opening the door, directed the messenger to bring in the prisoner. I was then ushered into the House, and advancing up to the bar, which was placed about midway of the broad alley, I made my obeisance to the Honorable Speaker of the House, James Warren, Esq. and to the Members of the Honorable House of Representatives there assembled. The galleries being opened upon this occasion, were thronged with a numerous collection of people of all ranks, to attend so novel, and so important a trial. The Honorable Speaker then began, by informing me, that the Honorable House of Representatives, having been informed, that I, a member of that House, was put under arrest by his Excellency General Washington; and their jealousy for the privileges of the House having been excited thereby; they had appointed a committee of the Honorable House, to wait upon, and confer with his Excellency upon the subject; to which they had received the following answer. Here his Honor recited a letter from his Excellency General Washington, attested by his Secretary

* To my utter astonishment, the House, forgetful of their dignity and privileges, in a manner unprecedented, suffered me to be held in custody of a military guard during the whole time of my trial before the Honorable House.

Secretary, the Honorable Joseph Reed, Esq. specifying, that at a meeting of a General Court Martial, held at Cambridge, on October third, Present, his Excellency General George Washington, Esq. President, all the Major-Generals, and Brigadier-Generals of the army, and Adjutant-Generals Gates, Benjamin Church, Esq. Director-General of the hospital was summoned before them; when a Court of inquiry being held, it was their unanimous opinion, that said Benjamin Church was convicted of holding a criminal correspondence with the enemy, each member being questioned seriatim upon the matter. After the Speaker had read the doings of the court-martial, the criminal letter as decyphered by Mr. West was produced and read to the House; upon which the Honorable Speaker observed; "that the Honorable House, from a regard to their own honor and reputation, and to express their abhorrence of such conduct in one of their members, had summoned me to the bar of that House, to make answer to the charges exhibited against me, and to proceed in such manner as to vindicate the reputation of the House." And then holding out the letter, demanded, "if that was a true copy of the letter I wrote in cyphers;" to which I replied: "May it please your Honor and the Honorable House, although I am a member of this Honorable House, or have been, and have sustained some little part in the struggles of this very respectable body for several months past, yet in the matter now before them, a matter in which I hold some capital consideration; I profess myself to be totally unacquainted respecting the general design, mode of process, and the issue. If I might intreat the indulgence of the Honorable House I would inform them, about a month since, I was taken by an armed force, and have been confined a close prisoner for twenty-eight days; secluded by my stern gaolers from the chearing eye, and consoling tongue of friend and acquaintance, unless by a special licence from head quarters, which has been sparingly granted! and never indulged with the aid and advice of council learned in the law; six days retained in the most rigorous confinement. I was then led before a * general court martial attended by my guards; after a scrutiny novel and undecisive, which I then apprehended to be a trial, I was remanded back to my prison; but at my request, and the indulgence of the General, attended only by the officers of the guard. There I have been held in the most cruel imprisonment at the point of the bayonet ever since. This morning, may it please your Honours, at the hour of 10 o'clock, without any previous intimation of such a design, without any expectation of such an event, I am summoned, ex improviso, and immediately to the bar of this Honorable House. Bowed to the dust by infirmity produced by distress, harrassed and sickening with painful suspense, aggravated vexations, rigorous imprisonment, and a load of sorrows no longer supportable, am I called upon to make my defence. Though in a situation to wound the bosom of compassion, and from the eye of humanity to steal a tear, relying

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* I was not even there favored with the assistance of the advocate-general. They cannot pretend it was not a trial, as they made up their judgment, and determined I was convicted of a criminal correspondence, &c.

ing on conscious integrity, *that* trial I wish not to evade : Only let me be determined, Sir, whether the jurisdiction of this House extends to the whole enormity of the transaction of which I stand accused ; whether, may it please your Honor, this trial shall be final and decisive. To which, his Honor the Speaker made answer, " that the Honorable House had determined to examine this matter no farther than as it related to a member of that House." To which I rejoined ; Sorry am I, Sir, that my plea for justice cannot be heard : I have been led from Caiaphas to Herod, and from Herod to Pontius Pilate ; to what tribunal shall I make my final appeal ? The House will pardon me ; but while they appear so tremblingly alive to preserve their reputation unsullied ; they should not forget the sinister influence such precipitation will have at the future trial of perhaps an innocent man ; my cause will be pre-judged, and my guilt ascertained by the sanction of this important body before due inquisition is made. I did hear, Sir, that this House had determined on my *expulsion ; I immediately transmitted to your Honor a formal resignation of my seat as a member of this House, in some measure to prevent the ill consequences which their censure might produce hereafter. This Honorable House may possibly remember when Mr. Wilkes was arraigned in the language of Lord Chatham for " blaspheming his God and libelling his King," the House of Commons, of which he was then a member, did not evidence a premature distress lest their immaculate honors should be tainted ; their generous humanity induced them to take no cognisance of the fact, till by due process of law he was condemned to exile. After which they expelled him the House." The Honorable Major Hawley then moved, that the Honorable Speaker would put the question to me, whether the letter then read was a true copy of the letter I wrote in cyphers. I replied it was not an exact copy. Major Hawley then urged, that perhaps there was some trifling literal variations which made no material difference, but requested that I might be asked whether the letter then read did not contain the true meaning and import of my letter in general. The question was put by the Speaker ; to which I answered as follows : " I perceive the Honorable House, influenced by a partial purpose are determined upon an immediate trial. The Honorable gentleman from Northampton perfectly mistakes me if he supposes, I mean through chicane or evasion to interrupt your inquisition ; confirmed in assured innocence, I stand prepared for your keenest searchings. I now first learn, may it please your Honors, of my being convicted by a general court martial of a † criminal correspondence

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* As the general court martial had convicted me without a trial, perhaps the Honorable House will think themselves warranted in their sentence of excommunication.

† It appears to me a strange perversion of language to assert that I was convicted of a criminal correspondence with the enemy, when there was no single circumstance to lead to such a conviction beyond the letter itself which carried in it such evident marks of fallacy as to destroy its own testimony ; add to this—it savours not a little of Hibernianism to construe the bare writing a letter (which was never conveyed to the person

respondence with the enemy ; what leads to such a conviction is perfectly unknown to me ; and I presume it is something singular that I should be first acquainted with the judgment of that Court in my attendance upon this. It has been frequently objected to us by our adversaries, that we were struggling to establish a tyranny much more intolerable than that we meant to oppose. Shall we justify the prediction of our enemies? will it be for the honor or interest of the community that one of your friends and partizans is reduced to deprecate that power, which by his constant exertions he has been in some measure instrumental in supporting? You profess, you are contending for the rights and liberties of British subjects. Why then deny appeal to common law? Am I impertinent in claiming the rights of Magna Charta, and bill of rights; have I no title to a trial by jurors, or the benefit of the Habeas Corpus act? but if by a forced construction I am deemed amenable to martial law, for matters transacted before my appointment to the hospital, and before the promulgation of those laws ; why are the rules and articles framed by the continental Congress, for the government of the army, violated in every letter, to accumulate distresses upon me?

I have suffered already the utmost penalty annexed to the breach of that law, for which I now stand committed. Am I to be the victim of the insatiable rage of my enemies? Am I perpetually to be subjected to the successive pains and penalties of every capricious power? It is a maxim in that government which I claim as my inheritance, Sir! and for which you have expressed the highest veneration, "*Misera* equidem est servitus, ubi jus est vagum et incertum," miserable indeed is that state of slavery where the right of the subject is vague and uncertain. But I will not engross the time of this Honorable Court. I did say, Sir, the letter, as now read, is not a literal construction of that I wrote in cyphers, as far as my memory serves, for the letter was written in great haste. I never have been favored with a copy since, to consider of it ; and have never seen it till to-day, except the very cursory reading I gave it when before the General Court Martial ; at which time the perturbation of mind incidental to such a situation naturally prevented such a close attention as to enable me to recollect the contents. I believe in general the sense is preserved ; in some instances it is perverted. It has been proposed, that the letter be read in paragraphs, and that I be questioned in order. If it will be agreeable to the Honorable

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person for whom it wrote) a conviction of an actual criminal correspondence. The most severe construction that common understanding could affix to this writing, were it indisputably calculated to betray the interest of the community, would be "an attempt to correspond with the enemy," but the person for whom the letter was designed, was not in office, was not a soldier ; he was my friend and brother. I have a great veneration for several of the respectable personages, who composed this Court—but abstracted from the consideration of *self*, I lament that those worthy characters should have been betrayed into so injurious, so unjustifiable a construction of an innocent piece of artifice to serve the common cause. If I was then convicted, I suppose my continued imprisonment is the penalty awarded for my transgression ; if so, the month is up, and I ought to be discharged, but of this more hereafter.

orable House, I will read the letter in paragraphs: I will candidly and faithfully execute my intention in the course of my reading, and to convince the Honorable House that I mean not to cavil at trifling inaccuracies, I will correct the erroneous passages as I proceed, and restore the true reading on a different sheet." This motion was acceded to by the Honorable House, and the copy of the letter being handed to me by John Pitts, Esq. I began: "Previous to any remarks upon the substance of this reprobated letter in my hand, by your Honor's leave, and the indulgence of the Honorable House, I will repeat the circumstance which led to, and my motives for writing the letter: Sometime after my return from Philadelphia, I was passing in my chaise toward Mystick, I met with a team conveying household furniture towards Cambridge. In the team, seated on a bed was a woman with two children; the woman accosted me by name, asking me if I did not know her; her countenance was familiar to me; I answered yes, and inquired when she left Boston; she informed me the day before, and told me she had a letter for me from Boston, from my brother; she took a small bundle out of her pocket, and opening it, handed the letter to the carman who delivered it to me; it was directed to me; upon breaking the seal I found it written in cyphers and signed I. F. I put it in my pocket and rode a few rods; curiosity induced me to return back and repair to my lodgings to decypher the letter and acquaint myself with the contents; this is the letter: Here I handed the letter to the Speaker, who read it to the Honorable House as follows.

DEAR DOCTOR,

I have often told you what the dreams of your high flaming sons would come to; do you forget my repeated cautions not to make yourself too obnoxious to government; what says the psalm-singer and Johnny Dupe to fighting British troops now? They are at Philadelphia, I suppose, plotting more mischief, where, I hear your High Mightiness has been Ambassador extraordinary; take care of your nob, Mr. Doctor; remember your old friend, the orator, he will preach no more sedition. Ally joins me in begging you to come to Boston. You may depend upon it government is determined to crush this rebellion, a large reinforcement of troops is hourly expected, when they are determined to penetrate the country; for God's sake, Doctor, come to town directly; I'll engage to procure your pardon; your sister is unhappy under the apprehension of your being taken and hanged for a rebel, which God grant may not be the case; you may rely upon it the Yankees will never be a match for the troops of Great-Britain. The Yorkers have behaved like damned fools in robbing the King's stores, as government intended to have granted them some exclusive privileges in trade, had they continued loyal. It will now be a rendezvous for British troops. We know well enough that you are divided, your people are discouraged, that you want discipline, artillery, ammunition; and government has taken effectual care that you shall not be supplied by other powers. I have wondered that we have not heard from you; difference of politicks has not cancelled my friendship for you. Let me entreat you not to take up arms against your rightful King, as your friend Warren did, for which he has paid dearly. I cannot send your sulkey and other matters you sent for; you may thank

thank your own people for that, who first set the example by preventing any thing from being brought to town. I think you might have sent us a bit of fresh pork now and then. You see Hancock and Adams are attainted already. If you cannot pass the lines, you may come in Capt. Wallace, via Rhode-Island, and if you do not come immediately, write me in this character, and direct your letter to Major Cane on his Majesty's service, and deliver it to Capt. Wallace, and it will come safe. We have often heard your people intend to attack the town; by God, I believe they had such a dose on Bunker's Hill as to cool their courage. Your sister has been for running away; Kitty has been very sick, we wished you to see her; she is now picking up.

I remain your sincere friend and brother, I. F.

P. S. Don't fail to write me soon.

This letter being read, I proceeded, "Your Honor well knows what was our situation after the action of Bunker's Hill; insomuch that it was generally believed, had the British troops been in a condition to pursue their success, they might have reached Cambridge with very little opposition. Not many days after this we had a report circulated very generally, and as generally credited, of the arrival of a reinforcement of 5000 British troops in Boston. This Honorable House have not forgot the general anxiety excited thereby, together with the consideration of our not being in a capacity to make any tolerable resistance from the reduced state of our magazines; was there a man who regarded his country who would not have sacrificed his life to effect a tolerable accommodation? my fears I must confess were greatly excited. At this interval, a week perhaps, or ten days after I had received this letter, I was confined to my lodgings by a stormy day, contemplating our disagreeable situation. I pulled the letter out of my pocket and reading it; the idea of writing an answer to my brother started into my mind; imagining I could improve the opportunity to effect a happy purpose I immediately set about it. One circumstance which was an inducement to writing at that time was, that a young woman in the same house was to set off for Newport the next morning. I will now proceed to consider the letter by paragraphs, after premising that I have endeavoured to adopt the air and language of a tory throughout, for the purpose of securing confidence, and obtaining the intelligence I wanted. "Three attempts have I made to write you, the last the man was discovered, but fortunately my letter, &c."

May it please your Honour; had I written or attempted to write into Boston; is it not very extraordinary that during my long confinement, when the very antipodes have been alarmed, at the transaction, and every tongue has been clamorous against me, is it not strange, Sir, that no proof has been exhibited against me of such correspondence, but in this very letter, which is crowded with fallacy, and obviously designed to deceive? The idea of the man being discovered but escaped, "the letter being, &c." was suggested by the affair of Doctor ————, who was taken, as reported, going into Boston, was searched, but no letter found. I heard of the matter upon my return from Philadelphia, and that the letter was so concealed, which was idly reported to be the reason of its not being detected. The other two attempts are mentioned in a subsequent paragraph; "twice have I been

to Salem, &c." this idea was started by the following incident; about a week before I sat out on my journey, Major Bigelow informed me, he had received intelligence that provisions and other matters were conveyed into Boston by the Custom-House boat, from Salem, which ought to be immediately prevented. I instantly laid the matter before the committee of safety, and they determined to take measures immediately to prevent her passing into Boston. I solemnly declare, Sir, I never wrote one letter into Boston since I left it. I solemnly declare I have never been to the town of Salem these seven years past.—"I went by the way of Providence to visit mother." This passage I think, Sir, confirms my declaration that the letter was designed for my brother, and not for Major Cane. I should hardly have acquainted the Major of my going to visit my mother, and surely I should not have neglected to affix the relative *my* to the substantive, were not the letter addressed to a relative character. The next paragraph is, "*the Committee* for *warlike* stores ending at Bunker's Hill!" Here, may it please your Honour, is a capital omission, which leads to a suspicion of my having written before. In the original copy, I remember perfectly well, after the words "having taken a previous resolution to make the offer to general Ward" were added "for the purpose of fortifying Bunker's-Hill." This part of the sentence was either inadvertently left out by myself in copying the letter into cyphers, or omitted by the person who decyphered the letter; this accounts for the reference below "as I before hinted" and reconciles this passage with the first paragraph that "I had made three attempts to write him without success." The true state of the fact, is as follows: The taking and fortifying Dorchester hill was the first object in contemplation when I left the camp; I was sensible we had not heavy artillery. When at Providence, being informed that they had a considerable number there, I applied to the Honourable Mr. Ward, who resided then at Providence, and was a member of the Committee of War, for such of them as they could spare. Mr. Ward called the committee together, when they generously granted them, and they were sent down. The application was made spontaneously by me, and I wrote a letter of apology to General Ward for my officiousness in this matter. The reason of my covering this transaction in my letter must be obvious; there was a constant communication between Newport and Boston; there was no doubt but they would have accounts of this transaction; did I not account for it in a way, to conceal my being active in the matter, I should have been defeated in intentions in writing." Here I was interrupted, and the House voted to adjourn to 3 o'clock; I was ordered to make such corrections in the interim, as to make it correspond with the original draught. I was then by the order of the Honorable House conducted by my guard under custody of the messenger of the House to Coolidge's tavern, where at the *public expense* I was regaled with half a mug of flip and the wing of a chicken, and was then reconveyed to the House in the manner I came from thence. When arrived at the door of the House, the messenger communicated my arrival; he was directed to detain the prisoner at the door till called for. I was continued in the cold on a bleak eminence for the space of half an hour, which after a month's close confinement was not very eligible,

eligible, and during the whole time surrounded by my guards with additional mobility, *Digito monstrari, et dicier hic est*, during which time a solemn vote was passed to invite the Honourable his Majesty's Council for this Colony and sundry military gentlemen to be present at the trial, and when their Honours had taken their seats, orders were given to admit the prisoner ; I was then introduced to the bar of the House ; the Speaker addressing himself to me, informed me the House were ready to hear me, and ordered me to proceed ; I began as follows : " May it please your Honour ; to the patient attention, the apparent candour, and generous humanity of the Honourable House, I feel myself deeply indebted. I shall now proceed by their continued indulgence to some further observations on the letter, not doubting from the approved justice and benignity of this Honourable Assembly, a full acquittance from the groundless charges levelled against me. The next paragraph is " which together with the cowardice of the clumsy Col. Gerrish, &c." to defeat. There is a mistake in the word *lucky* in this sentence ; the original was unlucky, the negative being marked by an additional stroke in the l ; here I cannot but observe, Sir, that notwithstanding the apparent labour and design throughout the whole to maintain the character of a tory, yet in this paragraph I have inadvertently betrayed myself ; having mentioned Col. Gerrish and Col. Scammon in terms of reproach and indignation for not engaging the King's troops ; after giving an account in the next paragraph of the number of our killed and wounded in the battle of Bunker's-Hill, which greatly falls short of truth, and an oblique sarcasm upon them for their extravagant calculation in this matter, I proceed in several succeeding paragraphs in the most exaggerated terms possible, to alarm him with a very formidable account of the spirit, supplies, resources, industry, union, and resolution of the Colonies, all confirmed by ocular demonstration, beginning with " the people of Connecticut" and continued as far as " are readily exchanged for cash." As far as my contracted reading and observation extends, may it please your Honour, it has been the policy of those we heretofore deemed our enemies to speak in contemptuous terms of the courage, strength, union, and resources of these Colonies ; they have I apprehend, Sir, constantly endeavoured to discourage us, and encourage the enemy by remonstrating in the warmest manner the impossibility of our making any effectual resistance against them. If I am condemned for a representation perfectly the reverse of this, I would ask, Sir, who are your friends ? Is it criminal and injurious to you to say we are able and determined to withstand the power of Britain ; is it criminal, Sir, to alarm them with a parade of our strength and preparation ; is it bad policy or a proof of enmity, when under the most alarming apprehensions of instant ruin from their attack, by an innocent stratagem to divert them from such a ruinous enterprise ? The next matter, most strenuously urged and insisted upon, is an immediate accommodation, or the Colonies are disjoined from Britain forever : see from ;" add to this—" for God's sake prevent it by a speedy accommodation." Here, may it please your Honour, the plot is unravelled ; the scope and design of the letter is here fully explained ; to effect the reconciliation so vehemently urged, so repeatedly recommended. For what cause have I worn the garb of a friend

a friend to government throughout this letter, for what cause have I repeated fallacy upon fallacy ; for what cause have I exaggerated your force, but to effect a union, to disarm a parricide, to restore peace to my distracted country : if this is the work of an enemy, where are we to look for a friend ? There are two or three passages which from being misunderstood have been greatly exaggerated which I shall explain hereafter. The next paragraph beginning at "*writing this*" to "*discovery*," are totally futile and apochryphal. The next passage, "I am not in place here, &c." is in answer to his request in his letter, not to take up arms against the King, and to quiet the fears of a sister, as well as to carry on the deception ; but even here through haste and inattention I have committed a blunder which should have been avoided. I have mentioned a readiness to take up with an appointment in my own way, not considering that in the capacity of a physician or surgeon I should be deemed aiding and assisting, and equally obnoxious with those who were actually in arms. The concluding paragraph contains particular directions for his writing me ; from hence I think Sir, the following conclusions are fairly deducible ; first, my endeavours to appear so zealous a friend to government, and so seemingly open and communicative were to engage him to a full and free communication on his part for purposes very obvious ; again, Sir ; I think it is indisputably proved from this paragraph, that a previous correspondence never subsisted between us ; if this had been the case, Sir, can it be supposed I should be so extremely minute and circumstantial in pointing out a mode and channel of conveyance ; or if we had heretofore communicated, should I not have intimated my reasons for altering the plan ? I have urged labour and pains in writing him, I have urged secrecy, I have urged danger, merely to impress his mind with my being zealously attached to his party, to secure full faith and credit to influence him to an unlimited confidence in his return to me. If in this I have transgressed, the motive will surely absolve me. Here, may it please your Honor, concludes the letter innocently intended, however indiscreetly executed ; a letter which has alarmed the world, wounded me in the esteem of my friends, and glutted the malice of my enemies. I shall now by your Honor's leave make a few observations on some particular passages and then conclude. One or two paragraphs have been urged as proofs of my having carried on a correspondence with this person for some time past ; the words, "as I hinted before to you," is one ; this I have explained already ; another is "you know I never deceived you." The man I wrote to, had implicitly swallowed the doctrine of Mr. Hutchinson : That all the opposition arose from a small but busy faction : That the Americans would never dare to fight the British troops. These sentiments I had constantly and warmly opposed, assuring him, the continent was engaged in the opposition to the present measures, and if blood should be drawn, he would be convinced of the spirit and resolution of Americans. These facts he assented to the last time I saw him, and acknowledged I had not deceived him ; which fully explains this passage : That the letter is totally fallacious as far as evidence is admissible, you cannot doubt, Sir. The pains taken to send letters is in every instance incontestably false ; the matter of sending cannon from Providence, as there

there related, is equally so, and probably calculated to effect political purposes. Why then, may it please your Honor, shall unbounded credit be given to that letter, which bears such glaring marks of fallacy and design, and couched in terms totally inconsonant with the conduct of my whole life; against the conviction arising from that conduct, against my solemn asseveration, and against sundry concurring circumstances, to prove that it was meant as a piece of political deceit to serve my country: If I had intended to commence a spy, Sir, why did I not communicate other matters than those which were of public notoriety? The affair of robbing the King's stores in New-York, is adopting his very language; the expedition against Canada, is barely mentioned, and introduced merely because it was published at the same time, and in the same papers with the matter mentioned by himself; it was impossible but he should have known it, and therefore, had I suppressed it, it might have excited a jealousy no way favourable to my purpose. Were there not sundry important matters then agitating, which I was well acquainted with; if I had been an enemy, why did I not mention those matters, which to communicate would be to defeat. Were I that enemy, may it please your Honor, which the tongue of slander proclaims me to be; should I have made such an ostentatious parade of our strength and resources; should I not rather have dwelt with a malicous pleasure on our weakness; should I not rather have advised the enemy where to attack us with assurance of success; should I not rather have encouraged them to prosecute the war with vigour, than to desist from hostilities and propose terms of accommodation; certain I am, Sir, the letter bears the impression of an anxious friend to his country. I have there expressed a firm loyalty for the King, so has this House in every public proceeding; I have told him, and confirmed it with abundant facts, that the Americans were determined vigorously to defend their rights; so have you, gentlemen, asserted in the strongest terms. I have recommended with all the warmth of an honest zeal to put an end to the work of death; is not this the universal wish, Sir; you will say perhaps, I conversed with him in the language of an enemy; he is a friend to government, so called, Sir; I wrote ad hominem; I wrote ad captum. Where, may it please your Honour, is the crime, unless it be a crime to pursue indirect measures at a time of public danger to prevent a public calamity. The manner in which the letter was written, the mode of address, and conveyance have likewise been much condemned; but if it be considered, Sir, that this was the mode prescribed by the person to whom I wrote; that affected secrecy, and an ostensible coincidence in sentiment were indispensible, in order to effect my design; those of candid and liberal sentiments will readily pardon me; I have been used, Sir, to direct the reins in my little theatre of politicks. I had no suspicion of evil, because I meant none. The letter was instrusted to a man I did not know, whom I never saw. Two months it lay where I could easily have obtained it. I never was one moment anxious about it; surely, may it please your Honor, it will afford a presumption of my innocent intention at least, when the letter was lodged in the hands of a stranger, who resided in the very centre of my friends and relations, that I never was solicitous enough to write to one of those to secure it. I will entreat the patience of the Honorable House

House for a moment longer ; when I was in Boston, exposed to certain hazard, solicited, persecuted, and personally obnoxious, did I ever recede one moment from the cause of my country ? though frequently threatened and abused as I passed the streets, my house assaulted, and my windows broken in the night ; was I ever intimidated from pursuing with my utmost vigour the interest of the public ? And now, Sir, when the Colonies are united, the opposition general and formidable, my person secure, and no other temptation to revolt but the hopes of pardon ; to be thus influenced at this time must betray a versatility bordering upon insanity. Were my small but sincere services ill requited ; were I entirely neglected in the dispensation of public benefits, I might be suspected of apostacy from chagrin and disappointment ; but the matter is so totally different, that when the establishment of an hospital was in contemplation, I had every satisfactory encouragement that I should be appointed, and in such a way as to have my utmost wishes gratified. The result of this inquiry, may it please your Honor, the determination of this important body is to me of the last importance. I solicit not life ; that, I have long held in my hand, a ready, a devoted oblation to my country ; I plead for more than life, I plead, in spite of one act of precipitation, and even that from a virtuous intention, I plead a restoration to your confidence and esteem, to the esteem and confidence of my country which I have never forfeited. If I have inadvertently erred, judge my mistakes with candor. The irregularity of a measure, which they are unable to account for, has alarmed, has startled my friends ; their determination is suspended, it rests upon yours.

I demand your confidence, gentlemen ; the warmest bosom here, does not flame with a brighter zeal, for the security, happiness, and liberties of America, than mine ; consider, gentlemen, the adopted character sustained through that letter, consider the apparent design, and attend to the concluding urgent recommendation of an immediate accommodation ; weigh the labours of an active life against the indiscretion of an hour. Be pleased to consider, Sir, if the letter had arrived, had it not produced the good intended, could not have produced any mischief ; but it never arrived ; never produced any ill consequences but to the guiltless, though unfortunate author : Consider, gentlemen, what a miserable, what an embarrassed situation I shall be flung into, if so unhappy as to incur your censure ; here I shall be wretched indeed ; objected to the sting of invective, pointed with savage asperity, doubly wretched in having no sanctuary from reproach and ruin. The most obstinate and malicious enemy to his country, finds a secure asylum in that retreat where I have sacrificed my fortune for you, and which, I have effectually barred by my incessant exertions in your service.

To your wisdom, gentlemen, to your justice, to your tenderness I chearfully submit my fate." Here I was questioned respecting sundry matters which were uttered during my defence by sundry members of the Honorable House, and was directed to withdraw under the conduct of the guard. Previous to my departure from the House, I addressed myself to the Honorable Speaker, informing the House, I desired to be admitted to bail, otherwise I was fearful of falling a martyr to the severities of my imprisonment, and then withdrew.

From my prison in Cambridge, November 1, 1775.

Attest, B. C. jun.

The following letter was written by a gentleman of literary character, upon a subject which had, for some years before, exercised the minds of people, and upon which much may be said equally useful and entertaining.

It was communicated lately to the Historical Society, *and they now offer it to the public with every expression of respect to the worthy author.*

Dr. Tenney's Letter on the Dark Day, May 19, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

ALTHOUGH the uncommon darkness, which attracted the attention of all ranks of people in this part of the country, on the 19th of May, 1780, was a phenomenon which several gentlemen of considerable literary abilities have endeavoured to solve, yet I believe you will agree with me that no satisfactory solution has yet appeared. But it does not thence follow that none can be given. That it was supernatural was never supposed but by the ignorant and superstitious; it must then admit of a rational and philosophical explanation. The following therefore is submitted to that candor, with which a true philosopher will examine every modest attempt to extend our knowledge of nature, and to explain her operations. Should it not prove satisfactory, it may at least excite you to an attempt that shall be more successful.

You will readily recollect that, previously to the commencement of the darkness, the sky was overcast with the common kind of clouds, from which there was, in some places, a light sprinkling of rain. Between these and the earth there intervened another stratum, to appearance, of very great thickness. As this stratum advanced, the darkness commenced, and increased with its progress till it came to its height; which did not take place till the hemisphere was a second time overspread. The uncommon thickness of this second stratum was probably occasioned by two strong currents of wind from the southward and westward, condensing the vapours and drawing them in a north-easterly direction. I remember this observation was made by an anonymous writer in one of the public papers soon after the event.

As I set out the next day, from my father's at Rowley, to join my regiment in New-Jersey, I had an opportunity to inform myself what were the appearances in different parts of the country between here and Pennsylvania. The result of my inquiries, on that journey, and after my return, was that the darkness was most gross in the county of Essex, the lower part of the state of New-Hampshire and the old Province of Maine. In Rhode-Island and Connecticut it was not so great, and still less in New-York. In New-Jersey the second stratum of clouds was observed, but not of any great thickness; nor was the darkness very uncommon. In the lower parts of Pennsylvania, if my recollection does not fail me, no extraordinary appearance was noticed. Through this whole extent the lower stratum had an uncommon brassy hue, while the earth and trees were adorned with so enchanting a verdure as could not escape notice, even amidst the unusual gloom that surrounded the spectator. This gradual increase of the darkness from southwest to northeast, which was nearly the course of the clouds, affords a pretty good argument in favour of the supposition,

that

that they were condensed by two strong currents of wind blowing in different directions. To these two strata of clouds we may, without hesitation, impute the extraordinary darkness of the day. Let us now examine how they effected it.

We have, unhappily, no method of exactly comparing different degrees of light, that will apply in all cases. We cannot therefore determine the proportion which the light of a common rainy day bears to that of the clear sun. It is probably not so considerable as may be supposed. We may make a kind of estimate of it, sufficient for our purpose in the following way.

Upon a superficial consideration we should not perhaps, suppose that the light of the *full moon* was in a much less proportion to that of the sun than as 1 to 1000. But this conjecture would be exceedingly erroneous, as will appear from the following rough calculation. The light proceeding from a luminous body is, at different distances, always in an inverse ratio of the squares of those distances. The moon is nearly 217 of her semi-diameters distant from the earth, the square of which number is a little above 47,000. Now supposing the earth and moon were, at the full of the latter, equidistant from the sun, and received equal proportions of light from him; supposing also that the surface of the moon was in every part a perfect reflector, the above number would give the exact proportion between the light of the sun and full moon. In other words, the light of the sun would be to that of the full moon as 47,000 to 1. But the moon at the full is considerably further distant from their common source of light than the earth is, and must receive less light in proportion. Further, the moon instead of being a *perfect* reflector *in every part*, reflects at best, but very *imperfectly*, and from a considerable proportion of her surface, scarce *any* at all. These things considered, we cannot suppose that the light of the full moon bears a greater proportion to that of the sun than as 1 to 100,000.

We have here compared two degrees of light which are familiar to us. With these we can compare the light we enjoy in a common rainy day, which is equally so. This, however, can be only by conjecture; and it is not necessary for our purpose that it should be a very happy one. We will suppose the light of a common cloudy day, just before it rains, to be 10,000 times as great as that of the full moon, or 10 times less than that of the sun in a clear atmosphere. To put it beyond a doubt, however, that this a modest postulatum, we will take another method to ascertain it, which perhaps (had it struck my mind sooner) might have precluded the necessity of the preceding calculation. Supposing a tight room to face the sun when at a small height above the horizon, the degree of light in it will bear the same proportion to the light without doors, as the glass in that front (all other windows and doors being closed) bears to a section of the room perdendicular to the sun's rays. For instance, if the glass is to the perdendicular section as 1 to 8, the light in the room would bear that proportion to the light without. This, however, is upon the supposition that the glass should transmit all the incident rays, which is not fact; for a very considerable part of them is reflected; probably such a proportion as to reduce the light in the room to a twelfth part of that without doors.

A very

A very great disproportion this; but I believe you will allow, that it is not much greater than that which we have been endeavouring to ascertain. We will therefore consider the postulatum as established. It will then follow, that *nine parts in ten of the sun's rays are reflected from the upper surface of a common stratum of clouds*, or *lost in their passage through it*. That the reflected rays are very copious, will appear by the resplendent whiteness of small detached clouds, when strongly illuminated by the sun. We can also easily conceive that a large part of the rays, which enter the clouds, will be absorbed and lost in them, when we consider the infinite number of reflections, and refractions they must suffer in their passage. The rays, which make their way through, probably suffer nearly as many reflections and refractions, as those which are stopped. It is therefore natural to conclude that their velocity is greatly diminished at the time of their exit from the lower surface of the clouds: For the causes that were able to stop nine tenths of the rays must necessarily have greatly retarded the rest.

Now let us suppose a second stratum of clouds, thick and compact, to intervene between the first and the earth, as happened on the memorable 19th of May. The rays, that fortunately effected their passage through the first, were not only deprived of a great part of their velocity, but turned out of their direct course, so that they must have struck upon the second very obliquely. By this means a much larger proportion of them than common was reflected from the upper surface of the clouds that composed it. The rest having to penetrate a very thick and compact body of vapours, with a velocity exceedingly diminished, had not a sufficiency of momentum to overcome the resistance, they had to encounter from the numerous reflections and refractions they met with, and were consequently lost in their passage. Nor will it appear strange, that, when nine tenths of the incident rays, whilst proceeding with their inconceivable native velocity, were lost in passing a common stratum of clouds, the remainder should be so generally lost in such a body of vapour as then opposed their progress, after they had been so fatigued and tamed (if I may borrow the expressions) in their struggles to force a passage though the first obstacle. The wonder is much greater, that any of them were able to penetrate. 'Tis certain, however, that a small proportion were so fortunate. These were sufficient to render terrestrial objects visible, while their yellow hue thrown upon the foliage and herbage diminished the intensity of their natural green, which is a compound colour, and gave them the resplendent and beautiful tint they exhibited.

The darkness of the following evening was probably as gross as ever has been observed since the Almighty fiat gave birth to light. It wanted only palpability to render it as extraordinary, as that which overspread the land of Ægypt in the days of Moses. And as darkness is not substantial, but a mere privation, the palpability ascribed to that by the sacred historian must have arisen from some peculiar affection of the atmosphere, perhaps an exceeding thick vapour, that accompanied it. I could not help conceiving at the time, that if every luminous body in the universe had been shrouded in impenetrable shades, or struck out of existence, the darkness could not have been more complete. A sheet of white paper held within a few inches of the eyes

was equally invisible with the blackest velvet. Considering the small quantity of light that was transmitted by the clouds, by day, it is not surprising that, by night, a sufficient quantity of rays should not be able to penetrate the same strata, brought back by the shifting of the winds, to afford the most obscure prospect even of the best reflecting bodies.

In framing this solution, you will observe that I have supposed a retarding power in the vapours that compose the clouds ; in other words, that the rays of light suffer a great diminution of velocity from the reflections and refractions, which they meet with in their passage. This effect necessarily results from a want of perfect elasticity in reflecting bodies. For should we suppose a perfect elasticity in the rays of light (of which however we have no proof) and allow a want of it in the vapours of which the clouds are formed, their velocity must be less after the reflection than before. Should it be said that light is reflected from bodies, not by impinging upon them, but by a principle of mutual repellency between them, the probability of their suffering a retardation will be much increased ; because it is hardly conceivable that this principle, after having entirely destroyed the motion of light, should give it as great an impulse as it first received from its source, the sun. If it does not, then a certain number of reflections must be sufficient to reduce the rays to a state of perfect quiescence ; and those, which make their way through, must, at their exit from the clouds, proceed with a velocity more or less diminished, in proportion to the number of reflections they have encountered. It is probable the refractions may also produce a similar effect.

Thus, Sir, I have given you my ideas of the manner, in which the extraordinary darkness on the 19th of May was produced. If my principles are allowed, I flatter myself the solution will not appear to you altogether unphilosophical. If, however, upon a full and candid examination ; you should see cause to reject it, I will thank you to communicate the reasons which lead you to do it ; and if you please, to give me a better.

I have the honour to be,
Sir, with high esteem,
Your most obedient and humble servant,

Exeter, Dec. 1785.

To———— SAMUEL TENNEY.

A letter from the Town Clerk of Dorchester *to the Secretary of the* Historical Society.

SIR,

IN the beginning of the year 1630, reckoning the year to begin with January, a congregational church was gathered at Plymouth in England, and the Rev. John Maverick, and the Rev. John Warham, were separated to the care of the said church. March 20th 1630, the aforesaid Mr. Maverick and Warham, sailed from Engand, with many godly families and persons. They arrived at Nantasket, May 30th, 1630, where Capt. S———— puts them ashore and leaves them to shift for themselves ; some of them get a boat of some old planters, and go up Charles' river, till it grows narrow and shallow ; there,

there, with some difficulty, land their goods, the bank being steep. They are there but a little while, before they have orders to remove to Mattapan, because of a neck fit to keep their cattle on: they remove, begin the town, and name it Dorchester, where the natives are kind to them. Probably they removed in June. In the year 1635, the aforesaid Rev. John Warham removes from Dorchester to Windsor with the greatest part of the church. The Rev. John Maverick died in February, 1636, reckoning the year to begin as aforesaid. In August 1636 the Rev. Richard Mather was settled at Dorchester, and a new church was gathered. In a few years the Rev. Jonathan Burr, was called to be an assistant to Mr. Mather, and according to the church records was settled, but his continuance was but short; he died August 9th 1641, and left Mr. Mather alone. In the year 1649, the Rev. John Wilson, jun. was settled with Mr. Mather, but in two years removes to Medfield, that Medfield might have a pastor, where he was minister 40 years. Mr. Mather died April 22d, 1669. An. Æt. 73, having been settled in Dorchester 32 years and 8 months. The Rev. Josiah Flint was settled December 27th, 1671. Died September 16th 1680, having been settled in Dorchester 8 years and between 8 and 9 months. The Rev. John Danforth was settled June 28th 1682. Died May 26th, 1730. An. Æt. 70, having been in the ministry almost 48 years. The Rev. Jonathan Bowman was settled with Mr. Danforth, November 5th, 1729, continued in the ministry till December 14th, 1773, having been in the ministry 44 years. The Rev. Moses Everett, the presegt pastor, was settled September 28th 1774.

The sepulchres of the prophets are with us. The Rev. John Maverick was buried, I suppose, in the first burying place; the Rev. Jonathan Burr, the Rev. Richard Mather, the Rev. Josiah Flint, the Rev. John Danforth and the Rev. Jonathan Bowman, in the second.

There have been several instances of longevity in the town of Dorchester. Mrs. Anne Pierce, the widow of Robert Pierce, lived to about 104 years of age. Mr. Richard Leeds, to about 98 years. Mr. Israel Leadbetter, to the 97th year of his age. Mrs. Relief Leadbetter, to the 94th year of her age. Mr. William Dier, to the 93d year of his age. Mr. John Bird, to the 91st year of his age. Mr. John Trescott, to the 91st; and his wife, to the 98th year of her age.

More than thirty from Dorchester have had an education at Harvard college, and been graduated there. More than twenty of whom have been preachers of the gospel. To which number I may add the Rev. William Brimsmead of Marlborough, and the Rev. Ichabod Wiswell of Duxbury, as having their education at said college, who, after the law was made, for the students staying at college four years instead of three, came away without tarrying for their degrees.

The Indians at Ponkipog, now Stoughton, having sold away all their land, the Rev. John Elliot of Roxbury (who was indefatigable in his endeavours to gospelize the Indians) sent a letter to Major Atherton of Dorchester, wherein he expresses his gratitude to him and all the good people of Dorchester, that they were allowed to proceed quietly at Ponkipog; and requests him to further these two motions, viz. 1. That you would please to make an order in your town, and record

it in your town records, that you approve and allow the Indians of Ponkipog, there to sit down, and to make a town, and to enjoy such accommodations as may be sufficient to maintain God's ordinances, among them another day. My second request is, that you would appoint fit men, who may, in a fit season, bound and lay out the same, and record that also. The letter bears date, Roxbury, the 4th of the 4th, 1657.

At a general town meeting, the 7th of December, 1657, the same day it was voted, that the Hon. Major Atherton, Lieutenant Clap, Ensign Foster, and William Sumner are desired and impowered to lay out the Indian plantation at Ponkipog, not exceeding six thousand acres of land, which it appears was done, for in a deed from Charles Josiah, an Indian Sachem, bearing date, June, 1684, he ratified and confirmed for a valuable sum of money, paid him by William Stoughton, Esq. what his father Josiah, and his grandfather Chickatabut had done before him, granting and conveying all the land in the town of Dorchester and Milton, said six thousand acres laid out for the Indians excepted.

In the year 1637, or 1638, the General Court enlarged the bounds of Dorchester, granting them to the bounds of Plymouth. In the year 1664, the line between the Colony of Massachusetts and Plymouth was run from *Accord* pond to *Angle* tree. In the year 1713, or thereabouts, the new Colony line was run. Mr. Thaxter and Mr. Thompson, as I suppose, mistaking *Station* tree for *Angle* tree, which were three miles and an half a part. A large gore of the land which the General Court granted to Dorchester, and which was purchased of Charles Josiah, an Indian Sachem, for a valuable sum of money, I suppose, was cut off from Dorchester. For a town to grant six thousand acres of land for the accommodation of the Indians, (which is more than two thirds as much as the whole quantity of land now within the bounds of Dorchester) and to have more than six thousand acres more cut off by the running of a line, is more, I trust, than can be said of any town in this Commonwealth.

In may, 1662, the town voted, that *Unquety*, now Milton, should be a township, if the General Court give way thereunto.

May 12th 1707, voted in the affirmative, that the inhabitants of Dorchester new grant should be set off a precinct by themselves.

In November, 1725, the town voted that the inhabitants of the south precinct in Dorchester, and all the lands beyond it in the township of Dorchester, should be set off a township by themselves.

NOAH CLAP, *Town-Clerk.*

Dorchester, Jan. 4, 1792.

Form of an OATH *appointed to be taken by Sir* FERDINANDO GORGES.

Council, March, 1640.

[From the ancient Records of the Province of Maine.]

I DO swear and protest before God Almighty, and by the holy contents of this book, to be a faithful servant and Councellor, unto Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Knight, my lord of the Province of Mayne, and to his heirs and assigns to do and perform to the utmost of my power, all dutiful respects to him and them belonging; concealing their counsel, and without respect of persons, to do, perform, and give my opinion in all causes according to my conscience, and best understanding; both as I am a Councellor for hearing of causes, and otherwise to give him or them my opinion, as I am a councellor for matters of State and Commonwealth, and that I will not conceal from him or them and their councel any matter of conspiracy or mutinous practice against my said Lord, his heirs and assigns, but will constantly after my knowledge thereof, discover the same and prosecute the authors thereof with all diligence and severity, according to justice, and thereupon do humbly kiss the book.

At the first General Court held at Saco, June 25, 1640.

Before Richard Vines, Richard Bonighton, Henry Josseline and Edward Godfrey, councellors to Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

ROGER GARD, *Regr.*
ROBERT SANKEY, *Provost Marshal.*

Memorandum—That here is a matter depending in this Court, between Mr. Edward Godfrey and Mr. George Cleaves concerning 20*l.* which the said Edward Godfrey doth demand of the said George Cleaves, by virtue of an order out of the High Court of *Starr Chamber* for costs in that court, by a special writ.

WHEREAS, divers priviledges have heretofore been granted to the patentees and inhabitants of Agamenticus, as by several patents doth and may appear—We whose names are here subscribed being deputed for and in behalf off the said inhabitants, do in behalf of ourselves and those we are deputed for, *Protest*, as followeth—That our appearance at this Court, shall be no prejudice to any grante or priviledge we now enjoy or ought to enjoy by virtue of the said patent or otherwise; and whatsoever we speak do or transact in this Court shall be saving this protestation.

Nothwithstanding we do humbly acknowledge his Majesty's grant, of the Provincial patent to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and humbly submit ourselves thereunto so far as by law we are bound. We also desire a copy of this protestation may be taken by some notary, or other Officer of this Court here to be recorded.

EDWARD JOHNSON,
JOHN BAKER,
GEORGE PUDDINGTON,
BARH. BARNET.
} *Deputies from Inhabitants of Agamenticus.*

It was ordered at this Court,

By Richard Vines, Richard Bonighton, Henry Josselyne, and Edward Godfrey Esquires, Councellors for this Province, that the Government

ernment established at Agamenticus shall so remain until such time as the said councellors have certified the Lord of the Province thereof, and heard again from him concerning his further pleasure therein.

AT a General Court, holden at Saco, October 21, 1645.
Before RICHARD VINES, *Deput.*
RICHARD BONIGHTON, HENRY JOSSELYNE } *Esqrs.*
Francis Robinson, Arthur Mackworth, Edward Small, Abraham Prebble, Magistrates.

Ordered by the General Court, that whereas, we have not heard of late from the Hon. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Lord proprietor of this Province of Mayne, for a full establishment of government within the said Province for our peace and safety; This 21 of October, 1645, have chosen for our Deputy Governor Richard Vines Esq. for one whole year. And also order yearly to choose a Deputy Governor. And further order that in case the said Richard Vines Esq; should depart the country before the year be expired: Then we nominate and choose Henry Josselyne Esq. Deputy Governor in his place and stead.

William Waldron recorder of the Province of Mayne chosen and sworn for one year.

Ordered, that whereas John Bonithan of Saco in the Province of Mayne hath been summoned divers times in his Majesties name to appear at our Court, and hath refused, threatening to kill or slay any person that should lay hands on him; whereupon the law hath had its due proceeding to an outlawry; and divers judjments, executions and warrants of the good behaviour against him—We, thereupon, at a General Court assembled, adjudge the said John Bonithan outlawed and incapable of his Majesty's laws, And proclaim him a *rebbel.*

Ordered by consent of this Court that if Mr. John Bonithan be taken, that he be sent forthwith to Boston to answer such things as there shall be brought against him.

Ordered for the charges of the General Court at Saco or the Province of Mayne, 21 October 1645.

Saco, to pay	11		
Casco	10	4*l*	10*s* 0*d*
Gorgiana	1 0		
Piscataque	2 10		

The humble petition of William Cutt and ——— Cutting, sheweth,

That John Reynolds, contrary to an act, in Court, that no wimin shall live upon the Isle of Shols, hath brought his wife thither with an intention there to live and abide. And hath also brought upon Hogg Island a great stock of goats and hoggs, which doth not only spoil and destroy much fish to the great damage of several others, and likewise many of your petitioners; but also doth spoil the spring of water that is on that island, by making it unfit or unserviceable for any manner of use, which is the only relief and sustenance of all the rest of the Island.

Your petitioners therefore pray that the said Reynolds may be ordered to remove his said goats and swine from the island forthwith. Also that

that the act of Court before mentioned may be put in execution for the removal of all wimin inhabiting there—And your petitioners shall pray.

Whereas, by the aforesaid request, the general complaint of the chief of the fishermen and owners of the Isle of Sholes, that it is a great annoyance and prejudice for Mr. John Reynolds to keep his sheep and goats at the Isle of Sholes—It is by mutual consent of this Court, Ordered, that Mr. Reynolds shall within twenty days remove all his swine that he hath at Hogg Island from thence or any other Island of these Islands, that are inhabited with fishermen.

And as for the removal of his wife (if no further complaint against her) she may yet enjoy the company of her husband.

These, dated the 20th October 1647.

Whereas, the inhabitants of Piscataqua, Gorgiana, and Wells in the Province of Mayn,* have here begun to ppògat and populict these parts of the country did formerly by power derivative from Sir Ferdinando Gorges Knight, exersise—the regulating the affairs of the country as ny as we could according to the laws of England, and such other ordinances as was thought meet and requisit for the better regulating thereof. Now forasmuch as Sir Ferdinando Gorges is dead, the country by their generall letter sent to his heirs in June 1647 and 48. But by the sad distractions in England noe returne is yet come to hand. And command from the Parlament, not to meddle insoemuch as was granted to Mr. Rigley.† Most of the commissioners being dep'ted the Province. The inhabitants are for present in sume distraction about the regulating the affairs of these sites : For the better ordering whereof till further order power and authoryty shall come out of England ; the inhabitants with one free and universanimus consent due bynd themselves in a boddy pollitick a combination to see these parts of the country and Province regulated according to such laws as formerly have been exercised and such others as shall be thought meet, not repugnant to the fundamental laws of our native country.

And to make choyse of such Governor or Governes and Majistrates as by most voysses they shall think meet. Dated in Gorgiana alias Accoms. the day of Julie 1649. The priviledge of Accoms. Charter excepted. *(copied literatim)*

Certain presentments of Grand Juries, among which are the following :

We present Charles Potum for living an idle lazy life ; following no settled employments. Major Bryant Pembleton joined with the selectmen of Cape Porpus, to dispose of Potum according to law, and to put him under family government.

We present Jere. Guttridge for an idle person, and not providing for his family, and giving reproachful language to Mr. Nat. Frier, when he reproved him for his idleness. The Court for his offence adjudges the Delinquent to have 20 lashes on his back, and to bring security

* *Piscataqua is supposed to comprehend the lands now* (1792) *known by the names of Kittery and Berwick. Gorgiana, the name given in the Charter from Gorge to York.*

† *Rigley claimed lands in Falmouth and Scarborough.*

security to the court to be of better behaviour in providing for his family.

We present Adam Goodwine for denying the morality of the 4th Commandment.

We present the Selectmen of the town of Kittery for not taking care that their children and youth be taught their catechism and education according to law.

Similar presentments were made against the Selectmen of the several towns of Cape Porpus, Scarborough, and Falmouth.

HISTORICAL SCRAPS.

CAPTAIN Benj. Church, the famous warrior against the Indians, at the eastward, fell upon a small village, from whence the warriors at his approach, had hastily fled, leaving some old squaws and a few small pappooses, that their sudden and hasty departure did not permit them to remove. These, after falling into the hands of Church and his company, were set at liberty without injury. This humanity and generosity were remembered afterwards, and recompensed by the Indians in kind, when they surprized and destroyed the greater part of the inhabitants of York, January 22, 1692, *old style*, by dismissing and sending into one of the garrison houses, that by vigilance escaped the carnage, some old women and a half dozen small children, or more, between three and seven years of age. One of the youngest boys then dismissed and sent, was afterwards the famous Col. Jeremiah Moulton, who died about the year 1765.

Samuel Cane Esq. an acting Justice of the Peace of York, had, pretty early one morning, two of his townsmen come before him, in order to have each other laid under bonds to keep the peace. The Justice had a saw mill, a few rods from his house with a log in it to be sawed into boards. He appeared busy and in haste, told them he wanted the log sawed ; and, if they would go to the mill and saw it, and roll it on to the carriage, while he finished the engagement he was then about, he would immediately after attend them upon the business they came to him upon. The men went to the mill together, cut the log and rolled it upon the carriage and returned : By this time the 'Squire had finished the little job he was doing. They then began to acquaint him of their apprehension of danger from each other, and, 'tis said, offered to swear the Peace (as it is sometimes expressed) against each other. Upon this his worship judiciously observed to them, if such were their real apprehensions, how it happened that they could work together upon the log at the mill ?

There were sufficient weapons and time for injuring each other, if they really had such intentions or dispositions ; and no third person to interfere. Their fears were therefore groundless. And they themselves, upon reflection, must be sensible of it. And thereupon dismissed them without complying with either of their requests.

This letter, written by the late Dr. Cotton Mather *in the year 1718, was supposed to be addressed to Lord Barrington, who was a very religious man, and a great friend to New England. He was the first of the name and peerage of Barrington. His brother was Governour of Massachusetts, as is well known, and one who was well pleasing to the people, on account of his attachment to the dissenting interest.*

This letter also gives the world a character of the inhabitants of New England as well as their Governour, Col. Shute.

YOUR generous inclinations to do good unto the world, and become a general benefactor to mankind, have not been confined unto the eastern side of the Atlantic. Your influences have reached unto the American regions, and the people afar off do, on many accounts, feel and own themselves the better for you.

If New-England enjoys a singular share in your concern for the welfare of such as are always glad and proud of your patronage, it is a country that will pretend unto some, especially two, recommendations, which have somewhat of a singularity in them.

The one is, that our lawful, and rightful, and invaluable King George, is not known to have so much as one of all that are *truly of this people*, disaffected unto him ; none of all the dominions protected by the sceptre of that illustrious Prince, can boast of loyalty so conspicuous, and so universal : and if they approve themselves loyal, rather by heartily *praying* for their Prince's health, than by *drinking* of it, their inviolable fidelity is not the less to be relied upon.

The other is, that no church upon earth at this day so notably makes the terms of *communion* run parallel with the terms of *salvation*, as they are made among this people. The only declared basis for union among them, is that solid, vital, substantial *piety*, wherein all good men of different forms, are united. And *Calvinists* with *Lutherans*, *Presbyterians* with *Episcopalians*, *Pedo-baptists* with *Anabaptists*, beholding one another to *fear God, and work righteousness*, do with delight sit down together at the same table of the Lord ; nor do they hurt one another in the Holy mountain.

You will doubtless esteem such a people not unworthy of your kind regards : And if there should be some follies found among them, any sordid frugality, any absurd ingratitude, any weak listening to a few designing men, who sometimes, with popular and plausible insinuations, impose upon them ; your superiour spirit will compassionately make allowances for them. Such things are but *humanities*. And the goodness, and patience, and courage of great men, must have trials by inferiour people, in this way provided for them.

For this people you have done various and ponderous kindnesses : But the greatest that ever you did, and, Sir, you will pardon me, if I say, that it was not possible for you to do a greater for them, has been in what you have done, that we might enjoy your incomparable brother for our Governour : A person born to make every one easy and happy, that his benign rays can reach unto.

His Majesty could not, among the many millions of his good subjects, find a more faithful steward of his interests : And, at the same time, he treats the true interests of the people committed unto him with so paternal a tenderness and clemency, that they find him a bet-

ter friend unto them, than they sometimes are unto themselves: And it helps to endear their King unto them, in that his royal wisdom and goodness has bestowed upon them such a Governour.

It is possible, that the best of Kings may have some enemies among us in masquerade; enemies, but afraid, and ashamed, of being accounted such. And it is thought, that scarce any but such, be enemies of a Governour, in whom we have so bright an image of his royal master.

Certain political interests, and frustrations, did indispose the mind of a few people to him for a while: But his noble contempt of their enmity, and his prudent, unbiassed, uncorrupt administration, in a little while so conquered them, that for to speak ill of him, is become a disgrace which very few appear ambitious of.

The *worst* of men, confess him to be a person of excellent temper, and of unspotted justice, and every way a gentleman; and one whom no ill may be expected from.

The *best* of men, all agree in rendering thanks to the glorious God for him; and reckon the example and the countenance, wherewith virtue is animated from him, to be a mercy which we never can be too thankful for.

All men acknowledge and celebrate the felicity of our country in him; and *strangers* that come among us, with one voice, invite us to be yet more sensible of it.

What a satisfaction must it be unto his Majesty, if he shall understand, that he hath granted the commission for our government, unto a person, whom if it were left unto their own election, the whole people almost to a man, would chuse for their Governour!

If any rash men should be so venomous as to exhibit any complaints against such a Governour, or to represent him under any disadvantageous character, they must needs be acted by motives and mistakes, which good men cannot but be displeased at. And if either the character of the men, or the temptation which misleads them, should be thoroughly enquired into, all their talk will at once lose all its efficacy, and never be able to make the least impression.

To lose a Governour so generally and passionately beloved, would put whole Provinces into mourning, and produce lamentations like those of *Hadradimmon*. And the greatest benefit that your servant, who now writes, or the people for whom he writes can ask of you, is, that you would still do, what may be in you, to secure unto us the long enjoyment of him.

What is now written comes from one who is capable to know the disposition of these Provinces, as unwilling to write any thing, which he does not know, or think to be true; but very willing, that if there should be any occasion for it, you may expose this letter wherever it may be serviceable.

At this time I add no more; but may our great God and Saviour multiply his blessings on your person and family, and give successes to your intentions for the good of our nation, and of his people in the world.

So prays,

Honourable Sir,

Your most sincere, and humble servant.

Boston, New-England,
Nov. 4, 1718.

COTTON MATHER.

A general Description of the County of MIDDLESEX, *by* JAMES WINTHROP, *Esq.*

MIDDLESEX is one of the most ancient shires in the Commonwealth of *Massachusetts*, which first adopted the division by Counties in 1643. It has been rendered eminent by the military event of April 19th, 1775, which gave birth to the American Revolution. The battle of Lexington, honourable to our country, is so recent in memory, as to render it unnecessary for us to be more particular than merely to mention its date.

This County is also distinguished by the UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE; a society that has, from the beginning, furnished supplies of statesmen qualified to support the rights of mankind, and of men eminent in every branch of literature.

The County deviates a little from a square, but its area is nearly equal to a square of forty miles on a side. It is divided into forty-one towns of unequal extent and population. The late survey under the act of Congress, gave for the whole number of souls in the County upwards of forty-two thousand, of which number two thousand one hundred belong to Cambridge, the shire town. This town is about three miles west from Boston, and beautifully situated in a plain, watered by the Charles, which enters the County at Newton, about seven miles from Cambridge in the direction of the road. The Lower Fall, as it is called, is about twenty feet in its direct descent at the bridge between Newton and Needham. At this place the river separates Middlesex from Suffolk. Below Cambridge the river forms a wide bay, extending more than half a mile from shore to shore, and including the marsh, a mile and a qurater wide in the direction of the new bridge between Boston and Cambridge; of which that will be the length. Another bridge, over the Charles, where six years ago was a ferry, somewhat more than a quarter of a mile wide connects Boston and Charlestown. A third bridge, one of the longest now in the world, is over the Mistic, and joins Charlestown to Malden, both those towns being in this County.

The Mistic is indeed a short river, being not more than a dozen miles in length; but though small, it is well improved by the industrious and flourishing town of Medford.

Another river of note in the County for the length of its course, the gentleness of its current, and the meadows that are watered by it, is Concord river. It rises at Hopkinton in the south west corner of the County, and passing through Framingham, Sudbury, Concord, Billerica, and Chelmsford, jons the Merrimack at Tewkesbury, below the ridge of land which interrupts the tranquillity of each stream, and forms a considerable cataract.

Nashua river enters the County of Middlesex at Groton, and crossing that part of the County, goes into the state of New-Hampshire, where it is lost in the Merrimack.

The Merrimack rises in the northern parts of New-Hampshire, and running southerly receives a large supply of water from Lake Winipiseogee, in the centre of that State. It afterwards enters Massachusetts at Dunstable in this County, when turning eastward it passes by several

al towns, and leaving the County at Tewkesbury continues its course through the County of Essex to the sea at Newbury Port.

The southern and northern sides of the County are hilly, but cannot be considered as mountainous, few of the hills exceeding an hundred feet in height, and being generally wooded or cultivated quite to the summit.

The climate is very fine, the air generally serene, and the temperature mild. The extreme variation of Fahrenheit's thermometer may be considered as an hundred degrees in a year; but it is in very few instances, that in the course of a year it reaches either extreme. Ninety-two degrees may be considered as the extreme of summer heat, and five or six degrees below 0, as that of the winter cold. Instances are to be found of its exceeding these limits, but they are so rare as to be exceptions to the general rule, and do not form a rule of themselves.

Apples, pears, peaches, cherries, grapes, and currants are among our fruits, and by cultivation, arrive at great perfection. The three last sorts are indigenous, but it is not so certain of the rest. The oak, chesnut, walnut, oilnut, pine, maple, button or plane tree, elm, ash, and birch, are among the trees that variegate our forests and beautify the face of the country.

Letter of an old English Merchant to the EARL *of* SANDWICH, *upon the Expedition to Louisbourg.*—[*From the Daily Advertiser.*]

MY LORD, *London, April* 22, 1775.

I HAVE waited a considerable time, in expectation, either that some abler advocate for the living and the dead, would have exposed the fallacy of your late extraordinary harangue in the House of Lords, as it was printed in the public newspapers; or that a positive contradiction would have appeared from authority; I mean a solemn asseveration that you never made use of such absurd terms, or related such an improbable particular instance, attended with such ludicrous circumstances concerning the brave Sir Peter Warren, and the equally brave North Americans: This latter expectation was rather reasonable in me, because, though I was admitted to the honour of being present at the memorable siege of Louisbourg, in 1745, I cannot, in these times of inquisitorial secrecy, be admitted to the like honour at the assemblies of the British sages; I mean, in the Houses of Lords or Commons, and of course cannot depend upon what may be said to have passed there; the constituents of the Commons are rudely thrust out of the gallery of their own House, and as that celebrated botanist, philosopher, favourite, and Knight of the Polar Star, Sir John Hill, says, in the preface to his animadversions upon the Royal Society, I have the honour NOT to be a member of either. But, my Lord, I was an eye-witness to the siege in question, was much nearer than Sir Peter, at the time of, and assisted to cover, the landing, which was heroically effected; and I do most absolutely deny your second-hand character, and account given of the Americans, if it is yours, to be true: I was also frequently an ear-witness to the declarations of Sir Peter, which were always directly contrary to what he hath been lately made to relate; I therefore also sincerely believe that part of the harangue in question not

to

to be true. You know, my good Lord, dead men tell no tales; it is well for some they cannot, or perhaps, if they could, in this refined and free thinking age, they would not be believed, no, not even Moses and the Prophets, were they to arise. Your Lordship will excuse the quotation; you was always extravagantly fond of the scriptures, at least I have been told so; and one tale, my good Lord, may be as true as another, you know: and yet, after all, your Lordship, far from declaiming so fallaciously, may never have even seen the ludicrous tale, you are represented to have so ludicrously embellished. You may, my Lord, be infinitely above reading of newspapers; nevertheless, in justice to your Lordship, as well as the rest of the concerned, it once more makes its appearance, with a few remarks; and would your Lordship condescend so far, you might learn how injuriously to your honour, you have been libelled in the public prints.

——"As to their prowess, I remember very well, when I had the honour to be at the Board at which I now preside, I had the curiosity to inquire about the surprising feats said to be performed by those people [the Americans] at the siege of Louisbourg, of the great naval officer who commanded on that expedition, as able and honest a seaman as ever lived (Sir Peter Warren) who told me very frankly, they were the greatest set of cowards and poltroons he ever knew; they were all bluster, noise, and conquest, before they got in the presence of their enemies, but then they were good for nothing. I remember a particular instance he told me, which, from the ludicrous circumstances attending it, made a very deep impression on my mind. Soon after their landing, there was a battery, called the Island Battery, which commanded the entrance of the harbour. Sir Peter having ordered them to attack it, they engaged to perform it; but what was the consequence? They ran away on the first fire. And how did you manage? Did you employ them afterwards, or upbraid them with their cowardice, says I?—No, answered Sir Peter, neither would it have been prudent; I formed the marines and part of the ships' crews into a body, to act on shore; and instead of upbraiding them, I told them they had behaved like heroes; for, if I had acted otherwise, I should have never taken the town, as their presence and numbers were necessary to intimidate the besieged.

"Their numbers, [meaning the Americans at large] and extent of country both, will unite with their cowardice to render their conquest the more easy; for, in the first place, it will be more difficult to assemble them, and when they are assembled, the more easy to defeat them. I would be better pleased, that the standing army should meet 200,000 of such a rabble, armed with old rusty firelocks, pistols, staves, clubs, and broomsticks, than 20,000, as the war would be at an end; and instead of five victories, one on our part would be equally decisive."

Sir Peter Warren, then a Commodore only, was as able and honest a seaman as ever stept between the stem and stern of a ship. He might have been advised with; nay, he certainly was, because the most perfect harmony subsisted between the land and sea officers; but he never ordered the land forces to attack any part of the fortifications, nor would they have engaged to perform such orders, if he had: the chief naval officer understood discipline much better, than to trench upon the

the province of General Pepperell; such orders must have bred ill blood. Can any man be brought to believe, that the General, or his brave volunteer irregulars, about 3,800 in number, every one of whom belonged to America, nay almost to a man * New-Englanders, would have suffered such treatment? Besides, would any mere naval officer, in his senses, have made himself unnecessarily responsible for consequences so hazardous! Lastly, and beyond all, who could have imagined that an English First Lord of the Admiralty would have espoused such a doctrine, and approved of such conduct?

The Island Battery stood upon a small rock, almost inaccessible, about 20 yards broad, and 200 long, with a circular battery of 42 pounders, towards the neck of the harbour, in front, with a guard-house and barracks behind. How could they, the Americans, run away, then, on the first fire? Or where to? unless into the ocean; for the whaling and ship's boats were sunk, or obliged to draw off: As it was, they made a noble stand: one Brookes, an American officer, had nearly struck the flag of the fort, it was actually half down, when a French-Swiss trooper, clove his skull. Their courageous landing, their dragging of 18 pounders, several miles over rocks, and through morasses, their drilling of 42 pounders left in the deserted grand battery which had been spiked up by the French, and then conveying them round the north-east harbour to the light-house; the speedy and close approach of the fascine batteries to the ramparts, and the general alertness of the successful besiegers, entitles them, surely, to more than a *sneer;* it justly entitles them to the real appellation of HEROES: Could men, so circumstanced, exert themselves more? Do such an handful of undisciplined soldiers deserve the opprobious epithets of cowards or poltroons?

The Admiral, it is true, blocked up the harbour effectually, and neglected nothing in the power of an experienced and valiant naval officer, on sea or shore, to assist the land forces; but did any one, besides your Lordship, ever hear him boast, that if he had acted otherwise, than by crouching and lying to cowards and poltroons, HE should have taken the town? Modesty is a constant attendant upon real merit; the admiral would have modestly insisted, that the *fleet* blocked up the port and did its duty, but that the *army* took the town.

You have been libelled, my Lord, or you have paid a poor compliment to the memory of Sir Peter Warren, and much poorer to the manes of the brave North Americans who perished before the walls; neither have you done justice to the survivers upon that expedition; I bled in this business, my Lord; and, though an *old Englishman*, feel for

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* "——Inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay, New-Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode-Island; 3,850 voluntary soldiers, principally substantial persons, and men of beneficial occupations; this brave, determined, though undisciplined band of soldiers, embarked from Boston on the 20th of March for Canso; and, *pray for us, while we fight for you*, was the valiant and endearing language wherewith they animated their desponding countrymen, on their departure from their families, their fortunes, and their occupations."

ROLT's Impartial Representation, &c. vol. 4, fol. 13.

for the honour of the British empire in every quarter of the globe. I feel also my proportionate part of the ungenerous and degrading insult; but every defamation that gross falshood and sheer ignorance can suggest, against our truly meritorious and much injured brethren of America, is now *courtly*, and of course fashionable.

How would your Lordship approve of it, to have the ashes of your departed, your broken-hearted brother, Captain Montagu, commonly called Mad Montagu, raked up? Would you like to be reminded of his drunken skirmishes, his nightly window breakings, and his amorous rencounters at Boston? I have been an eye-witness to several such particular instances, attended with ludicrous circumstances likewise, and cannot but remember, when one of those brave fellows, whom you are said to have stigmatized with the base character, of cowards, poltroons, and rabble, Joe Pierrepont, a small sized man, of Roxbury, near Boston, nicknamed the Duke of Kingston, fairly fought with, and drubbed him within an inch of his life. I will go further, my Lord, than you perhaps have chosen to do: to your brother's credit it shall be recorded that he regarded the man for the residue of his days.

I have done with your Lordship for the present, but not with the publick: As the best refutation to such illiberal malice, I lately caused even Dr. Smollet to give testimony against it, and will in a few days make other apt quotations from other historical writers, written at a period when some late pernicious Tory doctrines had not been broached, or if they had, would not have been countenanced, much less encouraged; I mean in the reign of King George the II. under whom, as Sterne makes uncle Toby declare of King William the III. I had the HONOUR to serve, though now I am no more, than

AN OLD ENGLISH MERCHANT.

Many false reports having been published, both in this country and England, of General MONTGOMERY*'s being buried with the honours of war, we have procured the following true account from a gentleman, who resided many years in Quebec, and obtained some of the particulars from the British officer, who commanded the guard, at the time General* MONTGOMERY*'s body was shown to the American prisoners. In printing it, our object is not to depreciate the reputation of General Carleton, whom we believe to be a humane, as well as brave officer, but merely to set a part of the history of the United States in its true light.*

THE spot where General Montgomery fell, is a place a little above Fraser's wharf, under Cape Diamond. The road there is exceeding narrow, and will not admit of more than five or six people to walk abreast. A barrier had been made across the road; and from the windows of a low house, which formed part of it, were planted two cannon. At his appearing upon a little rising ground, at the distance of about twenty or thirty yards, they were discharged: He and his two aids de camp fell at the same time, and thence rolled into the river upon the ice, that always forms in the winter upon its side. The next morning, a party being sent out to pick up the dead, he was discovered among

among the slain. He was immediately taken to the prison, where the Americans were confined, as they denied his death; upon which they acknowledged him, and burst into tears. The same night he was buried by a few soldiers, without any kind of distinction whatever, at the corner of the powder house, near Port Louis. The Lieutenant Governor of Quebec, Mr. Cramché, having served with him in the British army, was induced, by the persuasions of a lady, who was afterwards Mrs. Cramché, to order him a coffin; but made in the roughest manner. The other officers were indiscriminately thrown, with their clothes on, into the same grave with their men. As there was a great quantity of snow on the ground, and the earth was frozen very hard, it was impossible to dig the graves very deep; of course the bodies were but slightly covered. On the thawing of the snow in the ensuing spring, many of them appeared above ground, and became offensive. They were however again buried on Gen. Carleton's being made acquainted with it. Gen. Montgomery's grave cannot be distinguished, as there is no stone placed to point it out.

These facts are known to every person, who was in Quebec at the time of his defeat.

The following particulars relating to Worcester, *in the State of Massachusetts, were communicated by* Timothy Paine, William Young, Edward Bangs, *Esqrs. and Dr.* Samuel Stearns; *to whom the* Historical Society *acknowledge themselves much obliged.*

Situation.] WORCESTER, the shire town of the county of Worcester, is situated 47 miles W. from Boston, in lat. 42° 20′ N. and long. 0° 42′ W. from the meridian of Cambridge. The town lies near the centre of the western division of the state, at about the same distance from Boston, Providence, and Connecticut river. Should therefore the District of Maine be erected into a separate state, it would perhaps be the most convenient place for the seat of government.

Extent and Boundaries.] The course and length of the boundary lines (including a square piece of land on the S. W. corner of the township, containing 2200 acres, which a few years since was taken out of Worcester and annexed to Ward) are as follows: The northern and southern lines, E. 32° N. six miles; the western and eastern lines, N. 12° W. six miles and a half. It is bounded northerly by Holden, which was originally a part of Worcester; westerly, by Leicester; easterly, partly by Shrewsbury, and partly by Long Pond; southerly, partly by a gore of land called Worcester gore, * and partly by Sutton and Ward. The dimensions of the township are about six miles square.

Soil and Produce.] The soil is pretty good, warm, more inclined to sand than to clay but cannot however be called sandy: friendly to the growth of Indian corn. The inhabitants have had little success in raising wheat or flax, and at present seldom attempt it. Rye succeeds

* *By an act passed January* 14, 1785, *this gore was annexed to Worcester, and consequently the township is now bounded southerly by Sutton.*

succeeds very well, and is raised in great quantities. The rising grounds are very good for pasture; and the level, not indifferent for hay. But indeed there is soil of every kind in Worcester, and almost on every farm. It is difficult to describe its general properties; because it is productive in a degree of almost every growth of the country, and not very remarkable for any particular one.

Woods.] The natural growth is oak, walnut, chesnut, and pine; beside which there are ash trees, maples, and birches. These vegetate with such surprising rapidity, that the slothful man will soon have his fields overgrown with them.

Hills.] The township is full of round gradual rising hills, and dales: there are few craggy precipices, and few extensive plains. The middle, or most settled part of the township, is in a valley, surrounded by pleasant hills, and from the hill, as you enter the town on the east, it makes a very agreeable appearance. Tatnuck and Boggochoag hills are remarkable for having formerly had Indian towns on them. They are neither of them very high. Mill-stone hill, about half of a mile from the court-house, is the common property of the inhabitants, who procure from it stone, some of which they split out and hew for underpinning to their houses. It is hard grained, and peculiarly fit for millstones. As every farmer has his own plat of woodland on his homestead farm, the face of the township appears more woody from the hills, than it is in fact. The interspersion of hills and dales, fields and woods, affords an agreeable and variegated prospect, extending about six or seven miles from the observer's eye: For you cannot have a more enlarged view from the highest hill in Worcester.

Air.] The air is not remarkably different from that in Boston; except that the east wind, by passing over land, loses much of its chilling dampness, before it reaches Worcester; and that the fogs, which arise from the banks in the sea, seldom roll so far, as to involve the town.

Minerals.] About the year 1754, a broad flat vein, about one foot thick, of lead and silver ore, in the proportion of 2¼ pennyweights of silver to 1 lb. of lead, was discovered, running slantwise down into a rock. Some persons purchased it, and procured a miner, who followed it a little way into the rock on a hill; and then advised to meet it by digging away before it. Considerable expense was laid out, but they never met the vein. After a while, they left off, discouraged. In digging to meet the vein, however, they found several pieces of ore, about the size of a peck or half bushel.

Ponds.] Quinsigamond, Worcester, or Long Pond, is a beautiful piece of water, in the form of a crescent, about four miles in length,* on the line between Worcester and Shrewsbury. The breadth is from 60 to 100 rods. From a small bridge over a brook, at the upper end, as you enter the township on the E. it has the appearance of a large river, ornamented with woods on each side. The pond is interspersed with a number of islands, one of which is upwards of 200 acres in extent. It is supplied with pickerel, large perch, eels, shiners, breams, pouts; and the brooks, which run into it, contain some trout. In some places

* The pond, in a straight line, is three miles and 24 rods long.

places it is 96 feet deep. Out of the lower end of the pond issues a river, which runs through Mendon, and joins Blackstone river. North Pond is of an oval form, covering about 30 acres of land, surrounded partly by woods, and partly by a swamp and meadow. Though not an agreeable pond, yet it is supplied with fish, of the same kind as those in Long Pond, and in greater plenty. They are not, however, of so good a quality, the water being stiller, and the bottom more muddy.

Brooks and Rivers.] Bimilick, or Mill Brook, takes its source from North pond. Running southwardly, it crosses the road a little N. of the court-house, and empties into Blackstone river. It is not more than ten feet wide, and one foot deep. Turkey Brook, of about the same bigness, runs from Holden. Tatnuck Brook, or Halfway River, which also runs from Holden, empties perhaps about ten times as much water, and is about two rods wide. Boggachoag Brook, which runs northwardly, through the corner of Ward above mentioned, is nearly of the same breadth as Halfway River. These three brooks unite their streams in French river, which running a little way, receives the name of Blackstone River, and finally discharges its waters at Providence.

Mills.] Upon these streams there are four grist mills, four saw mills, two fulling mills, and two trip hammers.

Manufactures.] Beside the manufactures which the mills afford, there are two pot-ash works, in one of which pearl-ash is also made.

Means of Subsistence.] In the outer parts of the township, the inhabitants subsist by husbandry. But in the centre are collected the county officers, a number of shop keepers, professional men, and mechanicks of various kinds. A large trade is carried on in European and West India goods, and the adjacent country supplied from this town. A printing press was set up in the year 1775, by Mr. Isaiah Thomas, who is generally esteemed the first printer in the State.

Number of Inhabitants, &c.] The number of inhabitants in the year 1790 was 2095. From 1782 to 1783, 44 were baptized, and 31 buried; from 1783 to 1784, 42 were baptized, and 28 buried; from 1784 to 1785, 34 were baptized, and 38 buried. The number of baptisms and burials since the year 1785, we have not been able to obtain.

Houses, &c.] The meeting houses and court-house are neat and convenient. The jail is a stone building, 64 feet long, 32 broad, and three stories high. The lower story is divided into four arches crosswise, forming four rooms for the safe custody of persons convict, or committed for gross crimes. The second story is divided in the same manner into four rooms, but not arched with stone. These are for the keeping of debtors, who have not the liberty of the yard, and for persons committed for small offences. The upper story has an entry, or walk from end to end, and is divided into eight convenient rooms, for the use of prisoners for debt, who have the liberty of the jail yard. This yard extends so as to take in the jailor's house, and the meeting house of the second parish. There is an elegant school house lately built, of about the same dimensions as the jail, and two stories high. On the lower floor are two apartments; one intended for a grammar school,

school, and the other for a writing school. In the upper story there is one large apartment, with a fire-place at each end. This is not finished. If it were not too low in the walls, it might be made a handsome hall. It is now used by the scholars on their exhibition days; and sometimes, when the company is numerous, to dance in. The dwelling houses are generally well built, and many of them elegant. The street, which runs through the centre of the town, is very pleasant, and beautified with trees on each side. Upon the whole, this town is esteemed by strangers one of the most agreeable inland situations in the State.

Roads.] The great post road, from Boston to Springfield, is pretty good, in that part of it which goes through Worcester. As the town is central, a number of roads meet from other places. These are not so good in general as the post road; but none of them are bad.

Religion.] There are two congregational parishes, called the First and the Second Parishes. These have no distinct territories; both meeting houses being in the central or compact part of the town. They are called poll parishes; each inhabitant having a right by law to belong to which parish he pleases; only signifying his choice, by leaving his name for that purpose with the town clerk.

Settlement.] The township of Worcester is part of a tract of land, called by the aboriginals Quinsigamond. This territory was by them esteemed to bound easterly, partly on Quinsigamond Pond, and partly on Hassanamisco; southerly on the Nipmug country; westerly on Quaboag, or Squaboag; and northerly on Naushawag. In the year 1668, a township of land, by the name of Worcester, eight miles square, bounding eastwardly on Quinsigamond Pond, was granted to Daniel Gookin, Daniel Henchman, Thomas Prentiss, and their associates. But war soon after prevailing with the Indians, the settlement of the town was prevented until the year 1685; when the Indians appearing to be disposed for peace, and behaving in a friendly manner to the English, the above mentioned persons, together with John Wing, George Dawson, Peter Goulding, Dickrey Sargeant, Isaac Bull, Jacob Leonard, and ——— ———, were encouraged to begin the planting of Worcester. The year following, several other persons with their families removed into the township, and the settlement went on prosperously till the year 1701, when the Indians began again to attack the frontier towns in Massachusetts. In the following year, the Indians killed the wife of Dickrey Sargeant, and two of his children, and carried three of his children into captivity.* The war raged with such fury at this time, that Worcester was entirely depopulated. Peace being concluded with the Indians, in the beginning of the year 1713, some of the proprietors of Worcester applied to the General Court for encouragement and direction for the re-settlement of the town. In consequence of which the Court appointed a committee

* The names of two of these children were John and Thomas. The third was a daughter. They did not choose to return to their native country. However, in the year 1726, they accompanied Mrs. Williams, who was taken captive from Deerfield, on a visit to their friends in Massachusetts.

mittee to ascertain the claims of the ancient proprietors, and to conduct the re-settlement of Worcester. In the spring of the next year, Jonas Rice with his family settled in the township, and there remained without any other inhabitant till the spring of the year 1715, when a considerable number of persons joined him. The number of inhabitants was augmented by emigrants from Ireland in the year 1718; since which time it has been a flourishing town. In 1719, a meeting house was erected, and the Rev. Andrew Gardner, the first minister, settled. Mr. Gardner was succeeded in the ministry by the Rev. Thaddeus Maccarty, who died in the year 1784. The present minister of the first parish is the Rev. Samuel Austin. In the year 1786, the second parish was formed, and the Rev. Aaron Bancroft appointed minister. In the year 1731, a new county, of the same name, being formed out of the counties of Middlesex, Suffolk, and Hampshire, Worcester was made the shire town.

BIRTHS *standing upon record in the town of Dorchester, from March* 13, 1748—9, O. S. *to March* 24, 1792, N. S. *the space of forty-three years, as I have cast them, and the* DEATHS *and* MARRIAGES *in the town, in said space of time, as follows,* viz.

Years	*Births*	*Deaths*	*Marri.*	*Years*	*Births*	*Deaths*	*Marri.*
1749	55	24	10	1772	49	27	12
1750	39	33	10	1773	35	26	7
1751	36	24	9	1774	44	24	3
1752	33	43	12	1775	45	50	13
1753	43	21	9	1776	33	36	10
1754	40	15	11	1777	39	17	26
1755	37	16	9	1778	33	33	16
1756	41	18	11	1779	52	14	8
1757	53	19	9	1780	42	18	11
1758	43	15	6	1781	51	11	13
1759	38	20	9	1782	50	16	12
1760	45	33	9	1783	50	26	13
1761	55	40	12	1784	49	21	4
1762	49	23	9	1785	44	18	11
1763	46	17	10	1786	41	21	7
1764	51	12	11	1787	31	20	8
1765	47	21	8	1788	37	10	17
1766	43	25	8	1789	45	16	13
1767	53	20	16	1790	32	28	9
1768	51	21	11	1791	46	27	5
1769	41	21	11		March 24		
1770	55	25	9				
1771	39	20	13	1792	10	6	3

Total. *Births* 1891, *Deaths* 931, *Marriages* 463.

N. B. I the subscriber recorded more than 1700 of the above mentioned births, more than 900 of the deaths, and more than 400 of the marriages. NOAH CLAP, *Clerk of the town of Dorchester.*

N. B. SAMUEL COOLIDGE, Esq. deceased, was clerk for the town of Dorchester three years, viz. 1786, 1787, and 1788.

NEW-ENGLANDS PLANTATION,

Or, a short and true DESCRIPTION *of the Commodities and Discommodities of that countrey. Written in the year* 1629, *by Mr.* HIGGESON, *a Reverend Divine, now there resident. Whereunto is added a Letter, sent by Mr.* GRAVES, *an Enginere, out of New-England. Reprinted from the third edition, London,* 1630.

LETTING passe our voyage by sea,* we will now begin our discourse on the shore of New-England. And because the life and wel-fare of every creature heere below, and the commodiousnesse of the countrey whereat such creatures live, doth by the most wise ordering of God's providence, depend next unto himselfe, upon the temperature and disposition of the foure elements, earth, water, aire, and fire (for as of the mixture of all these, all sublunary things are composed; so by the more or lesse enjoyment of the wholesome temper and convenient use of these, consisteth the onely well-being both of man and beast in a more or lesse comfortable measure in all countreys under the heavens) therefore I will indeavour to shew you what New-England is by the consideration of each of these apart, and truly indeavour by God's helpe to report nothing but the naked truth, and that both to tell you of the discommodities as well as of the commodities, though as the idle proverbe is, *travellers may lye by authoritie*, and so may take too much sinfull libertie that way. Yet I may say of my selfe as once Nehemiah did in another case: *Shall such a man as I lye?* No verily: It becommeth not a preacher of truth to be a writer of falshod in any degree: And therefore I have beene carefull to report nothing of New-England but what I have partly seene with mine own eyes, and partly heard and enquired from the mouths of verie honest and religious persons, who, by living in the countrey a good space of time, have had experience and knowledge of the state thereof, and whose testimonies I doe beleeve as my selfe.

First therefore of the earth of New-England and all the appertenances thereof: It is a land of divers and sundry sorts all about Masathulets Bay, and at Charles river is as fat blacke earth as can be seene any where: and in other places you have a clay soyle, in other gravell, in other sandy, as it is all about our plantation at Salem, for so our towne is now named, *Psal.* 76. 2.

The forme of the earth here in the superfices of it is neither too flat in the plainnesse, nor too high in hils, but partakes of both in a mediocritie, and fit for pasture, or for plow or meddow ground, as men please to employ it: though all the countrey bee as it were a thicke wood for the generall, yet in divers places there is much ground cleared by the Indians, and especially about the plantation: And I am told that about three miles from us a man may stand on a little hilly place and see divers thousands of acres of ground as good as need to be, and not

* *For the Journal of Mr. Higgeson's Voyage, see* Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, *page* 32.

not a tree in the same. It is thought here is good clay to make bricke and tyles and earthern-pot as need to be. At this instant we are setting a brick-kill on worke to make brickes and tiles for the building of our houses. For stone, here is plentie of slates at the Isle of Slate in Masathulets bay, and lime-stone, free-stone, and smooth-stone, and iron-stone, and marble-stone also in such store, that we have great rocks of it, and a harbour hard by. Our plantation is from thence called Marble-harbour.

Of minerals there hath yet beene but little triall made, yet we are not without great hope of being furnished in that soyle.

The fertilitie of the soyle is to be admired at, as appeareth in the aboundance of grasse that groweth everie where, both verie thicke, verie long, and verie high in divers places: But it groweth verie wildly with a great stalke and a broad and ranker blade, because it never had been eaten with cattle, nor mowed with a sythe, and seldome trampled on by foot. It is scarce to bee beleeved how our kine and goates, horses and hogges, doe thrive and prosper here and like well of this countrey.

In our plantation we have already a quart of milke for a penny: but the aboundant encrease of corne proves this countrey to bee a wonderment. Thirtie, fortie, fiftie, sixtie are ordinarie here: Yea Joseph's encrease in Ægypt is out-stript here with us. Our planters hope to have more then a hundred fould this yere: And all this while I am within compasse; what will you say of two hundred fould and upwards? It is almost incredible what great gaine some of our English planters have had by our Indian corne. Credible persons have assured me, and the partie himselfe avouched the truth of it to me, that of the setting of 13 gallons of corne hee hath had encrease of it 52 hogsheads, every hogshead holding seven bushels of London measure, and every bushell was by him sold and trusted to the Indians for so much beaver as was worth 18 shillings; and so of this 13 gallons of corne, which was worth 6 shillings 8 pence, he made about 327 pounds of it the yeere following, as by reckoning will appeare: where you may see how God blessed husbandry in this land. There is not such greate and plentifull eares of corne I suppose any where else to bee found but in this countrey: Because also of varietie of colours, as red, blew, and yellow, &c. and of one corne there springeth four or five hundred. I have sent you many eares of divers colours that you might see the truth of it.

Little children here by setting of corne may earne much more then their owne maintenance.

They have tryed our English corne at New Plimmouth plantation, so that all our several graines will grow here verie well, and have a fitting soyle for their nature.

Our Governor hath store of greene pease growing in his garden, as good as ever I eat in England.

This country aboundeth naturally with store of roots of great varietie and good to eat. Our turnips, parsnips, and carrots are here both bigger and sweeter then is ordinary to be found in England. Here are store of pumpions, cowcombers, and other things of that nature which I know not. Also divers excellent pot-herbs grow abundantly among the grasse, as strawberrie leaves in all places of the countrey, and

and plentie of strawberries in their time, and pennyroyall, wintersaverie, sorrell, brookelime, liverwort, carvell, and watercresses, also leekes and onions are ordinarie, and divers physicall herbs. Here are also aboundance of other sweet herbs delightful to the smell, whose names we know not, &c. and plentie of single damaske roses verie sweete; and two kinds of herbes that bare two kinds of flowers very sweet, which they say, are as good to make cordage or cloath as any hempe or flaxe we have.

Excellent vines are here up and downe in the woods. Our Governour hath already planted a vineyard with great hope of encrease.

Also, mulberries, plums, raspberries, corrance, chesnuts, filberds, walnuts, smalnuts, hurtleberies, and hawes of whitethorne neere as good as our cherries in England, they grow in plentie here.

For wood there is no better in the world I thinke, here being foure sorts of oke differing both in the leafe, timber, and colour, all excellent good. There is also good ash, elme, willow, birch, beech, saxafras, juniper, cipres, cedar, spruce, pines, and firre that will yeeld abundance of turpentine, pitch, tarre, masts, and other materials for building both of ships and houses. Also here are store of sumacke trees, they are good for dying and tanning of leather, likewise such trees yeeld a precious gem called wine benjamin, that they say is excellent for perfumes. Also here be divers roots and berries wherewith the Indians dye excellent holding colours that no raine nor washing can alter. Also, wee have materials to make sope-ashes and salt-peter in aboundance.

For beasts there are some beares, and they say some *lyons* also; for they have been seen at Cape Anne. Also here are several sorts of deere, some whereof bring three or foure young ones at once, which is not ordinarie in England. Also wolves, foxes, beavers, otters, martins, great wild cats, and a great beast called a molke as bigge as an oxe. I have seen the skins of all these beasts since I came to this plantation excepting lyons. Also here are great store of squerrels, some greater, and some smaller and lesser: there are some of the lesser sort, they tell me, that by a certaine skill will fly from tree to tree, though they stand farre distant.

Of the waters of New-England, *with the things belonging to the same.*

NEW-ENGLAND hath water enough, both salt and fresh, the greatest sea in the world, the Atlanticke sea, runs all along the coast thereof. There are abundance of Ilands along the shore, some full of wood and masts to feed swine; and others cleere of wood, and fruitful to bear corne. Also wee have store of excellent harbours for ships, as at Cape Anne, and at Masathulets Bay, and at Salem, and at many other places: and they are the better because for strangers there is a verie difficult and dangerous passage into them, but unto such as are well acquainted with them, they are easie and safe enough. The aboundance of sea-fish are almost beyond beleeving, and sure I should scarce have beleeved it, except I had seene it with mine owne eyes. I saw great store of whales, and crampusse, and such aboundance of mackerils that it would astonish one to behold, likewise cod-fish in aboundance.

abouudance on the coast, and in their season are plentifully taken. There is a fish called a basse, a most sweet and wholesome fish as ever I did eate, it is altogether as good as our fresh sammon, and the season of their comming was begun when wee came first to New-England in June, and so continued about three months space. Of this fish our fishers take many hundreds together, which I have seen lying on the shore to my admiration ; yea their nets ordinarily take more than they are able to hale to land, and for want of boats and men they are constrained to let a many goe after they have taken them, and yet sometimes they fill two boates at a time with them. And besides basse wee take plentie of scate and thornbacks, and abundance of lobsters and the least boy in the plantation may both catch and eat what he will of them. For my owne part I was soone cloyed with them, they were so great, and fat, and lussious. I have seene some myselfe that have weighed 16 pound, but others have had divers times so great lobsters as have weighed 25 pound, as they assure mee. Also heere is abundance of herring, turbut, sturgion, cuskes, hadocks, mullets, eeles, crabbes, muskles, and oysters. Besides there is probability that the countrey is of an excellent temper for the making of salt : For since our comming our fishermen have brought home very good salt which they found candied by the standing of the sea water and the heat of the sunne, upon a rocke by the sea shore : and in divers salt marishes that some have gone through, they have found some salt in some places crushing under their feete and cleaving to their shooes.

And as for fresh water, the countrey is full of dainty springs, and some great rivers, and some lesser brookes ; and at Masathulets Bay they digged wels and found water at three foot deepe in most places : And neere Salem thay have as fine cleare water as we can desire, and we may digge wels and find water where we list.

Thus wee see both land and sea abound with store of blessings for the comfortable sustenance of man's life in New-England.

Of the aire of New-England *with the temper and creatures in it.*

THE temper of the aire of New-England is one speciall thing that commends this place. Experience doth manifest that there is hardly a more healthfull place to be found in the world that agreeth better with our English bodyes. Many that have beene weake and sickly in old England, by comming hither have beene thoroughly healed and growne healthfull strong. For here is an extraordinarie cleere and dry aire that is of a most healing nature to all such as are of a cold, melancholy, flegmatick, rheumatick temper of body. None can more truly speake hereof by their owne experience then my selfe. My friends that knew me can well tell how verie sickly I have bin and continually in physick, being much troubled with a tormenting paine through an extraordinarie weaknesse of my stomacke, and abouudance of melancholicke humors ; but since I came hither on this voyage, I thanke God, I have had perfect health, and freed from paine and vomiting, having a stomacke to digest the hardest and coursest fare, who before could not eat finest meat ; and whereas my stomache could onely digest and did require such drinke as was both strong and stale, now

now I can and doe often times drink New-England water verie well; and I that have not gone without a cap for many yeeres together, neither durst leave off the same, have now cast away my cap, and doe weare none at all in the day time: And whereas beforetime I cloathed my selfe with double cloaths and thicke waistcoates to keepe me warme, even in the summer time, I doe now goe as thin clad as any, onely wearing a light stuffe cassocke upon my shirt, and stuffe breeches of one thicknesse without linings. Besides I have one of my children that was formerly most lamentably handled with sore breaking out of both his hands and feet of the king's-evill, but since he came hither hee is very well ever he was, and there is hope of perfect recoverie shortly even by the very wholesomnesse of the aire, altering, digesting and drying up the cold and crude humours of the body: And therefore I thinke it is a wise course for al cold complections to come to take physick in New-England: for a sup of New-England's aire is better then a whole draught of Old England's ale.

In the summer time, in the midst of July and August, it is a good deale hotter then in Old England: And in winter, January and February are much colder, as they say: But the spring and autumne are of a middle temper.

Fowles of the aire are plentifull here, and of all sorts as we have in England, as farre as I can learn, and a great many of strange fowles which we know not. Whilst I was writing these things, one of our men brought home an eagle which hee had killed in the wood: They say they are good meate. Also here are many kinds of excellent hawkes, both sea hawkes and land hawkes: And my self walking in the woods with another in company, sprung a patridge so bigge that through the heavinesse of his body could fly but a little way: They that have killed them, say they are as bigge as our hens. Here are likewise aboundance of turkies often killed in the woods, farre greater then our English turkies, and exceeding fat, sweet, and fleshy, for here they have aboundance of feeding all the yeere long, as strawberries, in summer al places are full of them, and all manner of berries and fruits. In the winter time I have seene flockes of pidgeons, and have eaten of them: They doe fly from tree to tree as other birds doe, which our pidgeons will not doe in England: They are of all colours as ours are, but their wings and tayles are far longer, and therefore it is likely they fly swifter to escape the terrible hawkes in this country. In winter time this country doth abound with wild geese, wild ducks, and other sea fowle, that a great part of winter the planters have eaten nothing but roast-meate of divers fowles which they have killed.

Thus you have heard of the earth, water and aire of New-England, now it may bee you expect something to bee said of the fire proportionable to the rest of the elements. Indeede I thinke New-England may boast of this element more then of all the rest: For though it bee here somewhat cold in the winter, yet here we have plenty of fire to warme us, and that a great deal cheaper then they sel billets and faggots in London: Nay, all Europe is not able to afford to make so great fires as New-England. A poore servant here that is to possesse but 50 acres of land, may afford to give more wood for timber and fire

as good as the world yeelds, then many noble men in England can afford to do. Here is good living for those that love good fires. And although New-England have no tallow to make candles of, yet by the aboundance of the fish thereof, it can afford oil for lampes. Yea our pine-trees that are the most plentifull of all wood, doth allow us plenty of candles which are very usefull in a house: And they are such candles as the Indians commonly use, having no other, and they are nothing else but the wood of the pine tree cloven in two little slices, something thin, which are so full of the moysture of turpentine and pitch, that they burne as cleere as a torch. I have sent you some of them that you may see the experience of them.

Thus of New-England's commodities: now I will tell you of some discommodities that are here to be found.

First, in the summer season for these three months, June, July, and August, we are troubled much with little flyes called musketoes, being the same they are troubled with in Lincolneshire and the Fens; and they are nothing but gnats, which except they bee smoked out of their houses are troublesome in the night season.

Secondly, in the winter season for two months space, the earth is commonly covered with snow, which is accompanied with sharp biting frosts, something more sharpe then is in Old England, and therefore are forced to make great fires.

Thirdly, the countrey being very full of woods, and wildernesses, doth also much abound with snakes and serpents of strange colours, and huge greatnesse: yea there are some serpents called rattle-snakes that have rattles in their tailes, that will not fly from a man as others will, but will flye upon him, and sting him so mortally, that hee will dye within a quarter of an houre after, except the partie stinged have about him some of the root of an herbe called snake-weed to bite on, and then hee shall receive no harme: but yet seldom falles it out that any hurt is done by these. About three years since, an Indian was stung to death by one of them, but wee heard of none since that time.

Fourthly and lastly, here wants as it were good company of honest christians to bring with them horses, kine, and sheepe, to make use of this fruitfull land: great pitty it is to see so much good ground for corne and for grasse as any is under the heavens, to ly altogether unoccupied, when so many honest men and their families in Old England through the populousnesse thereof, do make evry hard shift to live one by the other.

Now, thus you know what New-England is, as also with the commodities and discommodities thereof: Now I will shew you a little of the inhabitants thereof, and their government.

For their governors they have kings, which they call Saggamores, some greater, and some lesser, according to the number of their subjects.

The greatest Saggamores about us can not make above three hundred men,* and other lesse Saggamores have not above fifteen subjects, and others neere about us but two.

Their subjects above twelve years since† were swept away by a great and grievous plague that was amongst them, so that there are verie few left to inhabite the country.

The

* *That is fighting men.* † 1617.

The Indians are not able to make use of the one fourth part of the land, neither have they any settled places, as townes to dwell in, nor any ground as they challenge for their own possession, but change their habitation from place to place.

For their statures, they are a tall and strong limmed people, their colours are tawney, they goe naked, save onely they are in part covered with beasts skins on one of their shoulders, and weare something before their privities; their haire is generally blacke, and cut before, like our gentelewomen, and one locke longer than the rest, much like to our gentelmen, which fashion I thinke came from hence into England.

For their weapons, they have bowes and arrowes, some of them headed with bone, and some with brasse: I have sent you some of them for an example.

The men for the most part live idely, they do nothing but hunt and fish: Their wives set their corne and doe all their other worke. They have little houshold stuffe, as a kettle, and some other vessels like trayes, spoones, dishes, and baskets.

Their houses are verie little and homely, being made with small poles pricked into the ground, and so bended and fastned at the tops, and on the sides they are matted with boughs and covered on the roof with sedge and old mats, and for their beds that they take their rest on, they have a mat.

They doe generally professe to like well of our coming and planting here; partly because there is abundance of ground that they cannot possesse nor make use of, and partly because our being here will bee a meanes both of relief to them when they want, and also a defence from their enemies, wherewith (I say) before this plantation began, they were often indangered.

For their religion they do worship two Gods, a good God and an evil God: The good God they call Tantum, and their evil God whom they fear will doe them hurt, they call Squantum.

For their dealing with us, we neither fear them nor trust them, for fourtie of our musketeeres will drive five hundred of them out of the field. We use them kindly; they will come into our houses sometimes by half a dozen or half a score at a time when we are at victuals, but will ask or take nothing but what we give them.

We purpose to learn their language as soon as we can, which will be a means to do them good.

Of the present condition of the Plantation, and what it is.

WHEN we came first to Nehum-kek, we found about half a score houses, and a faire house newly built for the Governor, we found also aboundance of corne planted by them, very good and well liking. And we brought with us about two hundred passengers and planters more, which by common consent of the old planters were all combined together into one body politicke, under the same Governour.

There are in all of us both old and new planters about three hundred, whereof two hundred of them are settled at Nehum-kek, now called Salem: And the rest have planted themselves at Masathulets Bay, beginning

ginning to build a towne there which wee do call Cherton, or Charles Town.

We that are settled at Salem make what haste we can to build houses, so that within a short time we shall have a faire towne.

We have great ordnance, wherewith we doubt not but we shall fortifie ourselves in a short time to keepe out a potent adversary. But that which is our greatest comfort, and meanes of defence above all other, is, that we have here the true religion and holy ordinances of Almighty God taught amongst us: Thankes be to God, wee have here plenty of preaching, and diligent catechizing, with strict and carefull exercise, and good and commendable orders to bring our people into a a christian conversation with whom we have to doe withall. And thus wee doubt not but God will be with us, and *if God be with us, who can be against us?*

[*Here ends Master Higgeson's relation of New-England.*]

A letter sent from New-England, by Master GRAVES, *Engynere, now there resident.*

THUS much I can affirme in generall, that I never came in a more goodly country in all my life, all things considered: If it hath not at any time been manured and husbanded, yet it is very beautifull in open lands, mixed with goodly woods, and again open plaines, in some places five hundred acres, some places more, some lesse, not much troublesome for to cleere for the plough to goe in, no palce barren, but on the tops of the hils; the grasse and weeds grow up to a man's face, in the lowlands and by fresh rivers aboundance of grasse and large meddowes without any tree or shrubbe to hinder the sith. I never saw, except in Hungaria, unto which I alwayes paralell this countrie, in all our most respects, for every thing that is heare eyther sowne or planted prospereth far better then in Old-England: The increase of corne is here farre beyond expectation, as I have seene here by experience in barly, the which because it is so much above your conception I will not mention. And cattle doe prosper very well, and those that are bredd here farr greater than those with you in England. Vines doe grow here plentifully laden with the biggest grapes that ever I saw, some I have seene foure inches about, so that I am bold to say of this countrie, as it is commonly said in Germany of Hungaria, that for cattel, corne, and wine it excelleth. We have many more hopefull commodities here in this country, the which time will teach to make good use of: In the mean time wee abound with such things which next under God doe make us subsist: as fish, foule, deere, and sundrie sorts of fruits, as musk-millions, water-millions, Indian pompions, Indian pease, beanes, and many other odde fruits that I cannot name; all which are made good and pleasant through this maine blessing of God, the healthfulnesse of the countrie which far exceedeth all parts that ever I have beene in: It is observed that few or none doe here fal sicke, unless of the scurvy, that they bring from aboard the ship with them, whereof I have cured some of my companie onely by labour.

SOON after the establishment of the Council of Plymouth, of which Sir Ferdinando Gorges was an active member, they thought it proper to appoint his son, Capt. Robert Gorges, to be a general governour of the fishermen and planters in New-England. He accordingly came over hither in 1623 *with several families, intending to make a settlement at Wessagussett, now Weymouth, in the bay of Massachusetts, which failed of success. He brought with him* William Morrell, *an episcopal clergyman, who had a commission from the Ecclesiastical Court in England, to exercise a kind of superintendency over the churches, which were, or might be, established here. Gorges staid in the country but a short time, and at his departure left Morrell behind at Plymouth, where he continued about a year, making inquiries and observations respecting the country, but made no use of his commission, nor even mentioned it, till just before his departure.*

He seems to have been a man of prudence, of a diligent and inquisitive turn of mind, and of a classical taste. The result of his inquiries he wrought into a Latin poem, which he translated into English verse, and after his return to England, published them both in one pamphlet.

The Latin poem is descriptive and elegant. The translation does not possess equal merit. The diction is, in some places, obscure; and many of the verses are rough and unharmonious. It contains, however, several good lines; and it may be suggested as an apology for the rest, that it was composed long before Dryden and Pope had "tuned the English tongue." With all its defects, we think it worthy of being presented, as a curious relick, to the publick, by whom we hope it will be favourably received.*

LECTORI.

CANDIDE si placidum dederis Philomuse Camœnæ
Intuitum : tristi dulce levamen erit.
Optima mellifluis modulari carmina nervis
Illud Apollineis cantibus euge melos.
Mellea cœleste est effundere carmina munus,
Frustrà de sicco pumice quæris aquam.
Dicito musa probè, brevitèr, simul, ordine, perge :
Gloria summa tibi dicere vera : Vale.

IF thou Apollo hold'st thy scepter forth,
To these harsh numbers, that's thy royall worth.
Vaine is all search in these to search that vaine,
Whose stately style is great Apolloe's straine.
Minerva ne're distil'd into my muse
Her sacred droppes, my pumesse wants all juce.
My muse is plaine, conscise, her fam's to tell
In truth, and method, love or leave : Farewell.

* *Johnson's Life of Pope.*

ADDRESSED TO KING CHARLES I.

NEW-England so nam'd by your Princely Grace,
Dread Soveraigne, now most humbly sues to see
Your Royal Highnes in your regall place,
Wishing your Grace all peace, blisse, soveraignty,
Trusting your goodnesse will her state and fame
Support, which goodnesse once vouchsaf'd her name.

NOVA-ANGLIA.

HACTENUS ignotam populis ego carmine primus,
Te Nova, de veteri cui contigit Anglia nomen,
Aggredior trepidus pingui celebrare Minerva.
Fer mihi numen opem, cupienti singula plectro
Pandere veridico, quæ nuper vidimus ipsi :
Ut brevitèr vereque sonent modulamina nostra,
Temperiem cæli, vim terræ, munera ponti,
Et varios gentis mores, velamina, cultus.
Anglia felici meritò Nova nomine gaudens,
Sævos nativi mores pertæsa Coloni,
Indigni penitùs populi tellure feraci,
Mœsta superfusis attollit fletibus ora,
Antiquos precibus flectens ardentibus Anglos,
Numinis æterni felicem lumine gentem
Efficere : æternis quæ nunc peritura tenebris.
Gratum opus hoc Indis, dignumque piis opus Anglis,
Angelicæ quibus est naturæ nomen in umbra :
Cælica ut extremis dispergant semina terris.

NEW-ENGLAND.

FEARE not poore muse, 'cause first to sing her fame,
That's yet scarce known, unless by map or name ;
A grand-childe to earth's paradize is borne,
Well lim'd, well nerv'd, faire, riche, sweete, yet forlorne.
Thou blest director, so direct my verse,
That it may winne her people, friends, commerce ;
Whilst her sweet ayre, rich soile, blest seas, my penne
Shall blaze and tell the natures of her men.
New-England, happie in her new true stile,
Wearie of her cause she's to sad exile
Expos'd by her's unworthy of her land,
Intreates with teares Great Brittaine to command.
Her empire, and to make her know the time,
Whose act and knowledge onely makes divine.
A royall worke well worthy England's king,
These natives to true truth and grace to bring.
A noble worke for all these noble peares
Which guide this state in their superiour spheres.
You holy Aarons let your sensors nere
Cease burning, till these men Jehovah feare.

Est locus occiduo procul hinc spatiosus in orbe,
Plurima regna tenens, populisque incognitus ipsis :
Felix frugiferis sulcis, simul æquore felix :
Prædis perdives variis, et flumine dives,
Axe satis calidus, rigidoque a frigore tutus.
Proximus æthereo socius volitabilis igni
Aer, natali saliens levitate ; calore
Temperieque satis felicibus, humidus ante
Omnia principia, innatâ virtute coactus
Sistere difficilè in propria regione, volenti
Alterius motu penetrans loca, inania complens
Vi tenui : fœtæ regio quæ proxima terræ
Solis ab igne, poli motu, terræque vaporum,
Undæque attractu calet hinc, hinc humida restat,
Hinc fit temperies : fit et hâc Nova terra beata.
Est aliquandò tamèn rapidis subjecta procellis,
Quæ celeri subitoque solumque salumque minantur,
Flamine corripere, et terras diffundere cælis ;
Mox tamèn Æolio compressis carcere ventis,
Omnia continuò remanent sub sidere tuta.
Indè suis vicibus luctantes murmure venti
Qua data porta ruunt, quatientes turbine terras.
Magna parens tellus, rerum communis alumna,
Frigida, sicca, gravis, subsidens vallibus imis,
Montibus extendens nemerosa cacumina celsis.

Westward a thousand leagues a spatious land,
Is made unknown to them that it command.
Of fruitfull mould, and no lesse fruitlesse maine
Inrich with springs and prey high-land and plaine.
The light well tempred, humid ayre, whose breath
Fils full all concaves betwixt heaven and earth,
So that the region of the ayre is blest
With what earth's mortals wish to be possest.
Great Titan darts on her his heavenly rays
Whereby extreames he quells, and overswayes.
Blest is this ayre with what the ayre can blesse ;
Yet frequent ghusts doe much this place distresse ;
Here unseene ghusts doe instant on-set give,
As heaven and earth they would together drive.
An instant power doth surprize their rage,
In their vast prison, and their force asswage.
Thus in exchange a day or two is spent,
In smiles and frownes : in great yet no content.
The earth grand parent to all things on earth,
Cold, dry, and heavie, and the next beneath
The ayre, by nature's arme with low discents,
Is as it were intrencht ; againe ascents
Mount up to heaven by Jove's omnipotence,
Whose looming greenesse joyes the sea-mans sence.
Invites him to a land if he can see,

Longius intuitu nautis pergrata : feraci
Irriguoque solo lætanti messibus æquis
Optima frugiferis mandantes semina sulcis.
Agricolis quam terra ferax, quæ grata ministrat
Assiduis alimenta viris : nulloque serenti
Dulcia dat variæ naturæ mora, nucesque
Dissimilès, placidas tumidasque in vitibus uvas
Innumeris, mixtas redolentes floribus herbas
Multigenis, morbo lœsos medicare potentes
Artus, radices, similis virtutis amœnas,
Vimine gramineo nux subterranea suavis
Serpit humi, tenui flavo sub cortice, pingui
Et placido nucleo nivei candoris ab intra,
Melliflua parcos hilarans dulcedine gustus,
Donec in æstivum Phœbus conscenderit axem.
His nucleis lautè versutus vescitur Indus :
His exempta fames segnis nostratibus omnis
Dulcibus his vires revocantur victibus almæ.
Arboribus dives vernantibus, est quoque tellus,
Cedris, et fagis, juglandibus et Jovis altâ
Arbore, fraxinea, gummosis pinibus, alnis,
Juniperis, multisque aliis tum gramine et herbis.

Worthy the thrones of stately soveraigntie.
The fruitfull and well watered earth doth glad
All hearts, when Flora's with her spangles clad,
And yeelds an hundred fold for one,
To feede the bee and to invite the drone.
O happie planter, if you knew the height
Of planter's honours where ther's such delight ;
There nature's bounties, though not planted are,
Great store and sorts of berries great and faire :
The filberd, cherry, and the fruitful vine,
Which cheares the heart and makes it more divine.
Earth's spangled beauties pleasing smell and sight ;
Objects for gallant choyce and chiefe delight.
A ground-nut there runnes on a grassie threed,
Along the shallow earth as in a bed,
Yealow without, thin filmd, sweete, lilly white,
Of strength to feede and cheare the appetite.
From these our natures may have great content,
And good subsistance when our meanes is spent.
With these the natives do their strength maintaine
The winter-season, which time they retaine
Their pleasant vertue, but if once the spring
Returne, they are not worth the gathering.
All ore that maine the vernant trees abound,
Where cedar, cypres, spruce, and beech are found.
Ash, oake, and wal-nut, pines, and junipere ;
The hasel, palme, and hundred more are there.
Ther's grasse and hearbs contenting man and beast,

Pascua quæ prebent animalibus ; undè fugaces
Pinguescunt, cervi, vulpes, ursique, lupique,
Linces, et fibri, musci, lutræque politæ
Pellibus eximii pretii ; volucresque saporis
Perplacidi variæ, pellique, gruesque, palumbes
Mergulus, et phasianus, anas, cignus Jovis, ales,
Penelopesque, columbæ, perdix, accipitresque,
Et Capitolii aves, variæ, tum carne sapora,
Tum pennis glacidè decorantibus arte canautas :
E quibus ornatu capitis, fit plumula digna
Vertice sublimi ; quibus ad renovanda levanda,
Languida perplacidum completur membra cubile.
Intima frugiferæ vix cognita viscera terræ
Prætereo : artifices gremium scrutentur opimum.
Dulce solum cælumque vides, en terra serenis,
Perspicuis, placidis, levibus, liquidisque beata
Fontibus, et fluviis facili quærentibus Eurum
Motu, præcipiti cursu post flumina nimbos,
In mare decurrunt, stagnisque paludibus Indis
Aucupio placidis benè, piscatuque colonis
Grata solum, cælumque viris alimonia præbent.
Devia quam dives regio hæc ! benedicta sereno

On which both deare, and beares, and wolves do feast.
Foxes both gray and blacke (though black I never
Beheld) with muscats, lynces, otter, bever,
With many other which I here omit,
Fit for to warme us, and to feede us fit.
The fowles that in those bays and harbours feede,
Though in their seasons they doe else-where breede,
Are swans and geese, herne, phesants, duck and crane,
Culvers and divers all along the maine :
The turtle, eagle, partridge, and the quaile,
Knot, plover, pigeons, which doe never faile,
Till sommer's heate commands them to retire,
And winter's cold begets their old desire.
With these sweete dainties man is sweetly fed,
With these rich feathers ladies plume their head ;
Here's flesh and feathers both for use and ease
To feede, adorne, and rest thee, if thou please.
The treasures got, on earth, by Titan's beames,
They best may search that have best art and meanes.
The ayre and earth if good, are blessings rare,
But when with these the waters blessed are,
The place is compleat ; here each pleasant spring,
Is like those fountains where the muses sing.
The easie channels gliding to the east,
Unlesse oreflowed, then post to be releast,
The ponds and places where the waters stay,
Content the fowler with all pleasant prey.
Thus ayre and earth and water give content,

Aere, fœcundis glebis, felicibus undis.
Prospèra tranquillus contingit littora portus,
Altus, apertus, ubi valeant se condere naves.
Invitis ventis, securæ rupe et arena.
Æquora multiplices præbent tranquilla marinas
Temporibus solitis prædas utentibus hamis :
Halices, fagros, scombros, cancrosque locustas,
Ostrea curvatis conchis, conchasque trigones,
Cete, etiam rhombos, sargos, cum squatina asellos.
His naves vastas onerat piscator honestus :
His mercator opes cumulat venerabilis almas,
His pius ampla satis faciat sibi lucra colonos.
Denique divitibus quibus intima cura suorum
Divitiæ et pietas, licet hisce beare colonos.
Digna viris patria en dignis, ubi mœnia digna.
Principibus claris facilè est fabricare columnis
Excelsis, eheu nunc tota cupidinis antrum.
Sunt etenim populi minimi sermonis, et oris

And highly honour this rich continent.
As nature hath this soile blest, so each port
Abounds with blisse, abounding all report.
The carefull naucleare may a-farre discry
The land by smell, as't loomes below the skie,
The prudent master there his ship may more,
Past winde and weather, then his God adore.
Man forth each shalop with three men to sea,
Which oft returne with wondrous store of prey ;
As oysters, cra-fish, crab, and lobsters great,
In great abundance when the seaes retreate :
Torteise, and herring, turbut, hacke and base :
With other small fish, and fresh bleeding place ;
The mighty whale doth in these harbours lye,
Whose oyle the careful mearchant deare will buy.
Besides all these and others in this maine :
The costly codd doth march with his rich traine :
With which the sea-man fraughts his merry ship :
With which the merchant doth much riches get :
With which plantations richly may subsist,
And pay their merchants debt and interest.
Thus ayre and earth, both land and sea yeelds store
Of nature's dainties both to rich and poore ;
To whom if heavens a holy vice-roy give,
The state and people may most richly live :
And there erect a pyramy of estate,
Which onely sinne and heaven can ruinate.
Let deepe discretion this great work attend,
What's well begun for th' most part well doth end :
So may our people peace and plenty finde,
And kill the dragon that would kill mankinde.
Those well seene natives in grave natures hests,

Austeri, risusque parùm, sævique superbi ;
Constricto nodis hirsuto crine sinistro,
Imparibus formis tondentes ordine villos ;
Mollia magnanimæ peragentes otia gentes,
Arte sagittiferâ pollentes, cursibus, armis
Astutæ ; recto, robusto corpore et alto,
Pellibus indutæ cervinis, frigora contra
Aspera, cum placeant conversis flamina pelles
Obvia ut impellant, calefacto pelle lacerto
Dextro, quo facilis sit flexile sumere cornu,
Omnia ut extinguant subitò in surgentia ; et ipsos
Salvos defendant, inducto tergore corpus
Villoso, levitèr miris se singula formis
Texta ligant, molles cingunt genitalia pelles ;
Grande femur caligæ cervinæ cruraque longa
Exornant, plantas conservat calceus aptus ;
Hos tamen exutos curant aliundè reversi
Depositosque suos calamos, arcusque sonantes,
Fessaque constrato sua stramine membra solutis
Tectis instar haræ, dextrè loca verna petentes,

All close designes conceale in their deepe brests :
What strange attempts so ere they doe intend,
Are fairly usherd in, till their last ende.
Their well advised talk evenly conveyes
Their acts to their intents, and nere displayes
Their secret projects, by high words or light,
Till they conclude their end by fraud or might.
No former friendship they in mind retaine,
If you offend once, or your love detaine :
They're wondrous cruell, strangely base and vile,
Quickly displeasd, and hardly reconcild ;
Stately and great, as read in rules of state ;
Incensd, not caring what they perpetrate.
Whose hayre is cut with greeces, yet a locke
Is left ; the left side bound up in a knott :
Their males small labour but great pleasure know,
Who nimbly and expertly draw the bow ;
Traind up to suffer cruell heat and cold,
Or what attempt so ere may make them bold ;
Of body straight, tall, strong, mantled in skin
Of deare or bever, with the hayre-side in ;
An otter skin their right armes doth keepe warme,
To keepe them fit for use, and free from harme ;
A girdle set with formes of birds or beasts,
Begirts their waste, which gentle gives them ease.
Each one doth modestly bind up his shame,
And deare-skin start-ups reach up to the same ;
A kind of *pinsen* keeps their feet from cold,
Which after travels they put off, up-fold,
Themselves they warme, their ungirt limbes they rest

Adveniente hiemis glaciali tempore sævæ,
Inque suam patriam redeuntes sole benigno
Calfaciente leves artus fervore, revisa
Ut pereant inimica, soloque nocentia, frugem
Detque solum solitam, rutilis dant ignibus arva.
Horum nonnulli regali nomini gaudent,
Et consorte tori prognatâ sanguine tali,
Regibus undè pari fuerit virtute propago,
Rectores faciens regali prole parentes ;
Inferiore sibi capientes stirpe maritas ;
Progeniem timidam credunt, cordisque socordis,
Nec solii, sceptrive sui fore posse capacem.
Rex tenet imperium, pœnas et præmia cunctis
Constituit, dat jura ; senes, viduasquè, pupillos,
Et miseros curat, peregrinos molliter omnes
Excipit hospitio semper, tamen indè (tributi
Nomine) primitias rerum partemque priorem,
Venatu captæ prædæ capit, atque requirit.
Cingitur obsequio regis plebs omnis, et ultrò
Arma capit, fortique facit sua prælia, dextrâ
Pallida lethiseris, faciens præcordia teliis

In straw, and houses, like to sties : Distrest
With winter's cruell blasts, a hotter clime
They quickly march to, when that extreame time
Is over, then contented they retire
To their old homes, burning up all with fire.
Thus they their ground from all things quickly cleare,
And make it apt great store of come to beare.
Each people hath his orders, state, and head,
By which they'r rul'd, taught, ordered, and lead.
The first is by descent their lord and king,
Pleas'd in his name likewise and governing :
The consort of his bed must be of blood
Coequall, when an of-spring comes as good,
And highly bred in all high parts of state,
As their commanders of whom they'rs prognate.
If they unequal loves at Hymen's hand
Should take, that vulgar seede would nere command
In such high dread, great state and deepe decrees
Their kingdomes, as their kings of high degrees :
Their kings give lawes, rewardes to those they give,
That in good order, and high service live.
The aged widow and the orphanes all,
Their kings maintaine, and strangers when they call.
They entertaine with kind salute for which
In homage, they have part of what's most rich.
These heads are guarded with their stoutest men,
By whose advice and skill, how, where, and when,
They enterprize all acts of consequence,

Hostium, et expugnans sceleratis fata sagittis.
Insupèr ornavit quorum Bellona corolla
Tempora, præsidio, vitâ, virtute virili,
Regibus incedunt comites tutamine certo.
His reges capiunt consultis cautiùs arma ;
Cautiùs exactis faciunt his fœdera bellis :
Eloquiis horum concedere regibus omnis
Subsidium, quodcunque valet, plebs alma movetur,
Mundi acie tantùm semel undè profecta reversâ.
Nec priùs exercet crudelia parvulus arma,
Quam patiens armorum ut sit sibi pectus, amaram
Herbis compositam peramaris sorbiat undam,
Usque in sanguineum vertatur lympha colorem,
Undaque sanguinea ex vomitu rebibenda tenellis,
Usque valent maribus : sic fit natura parata
Omnia dura pati : puer hæc cui potio grata,
Pectore fit valido cuncta expugnare pericla.
Magnanimis medici comites virtute periti
Artibus empiricis, diro cantamine, tactu,
Fletu, sudore, et percusso pectore palmis,
Duritèr expassis proprio, pallentia eorum
Corpora restituunt facili medicamine sana :
Vulnera sanandi si nulla potentia verbis,
Artibus aut herbis, confestim spiritus illis,
Impius humanâ specie respondet iniquis,
Reddidit iratus Deus artus morte solutos
Moribus : unde dolor nullis medicabilis herbis.
Denique sunt populi fungentes munere jusso,
Instar servorum, quæcunque subire parati
Ardua, consiliis subjecti, fœmina, fumus

Whether offensive or for safe defence.
These potents doe invite all once a yeare,
To give a kind of tribute to their peere.
And here observe thou how each childe is traind ;
To make him fit for armes he is constraind
To drink a potion made of hearbes most bitter,
Till turnd to blood with casting, whence he's fitter,
Induring that to under-goe the worst
Of hard attempts, or what may hurt him most.
The next in order are their well seene men
In herbes, and rootes, and plants, for medicen,
With which by touch, with clamors, teares, and sweat,
With their curst magicke, as themselves they beat,
They quickly ease : but when they cannot save,
But are by death surprizd, then with the grave
The divell tells them he could not dispence ;
For God hath kild them for some great offence.
The lowest people are as servants are,
Which doe themselves for each command prepare :

Indicus ad certos inhibetur et omnibus annos.
Posteà liberior concessa potentia cunctis,
Connubio multas sibi conjunxisse maritas :
Ditior est plures nuptas qui duxerit omnis,
Viribus, at natis : natî quia summa parentum
Gaudia, descessus quorum (nam mortis hiatu
Compressos lachrymis decorant) longoque, gravique
Commemorant luctu, tumulisque cadavera mandant
A genibus subrecta cavis pallentia cuncta ;
Impositis opibus tumulis, Titanis ad ortus,
Attollunt facies, ad quem post tempora longa
Venturos credunt omnes, ubi prœmia digna
Imposita accipient, fuerintque salutis ad hortos
Elysios vecti, mirandaque gaudia summis
Exornata bonis : hæc spes post funera gentis.
Est alia utilitas, multis uxoribus arva,
Valdè onerata tenent Cerealibus, omnis eorum
Nocte dieque cibo gaudet quasi natus ut omnis
Illicò consumat fruges ; sua granaque (Marte
Arripiente manu penetrantia tela) minutis,
Abdita speluncis tutis, et ab hostibus, hoste
Decedente suo subito repetenda reponit.

They may not marry nor tobacco use,
Till certain yeares, least they themselves abuse.
At which yeares to each one is granted leave,
A wife or two, or more, for to receive.
By having many wives, two things they have ;
First, children which before all things to save
They covet, 'cause by them their kingdomes fild,
When as by fate or armes their lives are spild.
Whose death as all that dye they sore lament,
And fill the skies with cries : impatient
Of nothing more than pale and fearful death,
Which old and young bereaves of vitall breath.
Their dead wrapt up in mats to th' grave they give,
Upright from th' knees with goods whilst they did live,
Which they best lov'd : their eyes turn'd to the east,
To which after much time, to be releast
They all must march, where all shall all things have
That heart can wish, or they themselves can crave.
A second profit, which by many wives
They have, is corne, the staffe of all their lives.
All are great eaters ; he's most rich whose bed
Affords him children, profit, pleasure, bread.
But if fierce Mars begins his bow to bend,
Each king stands on his guard, seekes to defend
Himselfe, and his, and therefore hides his graine
In earth's close concaves, to be fetch'd againe.
If he survives : Thus saving of himselfe,
He acts much mischiefe, and retains his wealth.

Artibus Hybernus produxit temporis olim,
Multum, Marte, levis, versutus, durus, inermis,
Difficilè edomitus donec secreta latebant
Indicia, atque doli taciti : fit et arte superstes.
Sæpiùs hac Indus, victoris victor et ingens.
Fæmina præterea vultu plerumque venusto,
Multos irridens risus, linguamque loquacem ;
Judicioque gravi, genio placidoque virili
Pectore, perrecta corpus per et omne statura :
Nervis connexa validis, manibusque tenellis,
Pollice pergracili, digitis fæliciter altis.
Inclita diversis faciendo est gramine corbes
Contextos formis, varioque colore tapetum.
Stramine compositum tenui, mirisque figuris.
His decor eximius color est contrarius albo :
Ortibus unde suis per totum candidus artus
Et piceo facies est obfucata colore.
Consuetudo tamen populis his fæmina ut omnis,
Omnia perficiat duria mandata laboris :
Arva fodit manibus, committit semina terris,
Utque seges crescit levibus fulcitur ab illa,

By this deepe wyle, the Irish long withstood
The English power, whilst they kept their food,
Their strength of life their corne ; that lost, they long
Could not withstand this nation, wise, stout, strong.
By this one art, these natives oft survive
Their great'st opponents, and in honour thrive.
Besides, their women, which for th' most part are
Of comely formes, not blacke, nor very faire :
Whose beautie is a beauteous blacke laid on
Their paler cheeke, which they most doat upon :
For they by nature are both faire and white,
Inricht with graceful presence, and delight ;
Deriding laughter, and all prattling, and
Of sober aspect, grast with grave command :
Of man-like courage, stature tall and straight,
Well nerv'd with hands and fingers small and right.
Their slender fingers on a grassie twyne,
Make well form'd baskets wrought with art and lyne ;
A kind of arras, or straw-hangings, wrought
With divers formes, and colours, all about.
These gentle pleasures, their fine fingers fit,
Which nature seem'd to frame rather to sit ;
Rare stories, princes, people, kingdomes, towers,
In curious finger-worke, or parchment flowers :
Yet are these hands to labours all intent,
And what so ere without doores, give content.
These hands doe digge the earth, and in it lay
Their fair choyce corne, and take the weeds away,
As they doe grow, raysing with earth each hill,

Continuò terris, segetem sarritque, resarrit.
Tergore portat onus, victumque labore paratum,
Et brevitèr peragit mulier conamine prompto,
Omnia ad humanam spectantia munera vitam.
Hinc Anglos Indi stolidos dixêre maritos,
Cum videant operis ferventes omnibus illos,
Attamèn uxores omnem duducere vitam
Molli, vel nullo fungendi munere dextrâ.
Quamlibet ob noxam manet altâ mente reposta,
Invidia, et dirum gelido sub pectore vulnus.
Undè fugit celeri pede fortia fortis in arma
Hostis, et indè suî lætans fit sponsa cubilis,
Præda satis felix; hinc victa injuria mentis.
Denique cujusdàm cultores numinis omnes
Sunt, cui primitias reddunt, quotiesque necesse,
Fortia discruciat miserabile pectora, luctu,
Acrique horrendis clamoribus æthera complent.
Omnia principio fecisse agnoscitur illis,
Unum principium; primos crevisse parentes,
Unum terrarum dominum, consorte duobus;
His mortale genus divam sumpsisse figuram:

As Ceres prospers to support it still.
Thus all worke-women doe, whilst men in play,
In hunting, armes, and pleasures, end the day.
The Indians whilst our Englishmen they see
In all things servile exercisd to be;
And all our women freed, from labour all
Unless what's easie; us much fooles they call,
'Cause men doe all things; but our women live
In that content which God to man did give.
Each female likewise long reteines deepe wrath,
And's nere appeas'd till wrongs reveng'd shee hath:
For they when forraigne princes armes up take
Against their leige, quickly themselves betake
To th' adverse armie, where they're entertaind
With kind salutes, and presently are daign'de
Worthy fair Hymen's favours: thus offence
Obtaines by them an equall recompence.
Lastly, though they no lynes, nor altars know,
Yet to an unknowne God these people bow:
All feare some God, some God they worship all,
On whom in trouble and distresse they call;
To whom of all things they give sacrifice,
Filling the ayre with their shrill shrikes and cries,
The knowledge of this God they say they have
From their forefathers, wond'rous wise and grave;
Who told them of one God, which did create
All things at first, himself though increate.
He our first parents made, yet made but two,
One man, one woman, from which stocke did grow

Quorum progenies illi, quoque stirpe racemi.
Insupèr hunc dominum dominis posuisse creatis,
Optima justitiæ sacræ precepta docenda,
Sacro perpetuis ætatibus omnia jussu.
Hactenùs est omnis longævæ litera genti
Vix audita, viris penitusque incognita cunctis.
Fas, non quid fasti : falsum non, fœdera curant :
Lumine naturæ summi sunt juris amantes
Promissique dati ; tanti sunt fœdera gentis.
Nulla fides populis tamèn est capiente sagittas,
Marte feras, fueris nisi sævis fortior armis.
Litera cuncta licet latet hos, modulamina quædam
Fistula disparibus calamis facit, est et agrestis
Musica vocis iis, minime jucunda, sonoris
Obtusisque sonis oblectans pectora, sensus,
Atque suas aures, artis sublimis inanes.
Omnes, præsertim multos provectus in annos,
Indi, quid cœli cursus, quid sidera, vires
Sunt, benè concipiunt animis, cœlumque futurum :
Quâ mihi notitiâ latet, aut quo numine certo.
Festi tamen gens nulla nisi Cerealia servat :
Genti nulla dies sancto discrimine nota :
Annus et ignotus, notus tamen est bene mensis ;
Num sua lunari distinguunt tempora motu,
Non quot Phœbus habet cursus, sed quot sua conjux

Royall mankinde, of whom they also came
And tooke beginning, being, forme, and frame :
Who gave them holy lawes, for aye to last,
Which each must teach his childe till time be past.
Their grosse fed bodies yet no letters know,
No bonds nor bills they value, but their vow.
Thus without art's bright lampe, by nature's eye,
They keepe just promise, and love equitie.
But if once discord his fierce ensigne weare,
Expect no promise unless't be for feare :
And, though these men no letters know, yet their
Pan's harsher numbers we may some where heare ;
And vocall odes which us affect with griefe ;
Though to their mindes perchance they give reliefe.
Besides these rude insights in nature's brest,
Each man by some meanes is with sence possest
Of heaven's great lights, bright starres, and influence,
But chiefely those of great experience.
Yet they no feasts (that I can learne) observe,
Besides their Ceres, which do'th them preserve.
No dayes by them descernd from other dayes,
For holy certaine service kept alwayes.
Yet they when extreame heate doth kill their corne,
Afflict themselves some dayes, as men forelorne.
Their times they count not by the yeare as we,
But by the moone their times distingui'sht be ;

Expletos vicibus convertat Cynthia cursus :
Noctibus enumerant sua tempora, nulla diebus.
Mosque diis Indis est inservire duobus,
Quorum mollis, amans, bona dans, inimica, repellens
Unus, amore bonum venerantur : at invidus alter,
Diros effundens cum turbine, fulgura nimbos.
Afficiensque malis variis, morbisque nefandis,
Et violentis : hunc gelidâ formidine adorant.
Naturæ gens luce suæ sublimia tentat,
Agnoscens præcepta dei pia singula summi
Excepto de ducendis uxoribus uno ;
Affectis etenim morbis uxoribus illis,
Vel gravidis, aliis opus est uxoribus illis.
Heû quam dissimilis naturæ, gratia vera,
Humana et ratio. Sublimia gratia vitæ
Aspicit æternæ fidei bonitate potita :
Enervata suis ratio at virtutibus æquis,
Illi nulla manet veræ scintilla salutis.
Talia quis fando lachrymas non fundit amaras,
Divinæ lucis, virtutis, visque capacem
Gentem ; cælestis veræ pietatis inanem ;
Flebilis ardentes mitti Phlegetontis in undas.
Aspicis effigiem terræ ; levis ætheris, undæ :
Aspicis antiquæ mores, velamina, gentis :
Aspicis optatos hilarantia littora portus :

Not by bright Phœbus, or his glorious light,
But by his Phœbe and her shadowed night.
They now accustom'd are two Gods to serve,
One good, which gives all good, and doth preserve ;
This they for love adore : the other bad,
Which hurts and wounds, yet they for feare are glad
To worship him. See here a people who
Are full of knowledge, yet do nothing know
Of God aright : yet say his lawes are good,
All, except one, whereby their will's withstood
In having many wives ; if they but one
Must have, what must they doe when they have none.
O how farre short comes nature of true grace.
Grace sees God here ; hereafter face to face :
But nature quite encru'd of all such right,
Reteines not one poore sparcle of true light.
And now what soule dissolves not into teares,
That hell must have ten thousand thousand heires,
Which have no true light of that truth divine,
Or sacred wisdome of th' eternall Trine.
O blessed England far beyond all sence,
That knowes and loves this Trine's omnipotence.
In briefe survey here water, earth, and ayre,
A people proud, and what their orders are :
The fragrant flowers, and the vernant groves,

Aspicis his modicum fœlicitér (Ente faventi
Cœlestum cæptis) lætantia singula votum.
Si mea Barbaricæ prosint conanima genti :
Si valet Anglicanis incompta placere poesis :
Et sibi perfaciles hac reddere gente potentes,
Assiduosque pios sibi persuadere Colonos :
Si doceat primi vitam victumque parentis :
Angli si fuerint Indis exempla beaté
Vivendi, capiant quibus ardua limina cœli :
Omnia succedunt votis : modulamina spero
Hæc mea sublimis fuerint præsagia regni.

The merry shores, and storme-astranting coves.
In briefe, a briefe of what may make man blest,
If man's content abroad can be possest.
If these poore lines may winne this country love,
Or kinde compassion in the English move ;
Perswade our mightie and renowned state,
This pore-blinde people to comiserate ;
Or painefull men to this good land invite,
Whose holy workes these natives may inlight :
If heavens graunt these, to see here built I trust,
An English kingdome from this Indian dust.

The following fabulous Traditions and Customs of the Indians of Martha's Vineyard, were communicated to BENJAMIN BASSET, *Esq. of Chilmark, by* THOMAS COOPER, *a half blooded Indian, of Gay Head, aged about sixty years ; and which, he says, he obtained of his grandmother, who, to use his own expression, was a stout girl, when the English came to the island.*

THE first Indian who came to the Vineyard, was brought thither with his dog on a cake of ice. When he came to Gay Head, he found a very large man, whose name was Moshup. He had a wife and five children, four sons and one daughter ; and lived in the Den. He used to catch whales, and then pluck up trees, and make a fire, and roast them. The coals of the trees, and the bones of the whales, are now to be seen. After he was tired of staying here, he told his children to go and play ball on a beach that joined Noman's Land to Gay Head. He then made a mark with his toe across the beach at each end, and so deep, that the water followed, and cut away the beach ; so that his children were in fear of drowning. They took their sister up, and held her out of the water. He told them to act as if they were going to kill whales ; and they were all turned into killers, (a fish so called.) The sister was dressed in large stripes. He gave them a strict charge always to be kind to her. His wife mourned the loss of her children so exceedingly, that he threw her away. She fell upon Seconet, near the rocks, where she lived some time, exacting contribution of all who passed by water. After a while she was changed into a stone. The entire shape remained for many years.

But

But after the English came, some of them broke off the arms, head, &c. but the most of the body remains to this day. Moshup went away nobody knows whither. He had no conversation with the Indians, but was kind to them, by sending whales, &c. ashore to them to eat. But after they grew thick around him he left them.

WHENEVER the Indians worshipped, they always sang and danced, and then begged of the sun and moon, as they thought most likely to hear them, to send them the desired favour; most generally rain or fair weather, or freedom from their enemies or sickness.

BEFORE the English came among the Indians, there were two disorders of which they most generally died, viz. the consumption and the yellow fever. The latter they could always *lay* in the following manner. After it had raged and swept off a number, those who were well, met to lay it. The rich, that is, such as had a canoe, skins, axes, &c. brought them. They took their seat in a circle; and all the poor sat around, without. The richest then proposed to begin to lay the sickness: and having in his hand something in shape resembling his canoe, skin, or whatever his riches were, he threw it up in the air; and whoever of the poor without could take it, the property it was intended to resemble became forever transferred to him or her. After the rich had thus given away all their moveable property to the poor, they looked out the handsomest and most sprightly young man in the assembly, and put him into an entire new wigwam, built of every thing new for that purpose. They then formed into two files at a small distance from each other. One standing in the space at each end, put fire to the bottom of the wigwam on all parts, and fell to singing and dancing. Presently the youth would leap out of the flames, and fall down to appearance dead. Him they committed to the care of five virgins, prepared for that purpose, to restore to life again. The term required for this would be uncertain, from six to forty-eight hours; during which time the dance must be kept up. When he was restored, he would tell, that he had been carried in a large thing high up in the air, where he came to a great company of white people, with whom he had interceded hard to have the distemper layed; and generally after much persuasion, would obtain a promise, or answer of peace, which never failed of laying the distemper.

Inscription copied from a grave stone at Gay Head.

1 2 3
YEUUH'WOHHOK'SIPSIN'
4 5
SIL'PAUL'NOHTOBEYONTOK'
6 7
AGED'49:YEARS'NUPPOOP'TAH'
AUGUST'24TH1787.

EXPLANATIONS.

1. *Here.* 2. *The body.* 3. *Lies.* 4. *Silas Paul.* 5. *An ordained preacher.* 6. *Died.* 7. *Then*, or *in.*

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

OF THE

INDIANS

IN *NEW ENGLAND.*

OF THEIR SEVERAL NATIONS, NUMBERS, CUSTOMS, MANNERS, RELIGION AND GOVERNMENT, BEFORE THE ENGLISH PLANTED THERE.

Also a true and faithful Account of the present state and condition of the Praying Indians (or those who have visibly received the gospel in New England) declaring the number of that people, the situation and place of their Towns and Churches, and their manner of worshipping God, and divers other matters appertaining thereto.

Together with a brief Mention of the Instruments and Means, that God hath been pleased to use for their Civilizing and Conversion, briefly declaring the prudent and faithful endeavours of The Right Honourable the Corporation at London, for promoting that affair.

Also suggesting some Expedients for their further Civilizing and propagating the Christian faith among them.

BY DANIEL GOOKIN, GENTLEMAN.

One of the Magistrates of Massachusetts Colony in New England, who hath been for sundry years past, and is at present, betrusted and employed for the civil government and conduct of the Indians in Massachusetts Colony, by order of the General Court there.

Ps. ii. 8. *Ask of me, and I shall give thee, the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.*

Ps. lxxii. 8, 9. *He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth. They that dwell in the wilderness shall bow before him; and his enemies shall lick the dust.*

Is. xlix. 6. *And he said, It is a light thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth.*

First printed from the Original Manuscript.
MDCCXCII.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

To the High and Mighty Prince Charles, by the grace of God, King of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the faith, &c.

ROYAL SIR,

I HAVE read that Artaxerxes Mnemon, king of Persia, going his progress, the people used to present him with their several gifts in the way; and among the rest a countryman, having nothing else to present him with, ran to the river, and taking up his hands full of water, presented him with that. Artaxerxes was was so taken therewith, that he gave the fellow a considerable beneficence.

So have I, dread Sovereign, presumed to offer this poor mite, as a testimony of my affection. I must acknowledge it is most unworthy to kiss your royal hands, being so meanly apparelled in an Indian garb. But the matter therein contained, being a true account of the progress of the gospel among the poor Indians, within your dominions, and that under the influence of your royal favour, this, as I conceive, is not unmeet for your Majesty's knowledge. Therefore let it please your Majesty graciously to accept and peruse these Collections, and especially that humble proposal made in Chap. 12. Sect. 5. as a necessary expedient to promote this great work, and which must have its life, under God, from the rays of your Majesty's favour.

The God of heaven and earth bless your Majesty with all temporal, spiritual, and eternal blessings in Christ Jesus; and make you more and more a nursing father to his church; that under your shadow it may rejoice, and every individual person thereof be encouraged in all ways of godliness and honesty.

So prayeth he that is one of the most unworthy, yet desirous to be reckoned among the number of your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects. DANIEL GOOKIN.

Cambridge in New England, December 7th, 1674.

AN EPISTLE GRATULATORY AND SUPPLICATORY,

To the Right Honourable the Corporation for propagating the gospel in America, residing in London; and particularly for the Hon. ROBERT BOYLE, *Esquire, Governour thereof.*

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

THESE Collections do, in a special manner, implore your favourable aspect and protection; for God hath been pleased to honour and employ you, as eminent instruments to encourage and promote this great affair of his kingdom in this western world, for propagating the gospel of Christ among the poor and desolate Indians.

The unworthy penman hereof desireth in all humility, to offer three words to your Honours.

First, with all cordial acknowledgment, I thank your Honours for all that great condescension and labour of love, that from time to time you have shewed in your zealous and faithful promoting of this work, committed unto your care and trust by his Majesty.

Secondly, to supplicate your unwearied countenance therein, and putting

putting forth, not only your prayers, but, vigorous endeavours to further it; for truly the work is great, and that in special as it relates to the glory and honour of the great God, and his only Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, in the salvation of these poor gentiles.

Thirdly, that you will please to peruse, and seriously to consider, and, if it may suit with your wisdoms, put in practice, these proposals, that I have presumed to make in the 12th Chap. of this tractate, as a means, under God, to civilize the barbarous Indians, and propagate religion among them; especially in setting up some free schools, to teach them to speak, read, write, and understand, the English tongue.

So praying unto the God of all grace, to multiply upon every one of you, his richest and best blessings, I take leave, and remain,

Right Honourable,
your humble servant,
DANIEL GOOKIN, Sen.

Cambridge, in N. E. Dec. *7th*, 1674.

AN EPISTLE TO THE READER.

COURTEOUS READER,

I HAVE here, through the grace of Christ, transmitted to thy view a true and faithful account concerning the Indians, not clothed in elegancy of words and accurate sentences; but rather I have endeavoured all plainness that I can, that the most vulgar capacity might understand, and be thereby excited to praise and glorify God, and provoked to pray earnestly and constantly unto the most high God, that he will please to carry on this his work, and turn many more of them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive an inheritance among them that are sanctified through faith in Christ. I am not ignorant that there are some persons, both in Old and New England, that have low thoughts of this work, and are very prone to speak diminutively thereof; but I intreat it may be considered, that this frame of spirit is no new thing; for the servants of God heretofore have complained of it, and with reference to the greatest and best tidings that ever was declared unto men. Hence it is that the prophet Isaiah, in liii. Isaiah, 1. saith, *Who hath believed our report? and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?* And our Lord Jesus confirmed the same in John xii. 37, 38. But it is the wisdom of all to be cautioned by the Lord's words, that follow in verse 40. *Lest God hath blinded men's eyes, and hardened their hearts.* I shall humbly desire all such, not to despise the day of small things, but to turn their doubtings into prayers, which will be more for God's honour and their comfort; and seriously to consider the words of our Lord Jesus, Mat. xi. 4, 5, 6. *Jesus answered and said unto them, Go and show John again those things which you do hear and see; the blind receive their sight, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, and the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached to them: And blessed is he that shall not be offended in me.* These miracles are wrought spiritually among the poor Indians; of which we bear record. Thus, with my hearty prayers to God in Christ, that the candid and ingenious christian

christian peruser hereof may be comforted and edified, and the objector convinced and reformed, I commit thee to God, and remain

Thine in all service of love,

Cambridge, in N. E. November 16th, 1674. D. G.

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF THE INDIANS IN NEW ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

Several Conjectures of their Original.

§. 1. CONCERNING the original of the Savages, or Indians, in New-England, there is nothing of certainty to be concluded. But yet, as I conceive, it may rationally be made out, that all the Indians of America, from the straits of Magellan and its adjacent islands on the south, unto the most northerly part yet discovered, are originally of the same nations or sort of people. Whatever I have read or seen to this purpose, I am the more confirmed therein. I have seen of this people, along the sea coasts and within land, from the degrees of 34 unto 44 of north latitude; and have read of the Indians of Magellanica, Peru, Brasilia, and Florida, and have also seen some of them; and unto my best apprehension, they are all of the same sort of people.

The colour of their skins, the form and shape of their bodies, hair, and eyes, demonstrate this. Their skins are of a tawny colour, not unlike the tawny Moors in Africa; the proportion of their limbs, well formed; it is rare to see a crooked person among them. Their hair is black and harsh, not curling; their eyes, black and dull; though I have seen, but very rarely, a grey-eyed person among them, with brownish hair. But still the difficulty yet remains, whence all these Americans had their first original, and from which of the sons of Noah they descended, and how they came first into these parts; which is separated so very far from Europe and Africa by the Atlantick ocean, and from a great part of Asia, by Mar del Zur, or the South sea; in which sea Sir Francis Drake, that noble hero, in his famous voyage about the world, sailed on the west of America, from the straits of Magellan, lying about 52 degrees of south latitude, unto 38 degrees of north latitude: where he possessed a part of the country, and received subjection from those very tractable Indians, in the right of the English nation, and his sovereign prince, the famous queen Elizabeth, then reigning, and her successors, and gave it the name of New Albion; which country lies west northerly of Massachusetts in New England; for Boston lies in 42° 30′. and New Albion in 48° of north latitude, which is near six degrees more northerly.

There are divers opinions about this matter.

§. 2. First, some conceive that this people are of the race of the ten tribes of Israel, that Salmanasser carried captive out of their own country, A. M. 3277, of which we read in II. Kings, xviii. 9—12; and that God hath, by some means or other, not yet discovered, brought them into America; and herein fulfilled his just threatening against them, of which we may read, II. Kings, xvii. from 6. to the 19 verse; and hath reduced them into such woful blindness and barbarism,

barism, as all those Americans are in; yet hath reserved their posterity there: and in his own best time, will fulfil and accomplish his promise, that those *dry bones shall live*, of which we read Ezek. xxxvii. 1—24. A reason given for this is taken from the practice of sundry Americans, especially of those inhabiting Peru and Mexico, who were most populous, and had great cities and wealth; and hence are probably apprehended to be the first possessors of America. Now of these the historians write, that they used circumcision and sacrifices, though oftentimes of human flesh; so did the Israelites sacrifice their sons unto Moloch. II. Kings, xvii. 17. But this opinion, that these people are of the race of the Israelites, doth not greatly obtain. But surely it is not impossible, and perhaps not so improbable, as many learned men think.

§. 3. Secondly, another apprehension is, that the original of these Americans is from the Tartars, or Scythians, that live in the north-east parts of Asia; which some good geographers conceive is nearly joined unto the north west parts of America, and possibly are one continent, or at least, separated, but by some narrow gulf; and from this beginning have spread themselves into the several parts of the north and south America; and because the southern parts were more fertile, and free from the cold winters incident to the northern regions, hence the southern parts became first planted, and most populous and rich. This opinion gained more credit than the former, because the people of America are not altogether unlike in colour, shape, and manners, unto the Scythian people, and in regard that such a land travel is more feasible and probable, than a voyage by sea so great a distance as is before expressed, from other inhabited places, either in Europe, Asia, or Africa; especially so long since, when we hear of no sailing out of sight of land, before the use of the load-stone and compass was found. But if this people be sprung from the Tartarian or Scythian people, as this notion asserts, then it is to me a question, why they did not attend the known practice of that people; who, in all their removes and plantations, take with them their kine, sheep, horses, and camels, and the like tame beasts; which that people keep in great numbers, and drive with them in all their removes. But of these sorts and kinds of beasts used by the Tartars, none were found in America among the Indians. This question or objection is answered by some thus. First, possibly the first people were banished for some notorious offences; and so not permitted to take with them of these tame beasts. Or, secondly, possibly, the gulf, or passage, between Asia and America, though narrow, comparatively, is yet too broad to waft over any of those sort of creatures; and yet possibly men and women might pass over it in canoes made of hollow trees, or with barks of trees, wherein, it is known, the Indians will transport themselves, wives and children, over lakes and gulfs, very considerable for breadth. I have known some to pass with like vessels forty miles across an arm of the sea.

§. 4. But before I pass to another thing, suppose it should be so, that the origination of the Americans came from Asia, by the north-west of America, where the continents are conceived to meet very near, which indeed is an opinion very probable; yet this doth not hinder

hinder the truth of the first conjecture, that this people may be of the race of the ten tribes of Israel: for the king of Assyria who led them captive, as we heard before, transported them into Asia, and placed them in several provinces and cities, as in II. Kings, xvii. 6. Now possibly, in process of time, this people, or at least, some considerable number of them, whose custom and manner it was to keep themselves distinct from the other nations they lived amongst; and did commonly intermarry only with their own people; and also their religion being so different from the heathen, unto whom they were generally an abomination, as they were to the Egyptians; and also partly from God's judgment following them for their sins: I say, it is not impossible but a considerable number of them might withdraw themselves; and so pass gradually into the extreme parts of the continent of Asia; and where-ever they came, being disrelished by the heathen, might for their own security, pass further and further, till they found America; which being unpeopled, there they found some rest; and so, in many hundred of years, spread themselves in America in that thin manner, as they were found there, especially in the northern parts of it; which country is able to contain and accommodate millions of mankind more than were found in it. And for their speech, which is not only different among themselves, but from the Hebrew, that might easily be lost by their often removes, or God's judgment.

§. 5. A third conjecture of the original of these Indians, is, that some of the tawny Moors of Africa, inhabiting upon the sea coasts, in times of war and contention among themselves, have put off to sea, and been transported over, in such small vessels as those times afforded, unto the south part of America, where the two continents of Africa and America are nearest; and they could not have opportunity or advantage to carry with the small vessels of those times any tame beasts, such as were in that country. Some reasons are given for this notion. First, because the Americans are much like the Moors of Africa. Secondly, the seas between the tropicks are easy to pass, and safe for small vessels; the winds in those parts blowing from the east to the west, and the current setting the same course. Thirdly, because it is most probable, that the inhabitants of America first came into the south parts; where were found the greatest numbers of people, and the most considerable cities and riches.

§. 6. But these, or any other notions, can amount to no more than rational conjecture; for a certainty of their first extraction cannot be attained: for they being ignorant of letters and records of antiquity, as the Europeans, Africans, and sundry of the Asians, are and have been, hence any true knowledge of their ancestors is utterly lost among them. I have discoursed and questioned about this matter with some of the most judicious of the Indians, but their answers are divers and fabulous. Some of the inland Indians say, that they came from such as inhabit the sea coasts. Others say, that there were two young squaws, or women, being at first either swimming or wading in the water: The froth or foam of the water touched their bodies, from whence they became with child; and one of them brought forth a male; and the other, a female child; and then the two women died and left the earth:

earth : So their son and daughter were their first progenitors. Other fables and figments are among them touching this thing, which are not worthy to be inserted. These only may suffice to give a taste of their great ignorance touching their original ; the full determination whereof must be left until the day, wherein all secret and hidden things shall be manifested to the glory of God.

§. 7. But this may upon sure grounds be asserted, that they are Adam's posterity, and consequently children of wrath ; and hence are not only objects of all christians' pity and compassion, but subjects upon which our faith, prayers, and best endeavours should be put forth to reduce them from barbarism to civility ; but especially to rescue them out of the bondage of Satan, and bring them to salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ ; which is the main scope and design of this tractate.

CHAP. II.

Of the principal Indians that inhabit New England.

§. 1. THE principal nations of the Indians, that did, or do, inhabit within the confines of New-England, are five. 1. Pequots ; 2. Narragansitts ; 3. Pawkunnawkuts ; 4. Massachusetts ; and, 5. Pawtucketts.

§. 2. The Pequots, or Pequods, were a people seated in the most southerly bounds of New England ; whose country the English of Connecticut jurisdiction doth now, for the most part, possess. This nation were a very warlike and potent people, about forty years since ; at which time they were in their meridian. Their chief sachem held dominion over divers petty sagamores ; as over part of Long Island, over the Mohegans, and over the sagamores of Quinapeake, yea over all the people that dwelt upon Connecticut river, and over some of the most southerly inhabitants of the Nipmuck county, about Quinabaag. The principal sachem lived at, or about, Pequot, now called New London. These Pequots, as old Indians relate, could in former times raise four thousand men, fit for war ; and held hostility with their neighbours, that lived bordering upon them to the east and north, called the Narragansitts, or Nechegansitts ; but now they are few, not above three hundred men ; being made subject unto the English, who conquered and destroyed most of them, upon their insolent deportment and just provocation, Anno 1638 : of which we shall have occasion to speak more particularly in the sequel of our history. ☞

§. 3. The Narragansitts were a great people heretofore ; and the territory of their sachem extended about thirty or forty miles from Sekunk river and Narragansitt bay, including Rhode Island and other islands in that bay, being their east and north bounds or border, and so running westerly and southerly unto a place called Wekapage, four or five miles to the eastward of Pawcutuk river, which was reckoned for their south and west border, and the easternmost limits of the Pequots. This sachem held dominion over divers petty governours ; as part of Long Island, Block Island, Cawesitt, Niantick, and others ; and had tribute from some of the Nipmuck Indians, that lived remote from the sea. The chief seat of this sachem was about Narragansitt bay

☞ See the Postscript.

bay and Cannonicut island. The Narragansitts were reckoned, in former times, able to arm for war more than five thousand men as ancient Indians say. All do agree they were a great people, and oftentimes waged war with the Pawkunnawkutts and Massachusetts, as well as with the Pequots. The jurisdiction of Rhode Island and Providence plantations, and part of Connecticut people, possess their country. These Indians are now but few comparatively: all that people cannot make above one thousand able men.

§. 4. The Pawkunnawkutts were a great people heretofore. They lived to the east and northeast of the Narragansitts; and their chief sachem held dominion over divers other petty sagamores; as the sagamores upon the island of Nantuckett, and Nope, or Martha's Vineyard, of Nawsett, of Mannamoyk, of Sawkattukett, Nobsquasitt, Matakees, and several others, and some of the Nipmucks. Their country, for the most part, falls within the jurisdiction of New Plymouth colony. This people were a potent nation in former times; and could raise as the most credible and ancient Indians affirm, about three thousand men. They held war with the Narragansitts; and often joined with the Massachusetts, as friends and confederates against the Narragansitts. This nation, a very great number of them, were swept away by an epidemical and unwonted sickness, An. 1612 and 1613, about seven or eight years before the English first arrived in those parts to settle the colony of New Plymouth. Thereby divine providence made way for the quiet and peaceable settlement of the English in those nations. What this disease was, that so generally and mortally swept away, not only these but other Indians, their neighbours, I cannot well learn. Doubtless it was some pestilential disease. I have discoursed with some old Indians, that were then youths; who say, that the bodies all over were exceeding yellow, describing it by a yellow garment they showed me, both before they died, and afterwards.

§. 5. The Massachusetts, being the next great people northward, inhabited principally about that place in Massachusetts bay, where the body of the English now dwell. These were a numerous and great people. Their chief sachem held dominion over many other petty governours; as those of Weechagaskas, Neponsitt, Punkapaog, Nonantum, Nashaway, some of the Nipmuck people, as far as Pokomtakuke, as the old men of Massachusetts affirmed. This people could, in former times, arm for war, about three thousand men, as the old Indians declare. They were in hostility very often with the Narragansitts; but held amity, for the most part, with the Pawkunnawkutts, who lived on the south border, and with the Pawtucketts, who inhabited on their north and northeast limits. In An. 1612 and 1613, these people were also sorely smitten by the hand of God with the same disease, before mentioned in the last section; which destroyed the most of them, and made room for the English people of Massachusetts colony, which people this country, and the next called Pawtuckett. There are not of this people left at this day above three hundred men, besides women and children.

§. 6. Pawtuckett is the fifth and last great sachemship of Indians. Their country lieth north and northeast from the Massachusetts, whose dominion

dominion reacheth so far as the English jurisdiction, or colony of the Massachusetts, doth now extend, and had under them several other smaller sagamores; as the Pennakooks, Agawomes, Naamkeeks, Pascatawayes, Accomintas, and others. They were also a considerable people heretofore, about three thousand men; and held amity with the people of Massachusetts. But these also were almost totally destroyed by the great sickness before mentioned; so that at this day, they are not above two hundred and fifty men, besides women and children. This country is now inhabited by the English under the government of Massachusetts.

CHAP. III.

Of the Language, Customs, Manners, and Religion of the Indians.

§. 1. THE Indians of the parts of New England, especially upon the sea coasts, use the same sort of speech and language, only with some difference in the expressions, as they differ in several countries in England, yet so as they can well understand one another. Their speech is a distinct speech from any of those used in Europe, Asia, or Africa, that I ever heard of. And some of the inland Indians, particularly the Mawhawks, or Maquas, use such a language, that our Indians upon the coast do not understand: So the Indians to the southward, upon the sea coast about Virginia, use a speech much different from those in New England.

§. 2. The customs and manners of these Indians were, and yet are in many places, very brutish and barbarous in several respects, like unto several savage people of America. They take many wives; yet one of them is the principal or chief in their esteem and affection. They also put away their wives; and the wives also leave their husbands frequently, upon grounds of displeasure or disaffection. They are very revengeful, and will not be unmindful to take vengeance upon such as have injured them or their kindred, when they have opportunity, though it be a long time after the offence was committed. If any murther, or other great wrong upon any of their relations or kindred, be committed, all of that stock and consanguinity look upon themselves concerned to revenge that wrong, or murder, unless the business be taken up by the payment of wompompeague, or other satisfaction, which their custom admits, to satisfy for all wrongs, yea for life itself.

§. 3. They are much addicted to idleness, especially the men, who are disposed to hunting, fishing, and the war, when there is cause. That little tillage or planting used among them, was principally done by the women. Also in their removals from place to place, which they are inclined to, for their fishing and hunting at the several seasons, the women carry the greatest burthen: they also prepare all the diet. They are naturally much addicted to lying and speaking untruth: and unto stealing, especially from the English. The men and women are very loving and indulgent to their children.

§. 4. Their houses, or wigwams, are built with small poles fixed in the ground, bent and fastened together with barks of trees oval or arbour-wise on the top. The best sort of their houses are covered very neatly, tight, and warm, with barks of trees, slipped from their bodies, at

at such seasons when the sap is up ; and made into great flakes with pressures of weighty timber, when they are green ; and so becoming dry, they will retain a form suitable for the use they prepare them for. The meaner sort of wigwams are covered with mats, they make of a kind of bulrush, which are also indifferent tight and warm, but not so good as the former. These houses they make of several sizes, according to their activity and ability ; some twenty, some forty feet long, and broad. Some I have seen of sixty or a hundred feet long, and thirty feet broad. In the smaller sort they make a fire in the centre of the house ; and have a lower hole on the top of the house, to let out the smoke. They keep the door into the wigwams always shut, by a mat falling thereon, as people go in and out. This they do to prevent air coming in, which will cause much smoke in every windy weather. If the smoke beat down at the lower hole, they hang a little mat in the way of a skreen, on the top of the house, which they can with a cord turn to the windward side, which prevents the smoke. In the greater houses they make two, three, or four fires, at a distance one from another, for the better accommodation of the people belonging to it. I have often lodged in their wigwams ; and have found them as warm as the best English houses. In their wigwams, they make a kind of couch or mattresses, firm and strong, raised about a foot high from the earth ; first covered with boards that they split out of trees ; and upon the boards they spread mats generally, and some times bear skins and deer skins. These are large enough for three or four persons to lodge upon : and one may either draw nearer or keep at a more distance from the heat of the fire, as they please ; for their mattresses are six or eight feet broad.

§. 5. Their food is generally boiled maize, or Indian corn, mixed with kidney-beans, or sometimes without. Also they frequently boil in this pottage fish and flesh of all sorts, either new taken or dried, as shads, eels, alewives or a kind of herring, or any other sort of fish. But they dry mostly those sorts before mentioned. These they cut in pieces, bones and all, and boil them in the aforesaid pottage. I have wondered many times that they were not in danger of being choaked with fish bones ; but they are so dexterous to separate the bones from the fish in their eating thereof, that they are in no hazard. Also they boil in this furmenty all sorts of flesh, they take in hunting : as venison, beaver, bear's flesh, moose, otters, rackoons, or any kind that they take in hunting ; cutting this flesh in small pieces, and boiling it as aforesaid. Also they mix with the said pottage several sorts of roots ; as Jerusalem artichokes, and ground nuts, and other roots, and pompions, and squashes, and also several sorts of nuts or masts, as oak-acrons, chesnuts, walnuts : these husked and dried, and powdered, they thicken their pottage therewith. Also sometimes they beat their maize into meal, and sift it through a basket, made for that purpose. With this meal they make bread, baking it in the ashes, covering the dough with leaves. Sometimes they make of their meal a small sort of cakes, and boil them. They make also a certain sort of meal of parched maize. This meal they call nokake. It is so sweet, toothsome, and hearty, that an Indian will travel many days with no other food but this

this meal, which he eateth as he needs, and after it drinketh water. And for this end, when they travel a journey, or go a hunting, they carry this nokake in a basket, or bag, for their use.

§. 6. Their household stuff is but little and mean. The pots they seeth their food in, which were heretofore, and yet are, in use among some of them, are made of clay or earth, almost in the form of an egg, the top taken off, but now they generally get kettles of brass, copper, or iron. These they find more lasting than those made of clay, which were subject to be broken; and the clay or earth they were made of, was very scarce and dear. Their dishes, and spoons, and ladles, are made of wood, very smooth and artificial, and of a sort of wood not subject to split. These they make of several sizes. Their pails to fetch their water in, are made of birch barks, artificially doubled up, that it hath four corners and a handle in the midst. Some of these will hold two or three gallons: and they will make one of them in an hour's time. From the tree where the bark grows, they make several sorts of baskets, great and small. Some will hold four bushels, or more: and so downward, to a pint. In their baskets they put their provisions. Some of their baskets are made of rushes: some, of bents: others, of maize husks: others, of a kind of silk grass: others, of a kind of wild hemp: and some, of barks of trees: many of them, very neat and artificial, with the portraitures of birds, beasts, fishes and flowers, upon them in colours. Also they make mats of several sorts, for covering their houses and doors, and to sleep and sit upon. The baskets and mats are always made by their women: their dishes, pots, and spoons, are the manufacture of the men. They have no other considerable household stuff except these: only of latter years, since the English came among them, some of them get tin cups and little pails, chests of wood, glass bottles, and such things they affect.

§. 7. Their drink was formerly no other but water, and yet it doth continue, for their general and common drink. But of late years some of them planted orchards of apples, and make cider: which some of the worst of them are too prone to abuse unto drunkenness: though others of them that are christians, use it or any other strong drink with great sobriety. Many of the Indians are great lovers of strong drink, as aqua vitæ, rum, brandy, or the like, and are very greedy to buy it of the English: and though all strong drink is strictly prohibited to be sold to any Indian in the Massachusetts colony, upon the penalty of forty shillings a pint; yet some ill-disposed people, for filthy lucre's sake, do sell unto the Indians secretly, though the Indians will rarely discover these evil merchants—they do rather suffer whipping or fine than tell. Hereby they are made drunk very often; and being drunk, are many times outrageous and mad, fighting with and killing one another, yea sometimes their own relations. This beastly sin of drunkenness could not be charged upon the Indians before the English and other christian nations, as Dutch, French, and Spaniards, came to dwell in America: which nations, especially the English in New-England, have cause to be greatly humbled before God, that they have been, and are, instrumental to cause these Indians to commit this great evil and beastly sin of drunkenness.

§. 8. The

§. 8. The Indians' clothing in former times was of the same matter as Adam's was, viz. skins of beasts, as deer, moose, beaver, otters, rackoons, foxes, and other wild creatures. Also, some had mantles of the feathers of birds, quilled artificially; and sundry of them continue to this day their old kind of clothing. But, for the most part, they sell the skins and furs to the English, Dutch, and French, and buy of them for clothing a kind of cloth, called duffils, or trucking cloth, about a yard and a half wide, and for matter, made of coarse wool, in that form as our ordinary bed blankets are made, only it is put into colours, as blue, red, purple, and some use them white. Of this sort of cloth two yards make a mantle, or coat, for men and women, and less for children. This is all the garment they generally use, with this addition of some little pieces of the same, or of ordinary cotton, to cover their secret parts. It is rare to see any among them of the most barbarous, that are remiss or negligent in hiding those parts. But the christian and civilized Indians do endeavour, many of them, to follow the English mode in their habit. Their ornaments are, especially the women's, bracelets, necklaces, and head bands, of several sorts of beads, especially of black and white wompom, which is of most esteem among them, and is accounted their chief treasure.

§. 9. The wompompeague is made artificially of a part of the wilk's shell. The black is of double value to the white. It is made principally by the Narragansitt black islanders,* and Long Island Indians. Upon the sandy flats and shores of those coasts the wilk shells are found. With this wompompeague they pay tribute, redeem captives, satisfy for murders and other wrongs, purchase peace with their potent neighbours, as occasion requires; in a word, it answers all occasions with them, as gold and silver doth with us. They delight much in having and using knives, combs, scissors, hatchets, hoes, guns, needles, awls, looking-glasses, and such like necessaries, which they purchase of the English and Dutch with their peague, and then sell them their peltry for their wompeague.

Their weapons heretofore were bows and arrows, clubs, and tomahawks, made of wood like a pole axe, with a sharpened stone fastened therein; and for defence, they had targets made of barks of trees. But of latter years, since the English, Dutch, and French have trafficked with them, they generally disuse their former weapons, and instead thereof have guns, pistols, swords, rapier blades, fastened unto a staff of the length of a half pike, hatchets, and axes.

§. 10. For their water passage, travels, and fishing, they make boats, or canoes, either of great trees, pine or chesnut, made hollow and artificially; which they do by burning them; and after with tools, scraping, smoothing, shaping them. Of these they make greater or lesser. Some I have seen will carry twenty persons, being forty or fifty feet in length, and as broad as the tree will bear. They make another sort of canoes of birchen bark, which they close together, sewing them with a kind of bark, and then smearing the places with turpentine.

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* *So written in the M. S. probably by mistake for Block Island.*

pentine of the pine tree. These kinds of canoes are very neatly and artificially made, being strengthened in the inside with some few thin timbers and ribs; yet are they so light, that one man will, and doth, ordinarily carry one of them upon his back several miles, that will transport five or six people. When in their huntings or wars, they are to pass falls of rivers, or necks of land, into other rivers or streams, they take up their canoes upon their backs, and others carry their arms or provisions; and so embark again, when their difficulty is past, and proceed in their journey or voyage. But these kind of canoes are much more ticklish and apt to overset, than the former. But the Indians are so used to them, and sit so steady, that they seldom overturn with them; and if they should, they can all swim well and save their lives, though sometimes they may lose their peltry, arms, and provisions.

§. 11. They used to oil their skins and hair with bear's grease heretofore, but now with swine's fat, and then paint their faces with vermilion, or other red, and powder their heads. Also they use black and white paints; and make one part of their face of one colour; and another, of another, very deformedly. The women especially do thus; and some men also, especially when they are marching to their wars; and hereby, as they think, are more terrible to their enemies. The women, in the times of their mourning, after the death of their husbands or kindred, do paint their faces all over black, like a negro; and so continue in this posture many days. But the civilized and christian Indians do leave these customs. The men, in their wars, do use turkey or eagle's feathers, stuck in their hair, as it is traced up in a roll. Others wear deer shuts, made in the fashion of a cock's comb died red, crossing their heads like a half moon.

They are addicted to gaming; and will, in that vein, play away all they have. And also they delight much in their dancings and revellings; at which time he that danceth (for they dance singly, the men, and not the women, the rest singing, which is their chief musick) will give away in his frolick, all that ever he hath, gradually, some to one, and some to another, according to his fancy and affection. And then, when he hath stripped himself of all he hath, and is weary, another succeeds and doth the like: so successively, one after another, night after night, resting and sleeping in the days; and so continue sometimes a week together. And at such dancings, and feastings, and revellings, which are used mostly after the ingathering of their harvests, all their neighbours, kindred, and friends, meet together; and much impiety is committed at such times. They use great vehemency in the motion of their bodies, in their dances; and sometimes the men dance in greater numbers in their war dances.

They are much given to hospitality in their way. If any strangers come to their houses, they will give him the best lodging and diet they have; and the strangers must be first served, by themselves. The wife makes ready; and by her husband's direction, delivers to the strangers, according to their quality, or his affection.

§. 12. Their government is generally monarchical, their chief sachem or sagamore's will being their law; but yet the sachem hath some chief men, that he consults with as his special counsellors. Among some of the Indians their government is mixed, partly monarchical, and partly aristocratical; their sagamore doing not any weighty matter without the consent of his great men, or petty sagamores. Their sachems have not their men in such subjection, but that very frequently their men will leave them upon distaste or harsh dealing, and go and live under other sachems that can protect them: so that their princes endeavour to carry it obligingly and lovingly unto their people, lest they should desert them, and thereby their strength, power, and tribute would be diminished.

§. 13. Their religion is as other gentiles are. Some for their God, adore the sun; others, the moon; some, the earth; others, the fire; and like vanities. Yet generally they acknowledge one great supreme doer of good; and him they call Woonand, or Manitt: another, that is the great doer of evil or mischief; and him they call Mattand, which is the devil; and him they dread and fear, more than they love and honour the former chief good which is God.

There are among them certain men and women, whom they call powows. These are partly wizards and witches, holding familiarity with Satan, that evil one; and partly are physicians, and make use, at least in show, of herbs and roots, for curing the sick and diseased. These are sent for by the sick and wounded; and by their diabolical spells, mutterings, exorcisms, they seem to do wonders. They use extraordinary strange motions of their bodies, insomuch that they will sweat until they foam; and thus continue for some hours together, stroking and hovering over the sick. Sometimes broken bones have been set, wounds healed, sick recovered; but together therewith they sometimes use external applications of herbs, roots, splintering and binding up the wounds. These powows are reputed, and I conceive justly, to hold familiarity with the devil; and therefore are by the English laws, prohibited the exercise of their diabolical practices within the English jurisdiction, under the penalty of five pounds,—and the procurer, five pounds,—and every person present, twenty pence. Satan doth strongly endeavour to keep up this practice among the Indians: and these powows are factors for the devil, and great hinderers of the Indians embracing the gospel. It is no small discouragement unto the Indians in yielding obedience unto the gospel, for then, say they, if we once pray to God, we must abandon our powows; and then, when we are sick and wounded, who shall heal our maladies?

Upon this occasion I shall relate a true history, that happened about five and twenty years since, at their first beginning to pray to God.

§. 14. At the island of Nope, or Martha's Vineyard, about the year 1649, one of the first Indians that embraced the christian religion on that island, named Hiacoomes who is living at this day, and a principal teacher among them, and is a grave and serious christian, and hath had a great blessing since upon his posterity; for his sons and his daughters are pious, and one, if not more of his sons, teachers to

to them ; and his eldest son, called Joel, of whom we shall speak afterwards, was bred a scholar at Cambridge in New-England, and was not only a good and diligent student, but a pious man,—though he was taken away by death, before he came to maturity :—This Hiacoomes, as I said before, not long after he had embraced the gospel ; his wife also being a good woman and a believer ; she, being great with child, fell into travail of child birth and had great pains and sorrowful throes for sundry days, and could not be delivered ;—which is a thing unusual with the Indian women, who are ordinarily quickly and easily delivered ; and many times are so strong, that within a few hours after the child's birth, they will go about their ordinary occasions :—But this woman, the wife of Hiacoomes, was, as I said, in sore labour and travail in child birth several days, and could not be delivered ; insomuch that nothing less than death was expected by herself and husband. In this strait, several of their carnal and unconverted kindred and relations applied themselves unto Hiacoomes and his wife, pressing them to send for a powow, and use that help for relief. But both husband and wife utterly refused their temptation ; the man being willing to submit to God's disposal, and lose his wife, though he loved her dearly, rather than take assistance from the devil and his instruments, whom he had renounced ; and the woman, who was the sufferer, yet, through the grace of God, was endowed with such christian fortitude, that she also utterly refused this method for her deliverance, and would rather lose her life than seek help that way. In this exigence, they earnestly cried to God in prayer, to show mercy to them for Jesus Christ's sake ; imploring also the prayers of Mr. Thomas Mayhew junior, their teacher, and other English christians, living nigh them. Mr. Mayhew, being affected with the case, got together some godly christians to meet together ; and those kept a day of fasting and prayer, to implore the help of God for these poor, distressed, christian Indians. And the Lord was graciously pleased to hear and answer their prayers, and shortly after gave the woman safe deliverance of a daughter ; which the father named by a word in the Indian language, which signified in English, Return. When Mr. Mayhew, the minister, understood this, he demanded of Hiacoomes the reason, why he gave his daughter that name ; whose answer was to this effect : Sir, said he, a little while since, you know, I, and my wife and children, were travelling on apace in the broad way to hell and all misery, and going from God ; but now, since you preached to us, I, and my wife and children, are, through God's grace, *returning* back the contrary way, with our faces set towards God, heaven, and happiness. Secondly, you know, before my wife was delivered of this child, how great peril of life she was in, and God seemed to be very angry with us ; but he was intreated and heard our prayers, and is *returned* to us with mercies, in my wife's safe deliverance of this daughter. And for these two reasons, I call this child Return. This story is most certainly true ; and was told me distinctly by Mr. Thomas Mayhew junior, their minister, Hiacoomes being present, in travelling on foot between Watertown lecture and Cambridge, the Indian that was the principal person concerned being with him ; and this

this he related not long after the thing was done: and although it be a digression, yet the example being so instructive, I thought it might be of good use to insert it here; there being apparently much faith and love to God, great christian fortitude, prudence, and thankfulness, resisting of Satan, overcoming temptation, encouragement to prayer, and hope and reliance on God in cases of difficulty and distress; and all this wonderfully exemplified in poor Indians, newly come to the faith, out of the depth of ignorance and barbarism: all which doth greatly tend to magnify and illustrate the free and powerful virtue of God's grace in Christ Jesus.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Inland Indians, and particularly of the Mawhawks, or Maquas.

§. 1. THE inland Indians are of several nations; but by our sea coast Indians, are generally denominated the Maquas, however distinguished among themselves. I shall speak a little of several of them; and then in special of those Indians, which are properly called Mawhawks, or Maquas, that live upon a breach of Hudson river, about fifty miles from fort Oranje, now fort Albany, near unto certain great lakes, that have recourse unto the great river of Canada.

§. 2. Divers of the Indian nations, that live to the west of Massachusetts, upon the great river of Canada and the lakes thereunto belonging (of which there are great numbers) that hold commerce with the French, and also sundry of our Indians, in their hunting journeys, converse and traffick with those Indians, and understand each other's language; these do properly belong to, and are within the lines of the Massachusetts charter, which extendeth from the Atlantick sea, west, through the main land, unto the West or South sea, and is in breadth about two degrees, viz. from 42°. to 44°. and odd minutes; and so is not improperly a subject of our discourse, which is designed to speak of the Indians in New England. But these Indians being at a considerable distance from the English, not less than a hundred and fifty, or two hundred miles, we are not capable to give so particular an account of them, but what we have from our Indians, that often travel unto them, and converse with them, as I said before. The Indians of those parts, so far as I can learn, are of a tractable and quiet disposition, and capable to receive impressions. We are informed, that some of the fathers of the Romish religion do travel among them, and have distilled some of their corrupt principles into them, and have baptized sundry of them, and also taught them image worship, which our Indians do despise and contemn, as a thing below rational men, to fall down and pray to a painted board and dead image. But I trust in God, in due time he will open a way, for the true and saving light of the gospel to break forth unto them from these parts; when it shall please God to raise up more instruments, both English and Indians, that may have some encouragement to travel into those parts, to drive on this excellent and spiritual traffick, to convert souls unto the christian faith. The names of the nations I cannot distinctly learn; but there are great numbers of them, and well inclined; for they live in peace with

with the French ; and I have not heard they have treacherously conspired against the christians, but have and do traffick, and hold good correspondence with them. Indeed these Canada Indians have been, for many years, a prey to the Maquas, who are seated between the English and these Indians ; and do, by rapine and spoil, rob these poor savages of the fruit of their labours, and heretofore sold the same to the Dutch ; of which I shall have occasion to speak more particularly in the story of the Maquas.

§. 3. There is a numerous race of Indians, that live upon a great lake, or sea. Some report it to be salt water ; others, fresh. This lies from Boston about west and by south. The nearest part of the said lake, or sea, is apprehended, by the most intelligent Indians' information, to be above three or four hundred miles from Boston ; and then a hundred miles less from the English towns upon the Connecticut river, that do belong to Massachusetts jurisdiction. This people, I conceive, are the same that Captain Smith, in his History of Virginia,* in several places, doth call Massawomeks ; as in lib. 2. page 24. in lib. 2. page 33. " The Massawomeks, saith he, as the savages report, inhabit upon a great salt water which by all likelihood is either some part of Canada, some great lake, or some inlet of some sea, that falleth into the South sea. These Massawomeks are a great nation and very populous." And again in lib. 3. page 57. " They much extolled a great nation, called Massawomeks." Again in lib. 3. page 60, where he relates an encounter he had with the Massawomeks. Now the place, where he met with and heard of this great people of Massawomeks, was at the head of Chesapeak bay, or gulf, which lieth in the latitude of 40 degrees nearest ; and he saith, they had recourse thither ; coming from the lakes or seas, where they lived, and making canoes of barks of trees, which is the manner of these inland Indians, they passed down those rivers, that fall into the great bay, or gulf, which descends from the northwest, or near it, as the maps do show, So that these Massawomeks, however denominated by other names or titles, are the same nation and people that we are here speaking of ; and that live upon a great salt or fresh water, lying, as I said before, west and by south, or more southerly from Boston, that is, in 42°. 30'. Of this nation, that live upon this port, it is reported for a truth by our Indians, that they are a very great and numerous people, and do speak, or at least understand, the same language that is used by our Indians. Upon this consideration and intelligence, about two years since, there was a journey attempted unto this people. There was employed in this design six or seven Indians, one of them a teacher, and other persons to assist them, that could speak both the English and Indian tongue. They were provided and accommodated with all things necessary and convenient for their journey, to the expense of about thirty or forty pounds, as I was informed. They took with them Indian bibles, primers, catechisms, and other books, translated into the Indian language, and other things to present to those Indians, for

* *This curious work was printed in London*, 1627, *and is now in very few hands.*

for their encouragement to entertain christianity. Being thus fitted, they set forth in the spring of the year, as I remember; and after they had travelled so far as the English plantations reach upon Connecticut river, which was about a hundred miles on their way, their pilot, as they pretended, fell lame or sick, and other difficulties presented: so they returned back, *re infectâ*, and all the cost expended to no purpose.

§. 4. Upon this occasion I shall take liberty to suggest my apprehension touching this discovery. And first, I shall presume, that it is unto me an undoubted truth, upon clear demonstration, that there is such a lake, or arm of the sea, about such a distance as was before mentioned from us. Secondly, that this place is well replenished with a great people of Indians, is a truth asserted by the concurrent testimony of all Indians, French, and Dutch, that have had occasion to travel and inquire of the matter. Thirdly, that this place is a good climate, and probably not only very fertile, whereby provision is found for so numerous a people, but also they are otherwise furnished with furs and other desirable things. Fourthly, that although a full and perfect discovery of this vast lake, or part of the sea, will be a costly thing; yet, in the issue, it may also be greatly advantageous unto the discoverers, not only in using means for conveying and communicating the christian religion unto so many poor, ignorant souls, which is the greater,—but also in accumulating external riches, as well as honour, unto the first undertakers and perfecters of this discovery. These things premised being seriously considered, I humbly conceive, if any thing be further attempted, which I hear the Right Honourable the Corporation for propagating the gospel in New-England, living in London, have again suggested to be prosecuted by the commissioners here, it should be attempted strongly, and by such means as in probability of reason may attain the end desired; which, I apprehend, cannot be effected without a considerable expense; for this cannot be done by a few Indians or English men, sent on that errand, who, if they should escape and return in safety, cannot satisfy us in much more, than what we know already, that there is such a place and people.

I shall offer this therefore, as an expedient for this undertaking, that there be not less than forty or fifty English men, with some Indians; such persons as are fit and able for that employ, under wise and prudent conduct: some of them mariners; some, ship carpenters; and some, house carpenters; with all materials and necessaries suitable, both of apparel, arms, tools, victuals, ammunition, and whatever else is requisite; with considerable company of horses, to carry their men and furniture. These to set forth early in the spring of the year, and to have their victuals provided ready at the frontier English plantations upon Connecticut river. So travelling, until they find some part of that sea, or lake, or some navigable river running into it: and there searching for a suitable place, both for good soil, and timber to make and build a convenient house, and a good fort for defence against Indians and French. But first with all speed, to prepare for and build a good pinnace, or large boat, with a deck, able to accommodate twenty men, and victuals and arms, and also a little one to come with it: With which vessel, after it is fitted and furnished, twenty of the men, whereof two or three to

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be good artists and men of prudence and conduct, to proceed to the said lake, or sea, and make discovery thereof, leaving the rest of the men to keep the fort, for a place of rendezvous. In the interim, some of the men ashore may be employed in clearing land, fit to plant corn the year ensuing, and others to fish and fowl. Some few also may be sent back to the English towns with some of the horses, to recruit provisions, and to give information. Those that go for discovery in the vessel, should be instructed to treat civilly yet warily,—for many Indians are very treacherous,—with the first Indian people they can discover; and to endeavour first to traffick with them, especially to buy provision, if the Indians can accommodate them with it; also to trade for furs or other things vendable. To this end they must be furnished with such Indian trucking stuff, as may be suitable. And after they have made a discovery of any people, and driven a trade with them, then to leave one or two hostages, and take some from them, and return back to the fort, and land their corn and other provisions or furs, and give information of what they have discovered, and then return again upon discovery, and proceed further; and so employ that summer, returning to the fort, as often as may be convenient to give intelligence and receive fresh recruits and supplies. Especially in all these discoveries and converse with the Indians, due care should be taken, that something of christian religion may be instilled into them, and to that end some pious and religious Indians must be procured to accompany the English in their discovery; and some of them may be left behind among those Indians, if they find encouragement, to be instructing them in the knowledge of the true God, and our Lord Jesus Christ. Care also must be had, that a good minister, physician, and chirurgeon, be sent with this company. And these means being used, by the blessing of God, something may be discovered to good purpose, the first summer; and then, being there settled, the next year, a more perfect and ample discovery may be made: for I apprehend one year will not suffice to complete this discovery, considering the time that will be expended in building a vessel, and a fort and houses, before they can proceed in the enterprise.

Before I leave this theme, give me your favour to add a relation I had from a very intelligent Indian now living at Natick, and whose father is a pious person, and of the church there. This young man, their son, called Thomas, came home from the French that dwell upon the river of Canada, about three or four years since. He had lived with those French about three years, at a trading fort, about sixty miles up the river of Canada, above Quebec. This Indian told me for a certain truth, that both Indians and French at that place, with one voice informed him of this great lake, or sea; the extent thereof they do not know: And that abundance of Indians lived there; and that in the most westerly or southerly parts thereof, the Indians and French report, there are cattle and sheep, and men clothed, and silver and great riches. Said he, the French are very jealous lest the English discover and settle the place first; and they have no way from Canada river to pass to this place by water, so much as with a canoe; and the Indians are many and potent, and they dare not go

to them, and the French are but weak in those parts. Besides, they have a good trade for furs with the Indians by them; and hence seek not much after new discoveries at present. This is the substance of this Indian's relation to me, at his return home.

§. 5. Besides these Massawomeks and the Canada Indians, there are divers other Indians, that live within land and upon the sea coasts; as the Pokomtakukes, the Squakeays, the Quabaugs, and the Mohegans, the Pennakooks, divers that live upon or near unto the English of Connecticut, also upon Long-Island, and upon Hudson's river, and Delaware bay river, and upon the sea coasts between Delaware and New-Jersey. Also there are several Indian people inhabiting to the eastward, both upon the sea coasts, and within land, without the bounds of the Massachusetts, and yet bordering upon the English of New-England. All which do sit in darkness and the shadow of death. And it is a thing to be desired, that the word of God's grace, declared in the gospel of his Son, may run and be glorified, and spread far and near, like leven, until it leven the whole lump of these Indians; and thereby we may see the predictions of the scriptures fulfilled,—that our Lord Jesus Christ shall become salvation unto the poor gentiles, unto the ends of the earth; and that seraphick prediction of holy Herbert, that excellent poet, be accomplished, which he elegantly declared in that poem: Herbert, Church Militant. 190, 191, page.

"Religion stands on tiptoe in our land,
Ready to pass to the American strand.
When height of malice and prodigious lusts,
Impudent sinning, witchcrafts, and distrusts,
The mark of future bane, shall fill our cup
Unto the brim, and make our measure up;
When Seine shall swallow Tiber, and the Thames,
By letting in them both, pollutes her streams;
When Italy of us shall have her will,
And all her calendar of sins fulfil,
Whereby we may foresee what sins next year
Shall both in France and England domineer;
Then shall religion to America flee,
They have their times of gospel ev'n as we.
My God, thou dost prepare for them a way,
By carrying first their gold from them away,
For gold and grace did never yet agree;
Religion always sides with poverty.
We think we rob them, but we think amiss:
We are more poor—they are more rich.
By this thou wilt revenge their quarrel, making grace
To pay our debts, and leave our ancient place,
To give to them, while that which now their nation
But lends to us, shall be our desolation."

§. 6. Now we are come to speak of the Maquas more particularly, which I promised in the beginning of this chapter. These Maquas live near unto certain lakes, about fifty miles from fort Oranje, now called

called fort Albany, upon a branch of Hudson's river. The place they live at, is reported to be a fertile and pleasant country. It lies between the French that live upon Canada, and the English and Dutch that live upon Hudson's river. Those Indians are greatly addicted to war, spoil, and rapine. They heretofore lived in towns, or forts, not far one from another; but were all in confederacy with each other. Their manner was to rob, kill, and spoil, their neighbour Indians far and near: and with the beavers and other furs, thus taken by violence, to barter heretofore with the Dutch upon Hudson's river, now with the English that possess that country, for those necessaries they wanted, especially for guns, powder and shot, and other weapons for war. They took their spoil principally from the Indians of Canada, and the branches and lakes thereunto belonging: which Indians, as was before hinted, are an industrious and peaceable people, exercising themselves much in hunting for and taking much beaver, otters, and other furs, which those watery regions are plentifully stored with. These Indians traffick with the French, living at Quebec and other places upon that river. But these warlike Maquas would attack, rob, and plunder them, as they return home from their huntings: and also for sundry years used hostility against the French upon that river, spoiling and taking prisoners many of them. These doings of the Maquas greatly obstructed their trade with the Indians: and hereby the French were much provoked and incensed against the Maquas; but wanting sufficient strength to deal with them, about the year 1646 and 1647, the French did, by their agent, Monsieur Marie, a person of orders, and most probably a Jesuit, apply themselves with earnest solicitations, unto the government of Massachusetts, for assistance to subdue the Maquas, offering great pay for such succour; but the English were not willing to engage themselves in that affair, forasmuch as the Maquas had never done any injury to the English, and in policy and reason were like to be a good bulwark between the English and French, in case a time should come of hostility between these two nations. For these and other reasons M. Marie returned without succour. Since which time, An. 1663, or 1664, the French, having received a considerable supply from France, with a new governour, and seven or eight hundred soldiers, this new governour, by his lieutenant and other commanders, with about six or seven hundred soldiers, did march against the Maquas in the dead of winter, when the rivers and lakes were covered with a firm ice, upon which they travelled the most direct way. In truth they passed through very much difficulty by reason of the cold season, digging into the snow upon the edges of the rivers and lakes, to make their lodgings in the night, and carrying their victuals, and arms, and snow shoes at their back; (I have spoken with some Frenchmen, that were soldiers in this exploit, who related the story) and by this difficult and hazardous attempt, at such a season as was never expected by their enemies, they fell upon the Maquas at unawares; and thereby made an ample conquest of them, and freed themselves from their former rapine and insolencies; and ever since have held them under a kind of subjection. Yet this victory was not so absolute, but many of the Indians escaped with their lives,

but lost all they had, for the French took the spoil, and burnt their three forts or towns; but afterwards those that escaped, which were far the greater number of men, made treaties of peace with the French, and their country was restored to them, where they yet live, but paying some tribute to the French.

§. 7. These Maquas, as I said before, are given to rapine and spoil; and had, for several years, been in hostility with our neighbour Indians; as the Massachusetts, Pawtucketts, Pennakooks, Kennebecks, Pokomtakukes,* Quabaugs, all the Nipmuck Indians, and Nashaway, or Weshakim Indians. And in truth, they were in time of war, so great a terrour to all the Indians before named, though ours were far more in number than they, that the appearance of four or five Maquas in the woods would frighten them from their habitations, and cornfields, and reduce many of them to get together in forts; by which means they were brought to such straits and poverty, that had it not been for relief they had from the English, in compensation for labour, doubtless many of them had suffered famine. For they were driven from their planting fields through fear, and from their fishing and hunting places; yea they durst not go into the woods, to seek roots and nuts to sustain their lives. But this good effect the war had upon some of them, namely, to turn them from idleness; for now necessity forced them to labour with the English in hoeing, reaping, picking hops, cutting wood, making hay, and making stone fences, and like necessary employments, whereby they got victuals and clothes.

These Maquas had great advantages over our poor Indian neighbours; for they are inured to war and hostility; ours, not inured to it. Besides, the manner of the Maquas in their attempt, gives them much advantage, and puts ours to terrour. The Maquas' manner is, in the spring of the year, to march forth in parties several ways, under a captain, and not above fifty in a troop. And when they come near the place that they design to spoil, they take up some secret place in the woods for their general rendezvous. Leaving some of their company there, they divide themselves into small parties, three, or four, or five in a company; and then go and seek for prey. These small parties repair near to the Indian habitations, and lie in ambushments by the path sides, in some secure places; and when they see passengers come, they fire upon them with guns; and such as they kill or wound, they seize on and pillage, and strip their bodies; and then with their knives, take off the skin and hair of the scalp of their head, as large as a satin or leather cap: and so leaving them for dead, they pursue the rest, and take such as they can prisoners, and serve them in the same kind; excepting at sometime, if they take a pretty youth or girl that they fancy, they save them alive: and thus they do, as often as they meet any Indians. They always carefully preserve the scalps of the head, drying the inside with hot ashes; and so carry them home as trophies of their valour, for which they are rewarded.

And now I am speaking of their cruel and murtherous practices, I shall here mention a true and rare story of the recovery of an Indian maid, from whose head the Maquas had stript the scalp in the manner before mentioned, and broken her skull, and left her for dead; and afterward she was found, recovered, and is alive at this day. The story is thus.

* *Living at Deerfield.* In

In the year 1670, a party of Maquas, being looking after their prey, met with some Indians in the woods, belonging to Naamkeek, or Wamesit, upon the north side of Merrimak river, not far from some English houses; where, falling upon these Indians, that were travelling in a path, they killed some, and took others, whom they also killed; and among the rest, a young maid of about fourteen years old was taken, and the scalp of her head taken off, and her skull broken, and left for dead with others. Some of the Indians escaping, came to their fellows; and with a party of men, they went forth to bring off the dead bodies, where they found this maid with life in her. So they brought her home, and got Lieutenant Thomas Henchman, a good man, and one that hath inspection over them by my order, to use means for her recovery; and though he had little hope thereof, yet he took the best care he could about it; and as soon as conveniently he could, sent the girl to an ancient and skilful woman living at Woburn, about ten miles distant, called Goodwife Brooks, to get her to use her best endeavours to recover the maid; which, by the blessing of God, she did, though she were about two years or more in curing her. I was at Goodwife Brooks' house in May, 1673, when she was in cure; and she showed me a piece or two of the skull, that she had taken out. And in May last, 1674, the second day, I being among the Indians at Pawtuckett, to keep court, and Mr. Elliot, and Mr. Richard Daniel, and others, with me, I saw the maid alive and in health; and looked upon her head, which was whole, except a little spot as big as a sixpence might cover, and the maid fat and lusty; but there was no hair come again upon the head, where the scalp was flayed off. This cure, as some skilful in chirurgery apprehend, is extraordinary and wonderful; and hence the glory and praise is to be ascribed to God, that worketh wonders without number.

§. 8. Although these Maquas were very afflictive and cruel, in this war with our neighbour Indians, for several years; yet we may observe two things very remarkable, wherein the favour of God is to be acknowledged in a distinguishing manner.

First, towards the English nation, who live many of them in the woods, far from neighbours; and frequently travel in the wilderness, from town to town, and to other colonies, and that without any other arms, except a riding rod; sometimes one alone; sometimes, two or three together; against whom the Maquas had advantage, and opportunities daily to kill and destroy the English, and no certain knowledge who were the actors: But it pleased God so to restrain them, that not the least hurt was done unto any English person; only sometimes possibly they might kill an Englishman's cow or swine, when they wanted food; but this very seldom, and possibly might be charged as well upon other Indians, as upon the Maquas.

Secondly, towards the praying Indians. They killed but one or two of them, about one praying town, called Wamesit; but never were seen near to Natick or Hassanamesitt, where the churches are planted now; yet they were at some other praying towns of Indians. Doubtless the great God, who is compassionate to his poor children, did so guide and order their motions, that they never shot a bullet or arrow

arrow at any person near those towns : but yet the poor praying Indians were under great fears and terrours, and were very much distressed and discouraged by their fears ; but yet, through God's grace and favour, they had no hurt.

Before I leave this discourse of the Maquas, I shall give you a short narrative of five armed Maquas, that were apprehended and imprisoned in Cambridge, in September, 1665, as I remember.

§. 9. There were five Mawhawks, or Maquas, all stout and lusty young men, and well armed, that came into one John Taylor's house, in Cambridge, in the afternoon. They were seen to come out of a swamp, not far from the house. The people of the house, which I think were only two women and a lad then at home, seeing them so armed ; for they had every one of them a firelock gun, a pistol, an helved hatchet, a long knife hanging about their necks, and every one had his pack, or knapsack, well furnished with powder and bullets, and other necessaries ; and also the people perceived that their speech was different from our neighbour Indians ; for these Maquas speak hollow and through the throat more than our Indians ; and their language is understood but by very few of our neighbour Indians ;—I say, the people of the house suspected them, sent privily to them that had authority, a little distance in the town, to give order and direction in this matter. Hereupon a constable with a party of men came to the house, and seized them without any resistance. Some think they were willing to be apprehended, that they may better see and observe the English manner of living. The constable was ordered to carry them to prison, and secure them there, until such time as they might be examined ; which was done, and they were all put in irons, and their arms and things taken from them and secured. The English had heard much, but never saw any of those Maquas until now. They differ nothing from the other Indians, only in their speech. At their being imprisoned and their being loaden with irons, they did not appear daunted or dejected ; but, as the manner of those Indians is, they sang night and day, when they were awake.

Within a day or two after, they were removed with a guard, from Cambridge to Boston prison, at which time the court sat ; before whom they were examined at several times, upon divers interrogations, too long to insert. The sum of their answer was, that they came not hither, with an intent to do the least wrong to the English, but to avenge themselves of the Indians, their enemies. They were told, it was inhumanity, and more like wolves than men, to travel and wander so far from home, merely to kill and destroy men, women, and children,—for they could get no riches of our Indians, who were very poor,—and to do this in a secret, sculking manner, lying in ambushment, thickets, and swamps, by the way side, and so killing people in a base and ignoble manner : whereas, if they were men of courage, valour, and nobleness of spirit, they would fight with their enemies openly and in a plain field, which our Indians would gladly accept and engage with them, and make an end of the cruel war, one way or other : but thus to be destroyed gradually, in such a manner, was altogether inhuman and barbarous. To these things they answered

ed shortly: It was their trade of life: they were bred up by their ancestors, to act in this manner towards their enemies.

The Indians, our neighbours, flocked into Boston, in great numbers, not only to see those Maquas, but earnestly to solicit the court, not to let them escape, but to put them to death, or, at least, to deliver the Maquas to them to be put to death. For, said they, these Maquas are unto us, as wolves are to your sheep. They secretly seize upon us and our children, wherever they meet us, and destroy us. Now, if we had taken five wolves alive, and should let them go again, and not destroy them, you Englishmen would be greatly offended with us for such an act: and surely, said they, the lives of men are of more worth than beasts.

These kind of arguings and solicitations of our neighbour Indians, put the court upon serious thoughts, how to manage this affair, as became wise and christian men. For as, on the one hand, the Maquas had never done any wrong to the English: and that we should begin a breach with them, in taking away these men's lives, we well knew the temper and spirit of that people was so cruel, and bloody, and revengeful, that they might, and probably would, in a secret and sculking way, destroy many of our people, so that none could be safe in their goings out and comings in: on the other hand, it was considered, that our neighbour Indians would be offended, that we did not gratify their desires. But of these two evils the court chose to avoid the former; forasmuch as we had more ties and obligations upon our neighbours, both of christianity, and sobriety, and commerce, than upon the others: and hence did endeavour at present, and might have opportunity hereafter, to quiet and compose their minds, declaring unto them: First, that it was not becoming the prudence or honour of so great a people as the English were, nor suitable to the christian profession, to begin a war with a people, that had not killed or slain any Englishmen. Secondly, for the English to espouse the Indians' quarrel, the cause whereof we knew not, or which party were the aggressors, was not lawful for the English to do. Thirdly, to take away the lives of five men, that were now in our power by their own voluntary coming into one of our towns, and had not done us any wrong, personally considered, it would be great injustice.

These and some other reasons were given to our neighbour Indians, who, though not satisfied at the present, yet were quiet. The result of the court in this matter was, to dismiss these five Maquas, with a letter from the court sent by them to their chief sachems, of this import: That although the English had seized five of their men, that came armed into one of the English houses, and had examined them: yet we had released them, and secured them from the Indians, and conducted them in safety out of our borders, and have returned all their arms and things unto them, and given them coats: and have sent this letter by them to their chief sachem, to forbid any of that people, for the future, to kill and destroy any of the Indians under our protection, that lived about forty miles from us on every side: which they might distinguish from other Indians, by their short hair, and wearing English fashioned apparel. Secondly, they were required not to come armed into

into any of our towns. But if any of them were sent, and came upon any business to us, they were to repair to the magistrate, and get the first Englishman they met withal, to conduct them to whom they were to declare their errand. With this letter, and a convoy of horse to conduct them into the woods, clear of the Indians, their enemies, they were dismissed, and we heard no more of them since.

§. 10. After this, as I best remember, in the summer, 1669, the war having now continued between the Maquas and our Indians, about six years, divers Indians, our neighbours, united their forces together, and made an army of about six or seven hundred men; and marched into the Maquas' country, to take revenge of them. This enterprise was contrived and undertaken without the privity, and contrary to the advice, of their English friends. Mr. Eliot and myself, in particular, dissuaded them, and gave them several reasons against it, but they would not hear us: but the praying Indians were so cautioned by our advice, that not above five of them went; and all of them were killed but one. The chiefest general in this expedition, was the principal sachem of Massachusetts, named Josiah, alias Chekatabutt, a wise and stout man of middle age, but a very vitious person. He had considerable knowledge in the christian religion; and sometime, when he was younger, seemed to profess it for a time;—for he was bred up by his uncle, Kuchamakin, who was the first sachem and his people to whom Mr. Eliot preached, as we shall afterwards declare;—and was a catechised Indian, and kept the sabbath several years; but after turned apostate, and for several years last past, separated from the praying Indians, and was but a back friend to religion. This man, as I said, was the chief; but there were divers other sagamores and stout men that assisted.

Their march unto the Maquas forts was about two hundred miles: and the Indians are ill accommodated for such an undertaking, having no other carriages for their arms, ammunition, and victuals, but their backs: and they are slow in their marches, when they are in a body; for they are fain to provide food, as they travel, by hunting, fishing, and gathering roots: and if, in their march, they are to pass any Indian towns or plantations; which they will go out of their way to visit and find quarters in, rather than pass them; at such places they will stay several days, until they devour all they can get; boasting, vapouring, and prating of their valour. Hereby their designs are known, and their enemies better prepared; and their provisions, especially their ammunition, wasted; for they are, when they have opportunity, much addicted to vapour, and shoot away their powder in the air.

This Indian army at last came to the Mawhawks' nearest fort; which their enemies had by this time well strengthened, fortified, and furnished with men and victuals, to endure a longer siege, than they knew the other could make. The Massachusetts, or sea coast army, set down before the fort, besieging it some days; they within and those without, firing at each other, without any considerable loss, except the expenses of powder and shot. Once a stout party of the Maquas sallied out upon the besiegers; and they fought stoutly on both sides, and several men were slain on both sides. At length, when the besieged saw cause, they retired again into their hold.

After

After some days, the army lying in this posture, their provision being exhausted, and their munition well spent, and some of their people sick, and that they saw the impossibility to get the hold by assault, they broke up the siege, and retreated homewards about twenty or thirty miles. Shortly after they were gone, a strong party of the Maquas issued forth to pursue them; and fetching a compass, got before them,—for the army marched slowly, many being sick, and the best, not very strong,—and placed themselves in ambushment at a pass opportune for their purpose, where were thick swamps on each side their way. Here the Maquas lodged themselves very near to them, as was most advantageous to their design; and then the Maquas fired upon them, and killed and wounded many at the first firings. Our Indians did what they could for their defence, and to offend the enemies: and many of the principal men fought valiantly, especially their general before named, and several others; yea almost all their stoutest leaders and sagamores, that accompanied him, pursued the Maquas into the thickets; and under such great disadvantage, most of these valiant men lost their lives, and the general also. About fifty of their chief men, they confess, were slain in this fight; but I suppose, more; but how many the Maquas lost, is not known. At last, night coming on, the Maquas contenting themselves with this victory, retreated; and the remainder of the army hastened, as fast as they could, homeward.

This was the last and most fatal battle, fought between the Maquas and our Indians; who returned home ashamed, with lamentations and mourning for the loss of most of their chief men. Then were they effectually convinced of their folly, in attempting this design contrary to the counsel of their best friend.

It was two years and more after this battle, before a peace was made between our Indians and the Maquas. But little or no action was done of either side: only both parties, kept in fear of each other; our Indians retiring close under the wings of the English; the Maquas, not over forward to invade; for I apprehend, that in these wars they felt damage, and lost many men, and were willing to be quieter than formerly they were. In the year 1671, as I take it, by the mediation of one Captain Salisbury, commander in chief at fort Albany, and other English and Dutch living there, being solicited thereunto by some of the English magistrates of the English colonies, there was a peace concluded between the Maquas and our Indians; who have been much frighted, scattered, impoverished, and discouraged by this war; but now are quiet, and are returned to their plantations, some whereof during this war were deserted; and the Indians of several places gathered together in forts, to their great suffering and inconveniences.

To sum up all concerning these Maquas,—you may see in the foregoing discourse, that they are a stout, yet cruel people; much addicted to bloodshed and cruelty; very prone to vex and spoil the peaceable Indians. Therefore it were a most desirable thing, to put forth our utmost endeavours to civilize, and convert these Indians to the knowledge of the gospel: which is the only means to turn this curse into a blessing. Then those gracious promises will be fulfilled to this people, that are mentioned

mentioned in Isaiah xi. 6—9 ; in Is. lxv. 25 ; and again in Is. xxxv. 4—9. These and abundance of other gracious promises shall be fulfilled to these poor Indians, when they receive the gospel in truth and power ; which the Lord grant for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

CHAP. V.

Of the Instruments and Means that God hath used, for the Civilizing and Conversion of some of the New-England Indians.

§. 1. HAVING, in the former chapters, declared some short hints concerning the Indians in general, I shall now, by God's assistance, speak more particularly of the civilized and religious Indians, which I shall denominate by the name of Praying Indians, a title generally understood ; and in this chapter, begin first to speak of the instruments, that the blessed God hath raised up and used in this matter. In the first place, we are to ascribe all glory, honour, and praise, unto God in Jesus Christ, who was, and is, the first mover and efficient in this work, wherein he hath remembered, and begun to fulfil, unto this forlorn and outcast people, those gracious promises made unto his son, our Lord Jesus Christ : Ps. ii. 8. *Ask of me and I will give thee, the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.* And in Ps. lxxii. 8. *He shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth.*

§. 2. For second causes, that which, in the first place, is deservedly to be mentioned, is the Lord's gracious inclining, disposing, and fitting, that pious servant of God, Mr. John Eliot, the only teacher of the church of Christ at Roxbury in New-England ; for his colleague, Mr. Thomas Weld, was a little before removed for England. Yet notwithstanding the weight of the work, incumbent upon him in that church, was sufficient to take up the time and strength of one man ; but, that God who is the God of the spirits of all flesh, did endow him with an extraordinary spirit suitable for the work. This reverend, learned, and worthy man, in the year of our Lord 1646, as I take it, and about the forty second year of his age, did intensely set upon the work of preaching Christ to the Indians in New-England ; and was so divinely assisted by the spirit of God, that it was not long after he set upon the work of learning the Indian language : but he attained such a measure thereof, that he adventured to make beginning to preach the glad tidings of salvation unto their competent understanding. The first place he began to preach at, was Nonantum,* near Watertown mill, upon the south side of Charles river, about four or five miles from his own house ; where lived at that time Waban, one of their principal men, and some Indians with him.

§. 3. His manner of teaching them was, first to begin with prayer, and then to preach briefly upon a suitable portion of scripture ; afterwards to admit the Indians to propound questions ;—and divers of them had a faculty to frame hard and difficult questions, touching something then spoken, or some other matter in religion, tending to their illumination ;—

* *The east part of Newton.*

nation ;—which questions Mr. Eliot, in a grave and christian manner, did endeavour to resolve and answer to their satisfaction.

Within a short time after this first attempt, finding the Indians, at least some of them, inclined to meet together to hear him, and that God was pleased graciously to assist him, and increase his knowledge of their language ; he set up another lecture at a place, called Neponsitt,† within the bounds of Dorchester, about four miles from his house southward ; where another company of Indians lived, belonging unto the sachem Kuchamakin. Among these Indians there were sundry grave and intelligent persons. But at Nonantum especially, one of most remark was named Waban, a grave and sober person, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more hereafter. God was pleased to open the understanding, and affect the heart of this man, that he became, by his example and activity, a leader and encourager to many others. And thus Mr. Eliot continued to preach these two lectures at Nonantum and Neponsitt, for several years with good success.

Besides his preaching to them, he framed two catechisms in the Indian tongue, containing the principles of the christian religion ; a lesser for children, and a larger for older persons. These also he communicated unto the Indians gradually, a few questions at a time, according unto their capacity to receive them. The questions he propounded one lecture day, were answered the next lecture day. His manner was, after he had begun the meeting with prayer, then first to catechise the children ; and they would readily answer well for the generality. Then would he encourage them with some small gift, as an apple, or a small biscuit, which he caused to be bought for that purpose. And by this prudence and winning practice, the children were induced with delight, to get into their memories the principles of the christian religion. After he had done the children, then would he take the answers of the catechetical questions of the elder persons ; and they did generally answer judiciously. When the catechising was past, he would preach to them upon some portion of scripture, for about three quarters of an hour ; and then give liberty to the Indians to propound questions, as I intimated before ; and in the close, finish all with prayer.

This worthy man hath been all along to this day, exceeding diligent and careful to instruct the Indians in the sound principles of the christian religion : so that there is none of the praying Indians, young or old, but can readily answer any question of the catechism ; which, I believe, is more than can be said of many thousands of English people ; the more cause of mourning ! Besides, the praying Indians have been so instructed and learned, that they generally pray in their families morning and evening, and that with much affection and reverence. This is a practice, which, I fear, is neglected in many English, as well in New England, as in Old England.

§. 4. In this work did this good man industriously travail sundry years, without any external encouragement, from men I mean, as to the receiving any salary or reward. Indeed verbal encouragements, and the presence of divers persons at his lectures, he wanted not. The truth

† *Neponsitt river separates Dorchester from Milton.*

truth is, Mr. Eliot engaged in this great work of preaching unto the Indians upon a very pure and sincere account: for I being his neighbour and intimate friend, at the time when he first attempted this enterprise, he was pleased to communicate unto me his design, and the motives that induced him thereunto; which, as I remember, were principally these three.

First, the glory of God, in the conversion of some of these poor, desolate souls.

Secondly, his compassion and ardent affection to them, as of mankind in their great blindness and ignorance.

Thirdly, and not the least, to endeavour, so far as in him lay, the accomplishment and fulfilling the covenant and promise, that New England people had made unto their king, when he granted them their patent or charter, viz. that one principal end of their going to plant these countries, was, to communicate the gospel unto the native Indians; which in truth is a clause in the charter, as will in the following book appear. ☞

By that which hath been said in this particular, it doth evidently appear, that they were heroick, noble, and christian principles, that induced this precious servant of Christ to enter upon this work, and not any carnal or by-ends; for in those times nothing of outward encouragement did appear. Indeed it must be acknowledged to the praise of God, that he hath made good that gracious promise, *First seek the kingdom of heaven and the righteousness thereof, and all other things shall be added unto thee.* The truth is, that God is so good a master, that never any man did lose by his service; and although not always paying them with things of this life,—for the promise of those things is conditional, so far as shall be for our good and his glory,—but in the inward consolations and communications of spiritual good things (the least whereof is worth the whole world) whilst we are in this life, and abundant recompense in heaven is most sure and certain. But sometimes it pleaseth God to bestow his beneficence in both kinds, as he did unto this good man. For after some years' travail in this work, the Lord was pleased to stir up divers worthy and pious persons in Old England (and if I knew their names, I would here record them, for their eternal honour, and for example to posterity,—though I believe, many of them had such a measure of the spirit of Christ, not willing to let their left hand know what their right did, and would be offended, if I should mention them) to be benefactors unto this good work: and from that beneficence this blessed instrument had some annual encouragement; which, I have heard him say, he never expected, but yet with abundant acknowledgment and thankfulness to God and men for it.

Hereby he was enabled to educate his five sons, then living, viz. John, Joseph, Samuel, Aaron, and Benjamin, in learning, both at the schools, and after in the college at Cambridge. But Aaron died soon after his entering the college; and all lived to take their degrees of bachelors and

☞ The III. Book of the History of New-England. See the Postscript.

and masters of art. And also it was his great desire and earnest prayer to God, that he would incline and fit them all to engage with him in teaching the Indians: to which he was willing, as much as in them lay, to dedicate them to God for that work. And although God saw not meet to grant him his full desire in that respect, yet his prayers and endeavours were very graciously answered: for all his sons have given demonstrations, not only of their sufficiency in learning, but of their true piety. All of them became preachers of the gospel.

His eldest son, John, was not only pastor of an English church at Cambridge village,* and a very excellent preacher in the English tongue; but also, for sundry years, he preached the gospel unto the Indians, once a fortnight constantly at Pakemitt,† and sometimes at Natick and other places: and the most judicious christian Indians esteemed very highly of him, as a most excellent preacher in their language, as I have often heard them say. But God was pleased to put an end to his work and life, October 11, 1668, and to carry him with full sail to heaven, there to receive his crown: of whom I shall say no more in this place; for he well deserves a station among the worthies in New-England, which is designed in the sequel of this our history. ☞

His second son Joseph is now pastor of a church of Christ at Guilford in New-England: a preacher inferiour to few in this country, for his age and time.

His third son, Samuel, before his death, gave abundant demonstration of his piety, ability, gravity, and excellent temper. He was a fellow of Harvard college in Cambridge in New-England. He left this world and ascended to glory, after he had taken his second degree in the college. He hath undoubtedly arrived to his highest degree in the empyreal heaven. He was a person of whom the world was not worthy.

His fourth and youngest son, Benjamin, is a person approved for piety and ability. He hath divers times been invited to places that wanted a minister; but yet is not settled, but lives at home with his parents.‡

I have been the larger in mentioning God's blessing upon this good man and his posterity, to set forth the gracious goodness and loving kindness of God extended to him thereby, making good what he hath said: *Them that honour me, I will honour,* 1 Sam. ii. 30. *Behold, that thus shall the man be blessed, that feareth the Lord, and walketh in his ways. The Lord shall bless thee out of Zion; and thou shalt see the good of Jerusalem all the days of thy life. Yea, thou shalt see thy childrens' children, and peace upon Israel.* Ps. cxxviii. 1, 4, 5, 6. and

* *Now Newton.* † *In Stoughton.*

☞ The VI. Book of the History of New-England. See the Postscript.

‡ *Benjamin was afterwards settled at Roxbury, and was, during many years, his father's assistant. The venerable apostle Eliot outlived all his sons, and died at the advanced age of eighty-six, A. D.* 1690. *For the particulars of his life and character, see Mather's Magnalia, Book* III. *page* 170.

And again, *Trust in the Lord, and do good, so shalt thou dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed. Delight thyself also in the Lord; and he shall give thee the desires of thine heart.* Ps. xxxvii. 3, 4.

§. 5. This worthy and active instrument, Mr. Eliot, who was, and is, and, I believe, will be, to his dying day unwearied in his endeavours to promote the salvation of the poor Indians, contented not himself with preaching to those people at the places before mentioned; but went further into the country divers ways, far and near, preaching the gospel to the wild and barbarous Indians; and sometimes reaped fruit of his labour.

Moreover he stirred up divers other ministers and scholars, in our own and other colonies, by his words and letters, to fit themselves to labour in this Indian harvest, and that not without some good success. For in Plymouth colony, one Mr. Bourne, having some skill in the Indian language, entered upon this service, and hath had a great blessing upon his endeavours, as will be declared in the sequel. Also Mr. John Cotton, now pastor at Plymouth, hath gained the Indian language, and did sometime at Martha's Vineyard, and now at Plymouth and places adjacent, labour herein. Also at Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, Messrs. Thomas Mayhew, father and son, attempted this enterprise, which God hath greatly blessed, as will be declared hereafter. Again Mr. Pierson heretofore, and Mr. Fitch at present, did and doth preach to some Indians in Connecticut colony; of whom afterwards.

But besides his industry to provoke others, and his frequent travels and preaching among the Indians, he set up that great work of translating the bible into the Indian language; which the Honourable Corporation for propagating the gospel in New-England, residing in London, did greatly encourage, and out of the revenues belonging to that stock, which then was more considerable than now it is, did pay for the printing thereof.* Besides, he framed and translated into the Indian language divers other books; as Indian catechisms, a grammar, primer, singing psalms, the Practice of Piety, Baxter's Call to the Unconverted, and other things; all which are printed at the charge of the Corporation stock.

§. 6. Moreover he took great care, that schools should be planted among the praying Indians; and he taught some himself to read, that they might be capable to teach others; and by his procurement, some of the choice Indian youths were put to school with English schoolmasters, to learn both the English, Latin, and Greek tongues.

There was much cost out of the Corporation stock expended in this work, for fitting and preparing the Indian youth to be learned and able preachers unto their countrymen. Their diet, apparel, books, and schooling, was chargeable. In truth the design was prudent, noble, and good; but it proved ineffectual to the ends proposed. For several of the said youth died, after they had been sundry years at learning, and made good proficiency therein. Others were disheartened and left learning, after they were almost ready for the college. And some returned to live among their countrymen; where some of them are

* *There are several copies of Eliot's Indian Bible in the library of Harvard College.*

are improved for schoolmasters and teachers, unto which they are advantaged by their education. Some others of them have entered upon other callings: as one is a mariner; another, a carpenter; another went for England with a gentleman, that lived sometimes at Cambridge in New-England, named Mr. Drake, which Indian, as I heard, died there not many months after his arrival.

I remember but only two of them all, that lived in the college at Cambridge; the one named Joel,* the other, Caleb; both natives of Martha's Vineyard. These two were hopeful young men, especially Joel, being so ripe in learning, that he should, within a few months, have taken his first degree of bachelor of art in the college. He took a voyage to Martha's Vineyard to visit his father and kindred, a little before the commencement; but upon his return back in a vessel, with other passengers and mariners, suffered shipwreck upon the island of Nantucket; where the bark was found put on shore; and in all probability the people in it came on shore alive, but afterwards were murthered by some wicked Indians of that place; who, for lucre of the spoil in the vessel, which was laden with goods, thus cruelly destroyed the people in it; for which fault some of those Indians was convicted and executed afterwards. Thus perished our hopeful young prophet Joel. He was a good scholar and a pious man, as I judge. I knew him well; for he lived and was taught in the same town where I dwell. I observed him for several years, after he was grown to years of discretion, to be not only a diligent student, but an attentive hearer of God's word; diligently writing the sermons, and frequenting lectures; grave and sober in his conversation.

The other called Caleb, not long after he took his degree of bachelor of art† at Cambridge in New-England, died of a consumption at Charlestown, where he was placed by Mr. Thomas Danforth, who had inspection over him, under the care of a physician in order to his health; where he wanted not for the best means the country could afford, both of food and physick; but God denied the blessing, and put a period to his days.

Of this disease of the consumption sundry of those Indians youths died, that were bred up to school among the English. The truth is, this disease is frequent among the Indians; and sundry die of it, that live not with the English. A hectick fever, issuing in a consumption, is a common and mortal disease among them. I know some have apprehended other causes of the mortality of these Indian scholars. Some have attributed it unto the great change upon their bodies, in respect of their diet, lodging, apparel, studies; so much different from what they were inured to among their own countrymen.

These awful providences of God, in frustrating the hopeful expectations concerning the learned Indian youth, who were designed to be for teachers unto their countrymen, concurring with some other severe dispensations of God obstructive to this work,—some whereof may be hereafter mentioned,—caused great thoughts of heart unto the well willers

* *Son of Hiacoomes, mentioned chap.* iii. §. 14.

† *Caleb Cheeschaumuck took his degree of bachelor of arts, A. D.* 1665.

willers and promoters thereof. Some conceived, God was not pleased yet to make use of any of the Indians to preach the gospel; and that the time of the great harvest of their ingathering is not yet come, but will follow after the calling of the Jews. Others thought that this honour of their instruction and conversion shall be continued with Englishmen. Others were of opinion, that Satan, the great enemy and opposer of men's salvation, who had for many years held these poor barbarians under his dominion, did use all his stratagems and endeavours to impede the spreading of the christian faith, that he might the better keep possession of his kingdom among them. But others, whose faith I hope in God was active and vigorous, did conclude that there was nothing more in these providences and remoras, than did usually attend and accompany all good designs, tending to the glory of God and salvation of souls; whereof plentiful examples are recorded in holy scriptures, especially in the primitive times; which in several chapters of the Acts of the Apostles may be demonstrated. Therefore it is our duty to persist and go on in a good work, looking by the eye of faith unto our Lord Jesus Christ, the great captain and conductor of all affairs, and especially those of this kind. He is the king, priest, and prophet of his church; who hath commanded and encouraged his servants, that he calleth to engage under him, in the wars of the Lord, against sin and Satan, &c. *to be strong and very courageous*, &c. *for I will be with thee; I will not fail thee, nor forsake thee.* Josh. i. 5, 6, 7. Heb. xiii. 5. Yea Christ hath promised all his servants and embassadors, that he employs in this work, *that he will be with them always, and unto the end of the world*, Mat. xxviii. 19, 20.

§. 7. In the former part of this chapter, I briefly touched the godly care, zeal, and industry of Mr. Eliot, in setting upon the translating of the scriptures into the Indian tongue. This work being a considerable time in hand, it pleased God in his divine providence so to order it, that the new testament, being first printed, was finished about the time of his Majesty's return to his crown in peace; for whom God had reserved the honour of the dedication thereof; as may appear by the Epistle Dedicatory, to him presented by the Commissioners of the united colonies in New-England; which here follows.

"To the High and Mighty Prince, Charles the second, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the faith, &c.

"The Commissioners of the United Colonies in New-England, wish increase of all happiness.

"Most dread Sovereign,

"If our weak apprehensions have not misled us, this work will be no unacceptable present to your Majesty, as having a greater interest therein, than we believe is generally understood, which upon this occasion we conceive it our duty to declare.

"The people of these four colonies* (confederate for mutual defence, in the times of the late distractions of our dear native country) your Majesty's natural born subjects, by the favour and grace of your royal father and grandfather of famous memory, put themselves upon this great

* *Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven.*

great and hazardous undertaking, of planting themselves at their own charge in these remote ends of the earth ; that without offence or provocation to our dear brethren and countrymen, we might enjoy that liberty to worship God, which our own conscience informed us was not only our right but duty ; as also that we, if it so pleased God, might be instrumental to spread the light of the gospel, the knowledge of the son of God, our saviour, to the poor, barbarous heathen ; which by his late Majesty, in some of our patents, is declared to be the principal aim.

" These honest and pious intentions have, through the grace of God and our kings, been seconded with proportionable success. For, omitting the immunities indulged by your Highness's royal predecessors, we have been greatly encouraged by your Majesty's gracious expressions of favour and approbation, signified unto the address made by the principal of our colonies ; to which the rest do most cordially subscribe ; though wanting the like seasonable opportunity, they have been till now deprived of the means to congratulate your Majesty's happy restitution, after your long sufferings ; which we implore may yet be graciously accepted, that we may be equal partakers of your royal favour and moderation ; which hath been so illustrious, that to admiration, the animosities of different persuasions of men have been so soon composed, and so much cause of hope, that, unless the sins of the nation prevent, a blessed calm will succeed the late horrid confusions of church and state. And shall not we, dread sovereign, your subjects of these colonies, of the same faith and belief in all points of doctrine with our countrymen and other reformed churches, though perhaps not alike persuaded in some matters of order, which in outward respects hath been unhappy for us,—promise and assure ourselves of all just favour and indulgence from a prince so graciously and happily endowed ?

" The other part of our errand hither hath been attended with endeavours and blessing ; many of the wild Indians being taught, and understanding, the doctrine of the christian religion, and with much affection attending such preachers as are sent to teach them. Many of their children are instructed to write and read ; and some of them have proceeded further to attain the knowledge of the Latin and the Greek tongues, and are brought up with our English youth in university learning. There are divers of them that can and do read some parts of the scripture, and some catechisms which formerly have been translated into their own language : which hath occasioned the undertaking of a great work, viz. the printing the whole bible : which, being translated by a painful labourer among them, who was desirous to see the work accomplished in his days, hath already proceeded to the finishing of the new-testament ; which we here humbly present to your Majesty, as the first fruit and accomplishment of the pious design of your royal ancestors. The old testament is now under the press, wanting and craving your royal favour and assistance for the perfecting thereof.

" We may not conceal, though this work hath been begun and prosecuted by such instruments as God hath raised up here ; yet the chief charge and cost, which hath supported and carried it thus far, hath

hath been from the charity and piety of divers of our well affected countrymen in England; who, being sensible of our inability in that respect, and studious to promote so good a work, contributed large sums of money, which were to be improved according to the direction and order of the then prevailing powers; which hath been faithfully and religiously attended, both there and here, according to the pious intentions of the benefactors. And we most humbly beseech your Majesty, that a matter of so much devotion and piety, tending so much to the honour of God, may suffer no disappointment through any legal defect, without the fault of the donors, or poor Indians, who only receive the benefit; but that your Majesty be graciously pleased to establish and confirm the same; being contrived and done, as we conceive, in that first year of your Majesty's reign, as this book was begun and now finished the first year of your establishment: which doth not only presage the happy success of your Highness's government, but will be a perpetual monument, that by your Majesty's favour, the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ was made known to the Indians; an honour whereof, we are assured, your Majesty will not a little esteem.

"Sir, the shine of your royal favour upon these undertakings will make these tender plants to flourish, notwithstanding any malevolent aspect from those that bear evil will to this Sion; and render your Majesty more illustrious and glorious to after generations.

"The God of heaven long preserve and bless your Majesty with many happy days, to his glory, the good and comfort of his church and people. Amen."

This epistle was framed, and the Indian translation of the new testament finished, printed, and set forth, in September 5th, 1661; from whence we may infer, that as it was a credit to this work to have so great a prince to offer it unto; so it was no less an honour to his Majesty, that one of his subjects should put the holy scriptures into the Indian language; and that himself should be the first christian prince, unto whom a work of this nature should be presented and dedicated.

One thing falls in here fitly to be spoken of, as a means intended for the good of the Indians; which was the erecting a house of brick at Cambridge in New-England, which passeth under the name of the Indian college. It is a structure strong and substantial, though not very capacious. It cost between three or four hundred pounds. It is large enough to receive and accommodate about twenty scholars with convenient lodgings and studies; but not hitherto hath been much improved for the ends intended, by reason of the death and failing of Indian scholars. It hath hitherto been principally improved for to accommodate English scholars, and for placing and using a printing press belonging to the college. This house was built and finished at the charge, and by the appointment, of the Honorable Corporation for propagating the gospel in New-England.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the other Means and Instruments, used and improved for Civilizing and reducing the Indians from Barbarism.

§. 1. FORASMUCH as a pious magistracy and christian government is a great help and means for promoting, cherishing, encouraging, and propagating, the christian religion among any people, especially a nation so circumstanced, as these rude, uncultivated, and barbarous Indians were; care was taken by the general court of the Massachusetts, at the motion of Mr. Eliot, to appoint some of the most prudent and pious Indians, in every Indian village that had received the gospel, to be rulers and magistrates among them, to order their affairs both civil and criminal, and of a more ordinary and inferiour nature. These rulers were chosen by themselves, but approved by a superiour authority.

But moreover the general court appointed and empowered one of the English magistrates, to join with the chief of their rulers, and keep a higher court among them; extending the power of this court to the latitude of a county court among the English; from the jurisdiction whereof nothing for good order and government, civil or criminal, is expected,* but appeals, life, limb, banishment, and cases of divorce. The first English magistrate, chosen to be ruler over the praying Indians in the colony of Massachusetts, was first Mr. D. G. the author of these Collections; and this was in A. D. 1656. But not long after his occasions called him for England for two or three years; one Major Humphrey Atherton† was appointed to conduct this affair, which he did about three years. But then the Lord taking him to himself, by death, and the author being returned back, in the year 1660, a year or more before Major Atherton's death, was again called and reinstated in that employ, A. D. 1661, and hath continued in that work hitherto.

For the better clearing of things, I shall here insert the orders of the general court touching this matter. Law Book, page 77, §. 8, 9.

"Whereas one end in planting these parts was to propagate the true religion unto the Indians; and that divers of them are become subject to the English, and have engaged themselves to be willing and ready to understand the law of God: It is therefore ordered, that such necessary and wholesome laws, which are in force, and may be made from time to time, to reduce them to civility of life, shall be once a year, if the times be safe, made known to them, by such fit persons as the general court shall appoint."

And again, §. 9.

"For the better ordering and governing the Indians subject to us, especially those of Natick, Punkapaog, &c. it is ordered, that whosoever the court shall appoint, do take care that all such Indians, do live according to our laws, as far as they are capable: and to that end shall be authorized to constitute and appoint Indian commissioners in their several

* *Probably the author meant* excepted.

† *Major General Atherton, of Dorchester.*

several plantations, to hear and determine all such matters that do arise among themselves, as one magistrate may do amongst the English; with officers to execute all commands and warrants, as marshal and constables. And further they jointly shall have the power of a county court, to hear and determine all causes arising among them; the English magistrate appointing time and place of the court, and consenting to the determination and judgment. And all other matters beyond their cognizance, shall be issued and determined by the court of assistants."

There are divers other laws and orders, made by the general court of Massachusetts, relating unto the Indians, which are printed and published, but are too long here to recite particularly. The heads of them are 1. Declaring the Indians' title to lands, from Gen. i. 28. Chap. ix. 1. Ps. cxv. 16.—2. The civil Indians to have lands granted them for towns.—3. Indians not to be dispossessed of what lands they have subdued, or from their fishing places.—4. None to buy lands from the Indians without licence of the court.—5. All strong liquors prohibited to be sold or given to the Indians, unless in case of sickness, by permission.—6. Powows, or wizards and witches, prohibited upon penalty.—7. Orders to restrain and prevent drunkenness; and some others. I have only transcribed the former, being pertinent to our present subject.

§. 2. Besides the work above mentioned, transacted by the English magistrate and his assistants, there are sundry other things done by him in order to their good; as the making of orders, and giving instructions and directions, backed with penalties, for promoting and practising morality, civility, industry, and diligence in their particular callings: for idleness and improvidence are the Indians' great sin, and is a kind of second nature to them, which by good example and wholesome laws, gradually applied, with God's blessing, may be rooted out.

Likewise it is the care of this English magistrate, intrusted with this affair, to make and execute good orders for keeping holy the sabbath day; and that the people do attend the public worship of God; and that schools for the education of youth be settled and continued among them; and to provide that the Indian teachers and rulers have some small encouragement distributed among them, according to the people's ability, which is done out of the tenths of their yearly increase of all sorts of grain and pulse. This tithe is set apart at the ingathering and threshing of their grain, and brought into one place in each town, as due unto the Lord; and is disposed of by order of the court, for support of those that attend public service in both orders, in that place proportionably.

Perhaps this custom introduced among the Indians, will be censured by some, as savouring too much of judaism and antichristianism. But it is hoped, others will be candid and charitable, especially towards good Mr. Eliot, who first led them into this way; and this he did, not without good reason. First, taken from the moral equity of the duty, for encouragement of such public persons. Secondly, from the rule and example prescribed in God's word, and the practice of the people of God. So Melchizedek, being king and priest, received the tenth of

of Abraham. Gen. xiv. 20. Heb. vii. 4. Doubtless some part of every man's estate is due to God, who is the giver of all. If any part, why not a tenth part, if the people agree to it; seeing there is such ample precedent for it, both before the ceremonial law, and in the time of it, and since it was abrogated? But it is not my work here to dispute the point.

Besides the particulars above mentioned, there are sundry other things, that fall under the consideration of the English magistrate, that have great influence into their religious concern, and hath frequent occasions and opportunities to press christian exhortations upon them for their soul's good.

§. 3. The reason, why the English government is concerned with the Indians' affairs in point of rule and order, is because all those praying Indians in Massachusetts colony did long since, before they began to worship God, actually and solemnly submit themselves unto the jurisdiction and government of the English in the Massachusetts, as the records do declare.

Besides the care taken, as before, for their government, the general court of Massachusetts hath bounded, stated and settled, several townships and plantations of lands unto these praying Indians, of which we shall speak hereafter more particularly. Some of these villages are of a larger; others, of lesser dimensions, according to their numbers; and as there may be occasion, the general court will grant more villages to the Indians.

The reasons inducing to this are: First, to prevent differences and contention among the English and Indians in future times about the propriety of land. Secondly, to secure unto them and their posterity places of habitation; this being a provision in all those grants, that they shall not sell or alienate any part of those lands unto any Englishman, without the general court's consent: for the Indians being poor, as well as improvident, are very prone to sell their land to the English, and thereby leave themselves destitue. A third reason is, that they may cohabit together, without which neither religion or civility can well prosper.

If any should object, that it is not necessary, that the English should grant them land, forasmuch as it was all their native country and propriety, before the English came into America; the answer is ready. First, that the English claim right to their land, by patent from our king. Secondly, yet the English had the grant of most of the land within this jurisdiction, either by purchase or donation from the Indian sachems and sagamores, which were actually in possession, when the English came first over. Therefore the propriety is in the English; and it is necessary for the Indians, as the case stands, for their present and future security and tranquillity, to receive the lands by grant from the English, who are a growing and potent people, comparatively to the Indians.

§. 4. Before we conclude this chapter, it may not be impertinent, for the better clearing of things, to remark, that the English magistrate attending this service among the Indians, never had any compensation for his travail and expenses in this kind, either from Indians or English

lish in New-England; though it is well known, he hath, as well as their teacher, Mr. Eliot, had many weary journies among them yearly, and under sundry trials, when he is forced to lodge in their woods and wigwams. But the Honourable Corporation at London, for propagating the gospel among the Indians in New-England, have been pleased of late years, by the hands of their delegates, the honoured Commissioners of the united colonies in New-England, to confer upon him out of the publick stock, at first fifteen pounds, now twenty pounds, New-England money, per annum, and as an *honorarium* for his service among the praying Indians. This is spoken here to declare, that those that labour in this harvest, are first to endeavour to learn perfectly that first lesson in Christ's school, I mean self denial. Secondly, to keep the eye of faith fixed upon God, whose work it is, who will never fail to recompense either here or hereafter, all that work in his harvest. Indeed if he please to employ and accept us in Christ Jesus, it is a sufficient reward. Lastly, let not any be so uncharitable, as to think that what is here mentioned, is to reflect upon any, or to repine at God's bounty in the portion allotted, being it is far more than was expected. When the work was engaged in and undertaken, the principles and motions thereunto were, through grace, of higher alloy than gold, yea than fine gold.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Number, Names, and Situation of the Indian praying towns, within the Colony of Massachusetts, with the Churches gathered in some of them, the Quantities of Land belonging to them, a Conjecture at the Number of Families and People that inhabit in them, with other matters thereunto appertaining.

[*§. 1. *THE first town of praying Indians in Massachusetts is Natick. The name signifieth a place of hills.† It lieth upon Charles river, eighteen miles south west from Boston, and ten miles north west from Dedham. It hath twenty nine families, which, computing five persons to a family, amount to one hundred and forty five persons.‡ The town contains about six thousand acres. The soil is good and well watered, and produceth plenty of grain and fruit. The land was granted to the Indians, at the motion of Mr. Eliot, by the general court of Massachusetts;|| and in the year* 1651, *a number of them combined together, and*

* *A leaf of the M. S. equal to about three fifths of a page of this printed edition, is here torn out, and we fear, irrecoverably lost. We have filled up the chasm with some particulars collected from other authors, and from tradition.*

† *Our authority for this was Deacon Ephraim, a Natick Indian lately deceased. The Indian name for hills, in the Massachusetts Psalter, is* wadchuash. *In Roger Williams's Key into the language of America, we find the word* nittauke, *which signifies,* my land.

‡ *See the note ** at the end of the* 17*th* §.

|| *Hubbard's M. S. Hist. chap.* lviii.

and formed a town, which is the place of the greatest name among the Indians, and where their principal courts are held.†*

As soon as the Indians had fixed their settlement, they applied to Mr. Eliot for a form of civil government; and he advised them to adopt that which Jethro proposed to Moses for the Israelites in the wilderness, Exod. xviii. 21. *Accordingly, on the sixth of August, about one hundred of them met together, and chose one ruler of a hundred, two rulers of fifties, and ten rulers of tens. After this they entered into the following covenant.*

"*We are the sons of Adam. We and our forefathers have a long time been lost in our sins; but now the mercy of the Lord beginneth to find us out again. Therefore, the grace of Christ helping us, we do give ourselves and our children to God, to be his people. He shall rule us in all our affairs, not only in our religion and affairs of the church, but also in all our works and affairs in this world. God shall rule over us. The Lord is our judge; the Lord is our lawgiver; the Lord is our king: he will save us. The wisdom which God hath taught us in his book, that shall guide us, and direct us in the way. O Jehovah, teach us wisdom to find out thy wisdom in the scriptures. Let the grace of Christ help us, because Christ is the wisdom of God. Send thy spirit into our hearts, and let it teach us. Lord, take us to be thy people, and let us take thee to be our God.*"‡

§. 2. *This town consisteth of three long streets; two on the north side of the river; and one, on the south; with house lots to every family. There is a handsome large fort, of a round figure, palisaded with trees; and a foot bridge over the river, in form of an arch, the foundation of which is secured with stone. There is also one large house built after the English manner. The lower room is a large hall, which serves for a meeting house, on the Lord's day, and a school house on the week days. The upper room is a kind of wardrobe, where the Indians hang up their skins, and other things of value. In a corner of this room Mr. Eliot has an apartment partitioned off, with a bed and bedstead in it.*§] Their other houses in this town are generally after their old mode before described; though some they have built in this and other of the praying villages, after the English form. But these being more chargeable to build and not so warm, and cannot be removed so easily as their wigwams, wherein there is not a nail used, to avoid annoyance by fleas, and themselves being generally artists in building and finishing their own wigwams: for these and like reasons, they do incline to keep their old fashioned houses.

§. 3. In this town was the first church of Indians imbodied, in the year of our Lord 1660. Unto this church some pious Indians of other places, both men and women, are since joined. The number of men and

* *Mather's Magnalia. Book* iii. *page* 197.

† *Hutch. Hist. vol.* I. *page* 167, *note.*

‡ *Neal's Hist. of N. Eng. chap.* vi. *page* 235.

§ *Ibid. page* 234.

and women, that are in full communion in this church, are about* ; and baptized.

Here we are to consider, that all those we call praying Indians are not all visible church members, or baptized persons : which ordinance of baptism is not to be administered unto any that are out of the visible church, until they profess their faith in Christ and obedience to him, but the infants of such as are members of the visible church are to be baptized : this being sound doctrine, as we believe, asserted in that excellent lesser catechism of the assembly of divines, in their answer to the 95th question ; and according to this doctrine it is practised among the Indians.

Here I shall take the liberty, though it be a digression, to relate a story of remark concerning a child at Natick, a youth of about eleven years of age, who was of a sober and grave carriage, and an attentive hearer of the word, considering his age and capacity, but he had a weak body and was consumptive. This child hearing Mr. Eliot preach upon a time at Natick, when the ordinance of baptism was to be administered unto some children, whose parents had made profession of their faith and were joined to the church ; upon which occasion Mr. Eliot said, that baptism was Christ's mark, which he ordered to be set upon his lambs, and that it was a manifest token of Christ's love to the offspring of his people to set this mark upon them ; this child taking special notice of this passage, did often solicit his father and mother, that one or both of them would endeavour to join to the church, that he might be marked for one of Christ's lambs before he died. The parents who were well inclined, especially the mother, and being also very affectionate to their child, as the Indians generally are, did seriously ponder the child's reiterated intreaties ; and not long after, first the mother, and then the father of the child, joined to the church. Soon after the lad was baptized ; in which he did greatly rejoice and triumph, that now he was marked for one of Christ's lambs ; and now said he to his father and mother, I am willing to die ; which shortly after came to pass ; and I doubt not, but as the child had Christ's name set upon him in baptism and by faith, so his immortal soul is now in glory, rejoicing in communion with Christ.

This relation, which is a most true and certain thing, should methinks be argumentative to persuade the Antipædobaptists of our age to so much affection and humanity unto their offspring, as the poor Indians had to their child, to offer them up to God, that his mark and name in baptism might be set upon them.

There are many Indians that live among those that have subjected to the gospel, that are catechised, do attend publick worship, read the scriptures, pray in their family morning and evening ; but being not yet come so far, as to be able or willing to profess their faith in Christ, and yield obedience and subjection unto him in his church, are not admitted to partake in the ordinances of God, proper and peculiar to the church of Christ ; which is a garden enclosed, as the scripture saith. §. 4.

* *In the year* 1670 *there were between forty and fifty communicants belonging to the church of Natick. Hutch. vol.* I. *page* 167.

§. 4. The manner practised by these Indians in the worship of God, is thus. Upon the Lord's days, fast days, and lecture days, the people assemble together at the sound of a drum,—for bells they yet have not,—twice a day, in the morning and afternoon, on Lord's days, but only once upon lecture days; where one of their teachers, if they have more than one, begins with solemn and affectionate prayer. Then, after a short pause, either himself or some other thereunto appointed, readeth a chapter distinctly out of the old or new testament. At the conclusion thereof a psalm, or part of a psalm, is appointed, rehearsed, and solemnly sung. Then the minister catechises and prays before his sermon; and so preacheth from some text of scripture. Then concludeth with prayer, and a psalm, and a blessing pronounced. Sometime, instead of reading the chapter, some persons do answer some part of the catechism.

In all these acts of worship, for I have been often present with them, they demean themselves visibly with reverence, attention, modesty, and solemnity; the menkind sitting by themselves and the womenkind by themselves, according to their age, quality, and degree, in a comely manner. And for my own part, I have no doubt, but am fully satisfied, according to the judgment of charity, that divers of them do fear God and are true believers; but yet I will not deny but that there may be some of them hypocrites, that profess religion, and yet are not sound hearted. But things that are secret belong to God; and things that are revealed, unto us and our children.

§. 5. Their teachers are generally chosen from among themselves,—except some few English teachers,—of the most pious and able men among them. If these did not supply, they would generally be destitute: for the learned English young men do not hitherto incline or endeavour to fit themselves for that service, by learning the Indian language. Possibly the reasons may be: First, the difficulty to attain that speech. Secondly, little encouragement, while they prepare for it. Thirdly, the difficulty in the practice of such a calling among them, by reason of the poverty and barbarity, which cannot be grappled with, unless the person be very much mortified, self denying, and of a publick spirit, seeking greatly God's glory; and these are rare qualifications in young men. It is but one of an hundred that is so endowed.

Mr. Eliot hath of late years fallen into a practice among the Indians, the better to prepare and furnish them with abilities to explicate and apply the scriptures, by setting up a lecture among them in logick and theology, once every fortnight, all the summer, at Natick; whereat he is present and ready, and reads and explains to them the principles of those arts. And God hath been pleased graciously so to bless these means, that several of them, especially young men of acute parts, have gained much knowledge, and are able to speak methodically and profitably unto any plain text of scripture, yea as well as you can imagine such little means of learning can advantage them unto. From this church and town of Natick hath issued forth, as from a seminary of virtue and piety, divers teachers that are employed in several new praying towns; of which we shall hear more, God willing, hereafter.

In this town they have residing some of their principal rulers, the chief

chief whereof is named Waban, who is now above seventy years of age. He is a person of great prudence and piety: I do not know any Indian that excels him. Other rulers there are living there, as Nattous and Piam Boohan, and others. These are good men and prudent, but inferiour to the first. The teachers of this town are Anthony and John Speen, which are grave and pious men. They have two constables belonging to this place, chosen yearly; and there is a marshal general belonging to all the praying Indian towns, called Captain Josiah, of Pennahannit. He doth attend the chief courts kept here, but he dwells at another place, called Nashobah.

I have been the larger in speaking of this place, because it is the chiefest town and eldest church; and what is said of this doth agree to all the rest in divers things.*

§. 6. The next town is Pakemitt, or Punkapaog.† The signification of the name is taken from a spring, that ariseth out of red earth. This town is situated south from Boston, about fourteen miles. There is a great mountain, called the Blue Hill, lieth north east from it about two miles: and the town of Dedham, about three miles north west from it. This is a small town, and hath not above twelve families in it; and so about sixty souls. This is the second praying town. The Indians that settled here, removed from Neponsitt mill. The quantity of land belonging to this village, is about six thousand acres; and some of it is fertile, but not generally so good as in other towns. Here they worship God, and keep the sabbath, in the same manner as is done at Natick, before declared. They have a ruler, a constable, and a schoolmaster. Their ruler's name is Ahawton; an old and faithful friend to the English. Their teacher is William Ahawton, his son; an ingenious person and pious man, and of good parts. Here was a very able teacher, who died about three years since. His name was William Awinian. He was a very knowing person, and of great ability, and of genteel deportment, and spoke very good English. His death was a very great rebuke to this place. This town hath within this ten years, lost by death several honest and able men; and some have turned apostates, and removed from them: which dispensations of God have greatly damped the flourishing condition of this place. Here it was that Mr. John Eliot, junior, before mentioned, preached a lecture once a fortnight, for sundry years, until his decease. In this village, besides their planting and keeping cattle and swine, and fishing in good ponds, and upon Neponsitt river which lieth near them; they are also advantaged by a large cedar swamp; wherein such as are laborious and diligent, do get many a pound, by cutting and preparing cedar shingles and clapboards, which sell well at Boston and other English towns adjacent.

§. 7. Hassanamesitt‡ is the third town of praying Indians. The name signifieth a place of small stones. This place lieth about thirty-eight

* *Natick was incorporated into an English district in the year* 1761; *and into a town, in the year* 1781. *It still retains its Indian name.*

† *Within the limits of Stoughton.*

‡ *Now generally pronounced Hassanamisco. Grafton.*

eight miles from Boston, west southerly ; and is about two miles to the eastward of Nipmuck river ;† and near unto the old road way to Connecticut. It hath not above twelve families ; and so, according to our computation, about sixty souls ; but is capable to receive some hundreds, as generally the other villages are, if it shall please God to multiply them. The dimensions of this town is four miles square ; and so about eight thousand acres of land. This village is not inferiour unto any of the Indian plantations for rich land and plenty of meadow, being well tempered and watered. It produceth plenty of corn, grain, and fruit ; for there are several good orchards in this place. It is an apt place for keeping of cattle and swine ; in which respect this people are the best stored of any Indian town of their size. Their ruler is named Anaweakin ; a sober and discreet man. Their teacher's name is Tackuppa-willin, his brother ; a pious and able man, and apt to teach. Their aged father, whose name I remember not, is a grave and sober christian, and deacon of the church. They have a brother that lives in the town, called James, that was bred among the English, and employed as a press man in printing the Indian bible ; who can read well, and, as I take it, write also. The father, mother, brothers, and their wives, are all reputed pious persons, and the principal studs of the town. Here they have a meeting house for the worship of God after the English fashion of building, and two or three other houses after the same mode ; but they fancy not greatly to live in them. Their way of living is by husbandry, and keeping cattle and swine ; wherein they do as well, or rather better, than any other Indians, but yet are very far short of the English both in diligence and providence. In this town was the second Indian church gathered, about three years since, in summer, 1671. The pastor of this church, is Tackuppawillin ; the ruling elder, Piambow ; the deacon, father to the pastor. There are in full communion in this church, and living in the town, about sixteen men and women, and about thirty baptised persons ; but there are several others, members of this church, that live in other places. This is a hopeful plantation. The Lord give his blessing to it. The way of their worship and civil order, is here as in other Indian towns before mentioned.

§. 8. Okommakamesit, alias Marlborough, is situated about twelve miles north north east from Hassanamesitt, about thirty miles from Boston westerly. This village contains about ten families, and consequently about fifty souls. The quantity of land appertaining to it is six thousand acres. It is much of it good land, and yieldeth plenty of corn, being well husbanded. It is sufficiently stored with meadow, and is well wooded and watered. It hath several good orchards upon it, planted by the Indians : and is in itself a very good plantation. This town doth join so near to the English of Marlborough, that it was spoken of David in type, and our Lord Jesus Christ, the antitype, *Under his shadow ye shall rejoice :* but the Indians here do not much rejoice under the English men's shadow ; who do so overtop them in their number of people, stocks of cattle, &c. that the Indians do not greatly flourish, or delight in their station at present. Their ruler

love

† *Blackstone river.*

here was Onomog, who is lately deceased, about two months since; which is a great blow to that place. He was a pious and discreet man, and the very soul, as it were, of that place. Their teacher name is * . Here they observe the same decorum for religion and civil order, as is done in other towns. They have a constable and other officers, as the rest have. The Lord sanctify the present affliction they are under by reason of their bereavements; and raise up others, and give them grace to promote religion and good order among them.

§. 9. Wamesit† is the fifth praying town; and this place is situate upon Merrimak river, being a neck of land, where Concord river falleth into Merrimak river. It is about twenty miles from Boston, north north west, and within five miles of Billerica, and as much from Chelmsford: so that it hath Concord river upon the west north west; and Merrimak river, upon the north north east. It hath about fifteen families; and consequently, as we compute, about seventy-five souls. The quantity of land belonging to it is about twenty five hundred acres. The land is fertile, and yieldeth plenty of corn. It is excellently accommodated with a fishing place; and there is taken variety of fish in their seasons, as salmon, shads, lamprey eels, sturgeon, bass, and divers others. There is a great confluence of Indians, that usually resort to this place in the fishing seasons. Of these strange Indians divers are vitious and wicked men and women; which Satan makes use of to obstruct the prosperity of religion here. The ruler of this people is called Numphow. He is one of the blood of their chief sachems. Their teacher is called Samuel; son to the ruler, a young man of good parts, and can speak, read, and write, English and Indian competently. He is one of those that was bred up at school, at the charge of the Corporation for the Indians. These Indians, if they were diligent and industrious,—to which they have been frequently excited,—might get much by their fish, especially fresh salmon, which are of esteem and good price at Boston in the season; and the Indians being stored with horses of a low price, might furnish the market fully, being at so small a distance. And divers other sort of fish they might salt or pickle, as sturgeon and bass; which would be much to their profit. But notwithstanding divers arguments used to persuade them, and some orders made to encourage them; yet their idleness and improvidence doth hitherto prevail.

At this place, once a year, at the beginning of May, the English magistrate keeps his court, accompanied with Mr. Eliot, the minister; who at this time takes his opportunity to preach, not only to the inhabitants, but to as many of the strange Indians, that can be persuaded to hear him; of which sort, usually in times of peace, there are considerable numbers at that season. And this place being an ancient and capital seat of Indians, they come to fish; and this good man takes this opportunity to spread the net of the gospel, to fish for their souls. Here it may not be impertinent to give you the relation following.

May

* *Hutchinson says his name was Solomon. Vol. I. page 167.*

† *Tewksbury.*

May 5th, 1674, according to our usual custom, Mr. Eliot and myself took our journey to Wamesit, or Pawtuckett; and arriving there that evening, Mr. Eliot preached to as many of them as could be got together out of Mat. xxii. 1–14. the parable of the marriage of the king's son. We met at the wigwam of one called Wannalancet, about two miles from the town, near Pawtuckett falls, and bordering upon Merrimak river. This person, Wannalancet, is the eldest son of old Passaconaway, the chiefest sachem of Pawtuckett. He is a sober and grave person, and of years, between fifty and sixty. He hath been always loving and friendly to the English. Many endeavours have been used several years to gain this sachem to embrace the christian religion; but he hath stood off from time to time, and not yielded up himself personally, though for four years past he hath been willing to hear the word of God preached, and to keep the sabbath.—A great reason that hath kept him off, I conceive, hath been the indisposition and averseness of sundry of his chief men and relations to pray to God; which he foresaw would desert him, in case he turned christian.—But at this time, May 6th, 1674, it pleased God so to influence and overcome his heart, that it being proposed to him to give his answer concerning praying to God, after some deliberation and serious pause, he stood up, and made a speech to this effect:

Sirs, you have been pleased for four years last past, in your abundant love, to apply yourselves particularly unto me and my people, to exhort, press, and persuade us to pray to God. I am very thankful to you for your pains. I must acknowledge, said he, I have, all my days, used to pass in an old canoe (alluding to his frequent custom to pass in a canoe upon the river) and now you exhort me to change and leave my old canoe, and embark in a new canoe, to which I have hitherto been unwilling: but now I yield up myself to your advice, and enter into a new canoe, and do engage to pray to God hereafter.

This his professed subjection was well pleasing to all that were present, of which there were some English persons of quality; as Mr. Richard Daniel, a gentleman that lived in Billerica, about six miles off: and Lieutenant Henchman, a neighbour at Chelmsford; besides brother Eliot and myself, with sundry others, English and Indians. Mr. Daniel before named desired brother Eliot to tell this sachem from him, that it may be, while he went in his old canoe, he passed in a quiet stream: but the end thereof was death and destruction to soul and body: But now he went into a new canoe, perhaps he would meet with storms and trials; but yet he should be encouraged to persevere, for the end of his voyage would be everlasting rest. Moreover he and his people were exhorted by brother Eliot and myself, to go on and sanctify the sabbath, to hear the word, and use the means that God hath appointed, and encourage their hearts in the Lord their God. Since that time, I hear this sachem doth persevere, and is a constant and diligent hearer of God's word, and sanctifieth the sabbath, though he doth travel to Wamesit meeting every sabbath, which is above two miles; and though sundry of his people have deserted him, since he subjected to the gospel, yet he continues and persists.

In this town they observe the same civil and religious orders, as in other towns, and have a constable and other officers. This

This people of Wamesit suffered more in the late war with the Mawhawks, than any other praying town of Indians: for divers of their people were slain; others, wounded; and some, carried into captivity: which providence hath much hindered the prosperous estate of this place.

§. 10. Nashobah* is the sixth praying Indian town. This village is situated in a manner in the centre between Chelmsford, Lancaster, Groton, and Concord. It lieth from Boston about twenty five miles, west north west. The inhabitants are about ten families, and consequently about fifty souls. The dimensions of this village is four miles square. The land is fertile, and well stored with meadows and woods. It hath good ponds for fish adjoining to it. The people live here, as in other Indian villages, upon planting corn, fishing, hunting, and sometimes labouring with the English. Their ruler of late years was John Ahatawance, a pious man. Since his decease, Pennakennit‡ is the chief. Their teacher is named John Thomas, a sober and pious man. His father was murthered by the Maquas in a secret manner, as he was fishing for eels at his wear, some years since, during the war. He was a pious and useful person; and that place sustained a great loss in him. In this village, as well in other old Indian plantations, they have orchards of apples, whereof they make cider; which some of them have not the wisdom and grace to use for their comfort, but are prone to abuse unto drunkenness. And although the laws be strict to suppress this sin, and some of their own rulers are very careful and zealous in the execution of them; yet such is the madness and folly of man naturally, that he doth eagerly pursue after that which tendeth to his own destruction. I have often seriously considered what course to take, to restrain this beastly sin of drunkenness among them; but hitherto cannot reach it. For if it were possible, as it is not, to prevent the English selling them strong drink; yet they having a native liberty to plant orchards and sow grain, as barley and the like, of which they may and do make strong drink that doth inebriate them: so that nothing can overcome and conquer this exorbitancy, but the sovereign grace of God in Christ; which is in the only antidote to prevent and mortify the poison of sin.

Near unto this town is a pond, wherein at some seasons there is a strange rumbling noise, as the Indians affirm; the reason thereof is not yet known. Some have conceived the hills adjacent are hollow, wherein the wind being pent, is the cause of this rumbling, as in earthquakes.

At this place they attend civil and religious order, as in the other praying towns: and they have a constable and other officers.

This town was deserted during the Maquas' war, but is now again repeopled, and in a hopeful way to prosper.

§. 11. Magunkaquog† is the seventh town where praying Indians inhabit. The signification of the place's name is a place of great trees. It is situated partly within the bounds of Natick, and partly upon land granted

* *Littleton.* ‡ *Or Pennahannit. See* §. 5.

† *Pronounced at present Magunkock.—Hopkinton.*

granted by the country. It lieth west southerly from Boston, about twenty four miles, near the midway between Natick and Hassanamesitt. The number of its inhabitants are about eleven families, and about fifty five souls. There are, men and women, eight members of the church at Natick, and about fifteen baptized persons. The quantity of land belonging to it is about three thousand acres. The Indians plant upon a great hill, which is very fertile. These people worship God, and keep the sabbath, and observe civil order, as do the other towns. They have a constable and other officers. Their ruler's name is Pombaman; a sober and active man, and pious. Their teacher is named Job; a person well accepted for piety and ability among them. This town was the last setting of the old towns. They have plenty of corn, and keep some cattle, horses, and swine, for which the place is well accommodated.

§. 12. Having now spoken briefly of the seven old towns of praying Indians, I shall endeavour more briefly to give an account of seven towns more of praying Indians, within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts; which for distinction sake we call, the new praying towns in the Nipmuck country. The Indians of some of these towns began to hearken unto the gospel about three years since, or thereabouts. In July, 1673, Mr. Eliot and myself made a journey to visit some of them, and to encourage and exhort them to proceed in the ways of God.

This year again, on the 14th of September last, 1674, we both took another journey. Our design was to travel further among them, and to confirm their souls in the christian religion, and to settle teachers in every town, and to establish civil government among them, as in other praying towns. We took with us five or six godly persons, who we intended to present unto them for ministers.

The first of these new praying towns is Manchage,* which lieth to the westward of Nipmuck river, about eight miles; and is from Hassanamesitt, west and by south, about ten miles; and it is from Boston about fifty miles, on the same rhumb. It is seated in a fertile country for good land. To it belongeth about twelve families, and about sixty souls: but the people were generally from home, though we spoke with some of them afterward. For this place we appointed Waabesktamin, a hopeful young man, for their minister, whom the people, with whom we spake afterward, accepted. There is no land yet granted by the general court to this place, nor to any other of the new praying towns. But the court intendeth shortly, upon the application and professed subjection of these Indians unto the yoke of Christ, to do for them as they have done for other praying Indians.

§. 13. Above five miles distant from hence is a second town called Chabanakongkomun.† It hath its denomination from a very great pond, about five or six miles long, that borders upon the south end of it. This village is fifty five miles, west and by south, from Boston. There are in it about nine families, and about forty five souls. The people are of a sober deportment, and better instructed in the worship of God, than any of the new praying towns. Their teacher's name is Joseph, who is one of the church of Hassanamesitt; a sober, pious, and

* *Oxford.* † *Dudley.*

and ingenious person, and speaks English well, and is well read in the scriptures. He was the first that settled this town, and got the people to him about two years since. It is a new plantation, and is well accommodated with upland and meadows. At this place dwells an Indian called Black James, who about a year since was constituted constable of all these new praying towns. He is a person that hath approved himself diligent and courageous, faithful and zealous to suppress sin; and so he was confirmed in his office another year. Mr. Eliot preached unto this people, and we prayed and sung psalms with them, and they were exhorted by us to stand steadfast in the faith. A part of one night we spent in discoursing with them, and resolving variety of questions propounded by them, touching matters of religion and civil order. The teacher Joseph and the constable James went with us unto the next town, which is called

§. 14. Maanexit,* which is a third village, and lieth about seven miles westerly from Chabanakongkomun. It is situated in a fertile country, and near unto a fresh river, upon the west of it, called Mohegan river.† It is distant from Boston about sixty miles, west and by south. The inhabitants are about twenty families, and, as we compute, one hundred souls. Mr. Eliot preached unto this people out of the xxivth Ps. 7. to the end: *Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the king of glory shall come in, &c.* After sermon was ended, we presented unto them John Moqua, a pious and sober person there present, for their present minister, which they thankfully accepted. Then their teacher named, and set, and rehearsed, a suitable psalm, which being sung, and a conclusion with prayer, they were exhorted, both the teacher to be diligent and faithful, and to take care of the flock, whereof the holy Ghost had made him overseer, and the people also to give obedience and subjection to him in the Lord.

§. 15. Quantisset‡ is a fourth village, which lieth about six miles to the south of Maanexit, and within four miles of the south line of Massachusetts colony. This place hath about twenty families, and one hundred souls. We went not to it, being straitened for time; but we spake with some of the principal people at Wabquissit. For them we appointed a sober and pious young man of Natick, called Daniel, to be minister, whom they accepted in the Lord.

§. 16. Wabquissit|| is a fifth town, which lieth about nine or ten miles from Maanexit, upon the west side, six miles, of Mohegan river; and is distant from Boston west and by south, about seventy two miles. It lieth about four miles within the Massachusetts south line. It hath about thirty families, and one hundred and fifty souls. It is situated in a very rich soil, manifested by the goodly crop of Indian corn then

* *The north-east part of Woodstock.*

† *Now called Quinabaug river, which falls into Shetucket river, four miles above Norwich Landing.*

‡ *The south-east part of Woodstock.*

|| *The south-west corner of Woodstock. Woodstock is in Connecticut; but it was formerly considered as within the limits of Massachusetts. See Hutch. Hist. vol. II. page* 202—206.

then newly ingathered, not less than forty bushels upon an acre. We came thither late in the evening, upon the 15th of September, and took up our quarters at the sagamore's wigwam, who was not at home: but his squaw courteously admitted us, and provided liberally, in their way, for the Indians that accompanied us. This sagamore inclines to religion, and keeps the meeting on sabbath days at his house, which is spacious, about sixty feet in length, and twenty feet in width.

The teacher of this place is named Sampson; an active and ingenious person. He speaks good English, and reads well. He is brother unto Joseph, before named, teacher at Chabanakongkomun; being both the only sons of one Petavit, alias Robin, one of the late rulers of Hassanamesitt, who died not above three days before our coming thither, after about a year's sickness of the stone. He was in his time a courageous and stout man for God and religion; and was one that stood in the gap against the pride and insolency of wicked Indians, although sagamores, who sometimes would ruffle against religion and good order in his presence. He would venture him to oppose them, to good success. I remember sundry years since, a sagamore that lived up in the inland country, came to Hassanamesitt, and brought with him a rundlet of strong liquors; and lodging in his house, Petavit in the morn sent for the constable, and ordered him, and according to law, seized the rundlet of liquors. At which act the sagamore drew a long knife, and stood with his foot at the rundlet, daring any to seize it. But Petavit thereupon rose up and drew his knife, and set his foot also to the rundlet, and commanded the constable to do his office. And the sagamore . Some other actions of the like kind he did. In truth God hath magnified his grace to his two sons; being both hopeful, pious, and active men; especially the younger before named Sampson, teacher at Wabquissit, who was, a few years since, a dissolute person, and I have been forced to be severe in punishing him for his misdemeanors formerly. But now he is, through grace, changed and become sober and pious; and he is now very thankful to me for the discipline formerly exercised towards him. And besides his flagitious life heretofore, he lived very uncomfortably with his wife; but now they live very well together. I confess this story is a digression. But because it tendeth to magnify grace, and that to a prodigal, and to declare how God remembers his covenant unto the children of such, as are faithful and zealous for him in their time and generation, I have mentioned it.

We being at Wabquissit, at the sagamore's wigwam, divers of the principal people that were at home came to us, with whom we spent a good part of the night in prayer, singing psalms, and exhortations. There was a person among them, who sitting mute a great space, at last spake to this effect: That he was agent for Unkas, sachem of Mohegan, who challenged right to, and dominion over, this people of Wabquissit. And said he, Unkas is not well pleased, that the English should pass over Mohegan river, to call his Indians to pray to God.

Unto which speech Mr. Eliot first answered, that it was his work to call upon all men every where, as he had opportunity, especially the Indians, to repent and embrace the gospel; but he did not meddle with civil right or jurisdiction. When

When he had done speaking, then I declared to him, and desired him to inform Unkas what I said, that Wabquissit was within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and that the government of that people did belong to them; and that they do look upon themselves concerned to promote the good of all people within their limits, especially if they embraced christianity. Yet it was not hereby intended to abridge the Indian sachems of their just and ancient right over the Indians, in respect of paying tribute or any other dues. But the main design of the English was to bring them to the good knowledge of God in Christ Jesus; and to suppress among them those sins of drunkenness, idolatry, powowing or witchcraft, whoredom, murder, and like sins. As for the English, they had taken no tribute from them, nor taxed them with any thing of that kind.

Upon the 16th day of September, being at Wabquissit, as soon as the people were come together, Mr. Eliot first prayed, and then preached to them in their own language, out of Mat. vi. 33. *First seek the kingdom of heaven, and the righteousness thereof, and all other things shall be added unto you.* Their teacher Sampson first reading and setting the cxix. Ps. 1st part, which was sung. The exercise was concluded with prayer.

Then I began a court among the Indians. And first I approved their teacher Sampson, and their constable Black James; giving each of them a charge to be diligent and faithful in their places. Also I exhorted the people to yield obedience to the gospel of Christ and to those set in order there. Then published a warrant or order, that I had prepared, empowering the constable to suppress drunkenness, sabbath breaking, especially powowing and idolatry. And after warning given, to apprehend all delinquents, and bring them before authority, to answer for their misdoings; the smaller faults to bring before Wattasacompanum, ruler of the Nipmuck country; for idolatry and powowing to bring them before me: So we took leave of this people of Wabquissit, and about eleven o'clock returned back to Maanexit and Chabanakongkomun, where we lodged this night.

§. 17. We took leave of the christian Indians at Chabanakongkomun, and took our journey, 17th of the seventh month, by Manchage, to Pakachoog; which lieth from Manchage, north west, about twelve miles. We arrived there about noon. This village lieth about three miles south from the new road way that leadeth from Boston to Connecticut; about eighteen miles, west southerly, from Marlborough; and from Boston about forty four miles. It consists of about twenty families, and hath about one hundred souls therein. This town is seated upon a fertile hill;* and is denominated from a delicate spring of water that is there.

We repaired to the sagamore's house, called John, alias Horowanninit, who kindly entertained us. There is another sagamore belonging to this place, of kindred to the former, whose name is Solomon, alias

* *This seems to be the same hill, which in the description of Worcester, page* 113, *is called Boggachoag. It is situated partly in Worcester, and partly in Ward. Boggachoag brook runs on the west side of it.*

alias Wocanakochu. This man was also present, who courteously welcomed us. As soon as the people could be got together, Mr. Eliot preached unto them; and they attended reverently. Their teacher, named James Speen, being present, read and set the tune of a psalm, that was sung affectionately. Then was the whole duty concluded with prayer.

After some short respite, a court was kept among them. My chief assistant was Wattasacompanum, ruler of the Nipmuck Indians, a grvae and pious man, of the chief sachem's blood of the Nipmuck country. He resides at Hassanamesitt; but by former appointment, calleth here, together with some others. The principal matter done at this court, was, first to constitute John and Solomon to be rulers of this people and co-ordinate in power, clothed with the authority of the English government, which they accepted: also to allow and approve James Speen for their minister. This man is of good parts, and pious. He hath preached to this people almost two years: but he yet resides at Hassanamesitt, about seven miles distant. Also they chose, and the court confirmed, a new constable, a grave and sober Indian, called Mattoonus. Then I gave both the rulers, teacher, constable, and people, their respective charges; to be diligent and faithful for God, zealous against sin, and careful in sanctifying the sabbath.

Moreover at this court it was agreed to send a grave and pious Indian there present, called Jethro, belonging to Natick, to be a teacher unto a people living about ten miles more to the northward, at a place called Weshakim, alias Nashaway, near unto an English town called Lancaster. These have been a great people in former times; but of late years, have been consumed by the Maquas' wars and other ways; and are not above fifteen or sixteen families. I gave this Jethro a letter or order of the purport following.

For the sagamore Shoshanim and the Indian people that live with him at Weshakim,

Grace, mercy, and peace be multiplied.

Whereas the Honourable General Court of the Massachusetts, hath appointed and authorized me to rule and govern the Indians within this jurisdiction; and in a special manner to endeavour the promoting of religion and civility among them; I have thought it expedient, with the concurrence of Mr. John Eliot, principal teacher unto the Indians, and approbation of several of the rulers and teachers belonging to the churches of Natick and Hassanamesitt, to send unto you Jethro, a man approved in the church of Natick, to be a minister and teacher among you, and to instruct you in the good knowledge of the Lord God, and in the gospel of his son, our Lord Jesus Christ. We pray you therefore to receive him in the Lord, and yield ready obedience to the word of the Lord dispensed by him. And in a special manner, we exhort you, to keep the sabbath carefully, and abstain from drunkenness, whoredom, and powowing, and all other evils. In ready compliance herewith you will promote your own temporal and eternal happiness. So committing you to the Lord, and the word of his grace; praying for a blessing upon the means, for God's glory

and your good; I remain your loving and affectionate friend, for promoting your everlasting welfare,

DANIEL GOOKIN.

Dated at Pakachoog, the 17th September, 1674.

Letters of the same import are intended to be given to the teachers of the other new praying Indian towns.

After this business was over, it being night before we had finished the court, there was an Indian present, which came into the wigwam about an hour before. He was belonging to Weshakim or Nashaway. This Indian desired liberty to speak; which being admitted, he made a speech with much affection and gravity to this effect: To declare that he belonged to Weshakim near Nashaway; and that he was desirously willing, as well as some others of his people, to pray to God; but that there were sundry of that people very wicked and much addicted to drunkenness, and thereby many disorders were committed among them: and therefore he earnestly importuned me, that I would put forth power to help in that case, to suppress the sin of drunkenness. Then I asked him, whether he would take upon him the office of a constable, and I would give him power to apprehend drunkards, and take away their strong drink from them, and bring the delinquents before me to receive punishment. His answer was, that he would first speak with his friends, and if they chose him, and strengthened his hand in the work, then he would come to me for a black staff and power. I asked him, whether he were willing to have Jethro to go and preach to them; to which he readily complied, and seemed joyful thereat. After this discourse, we concluded with singing a psalm and prayer; and so retired to rest. And the next morning early, being September the 18th, we took our leave of these Indians, and passed to Marlborough; and from thence returned to our own habitations.

There is yet another praying town in the Nipmuck country called Waeuntug.* This place lieth to the westward of Nipmuck river, against an English town called Mendon, which is on the east side of the river. It lieth about ten miles from Hassanamesitt, to the south of this place. There are two teachers; the one named James, brother to the pastor of Hassanamesitt; the other, called Sasomet. They both live at Hassanamesitt, and are of the church there, and both preach to that people. I never was at the place; and therefore cannot give a particular account thereof at present.

There are two other Indian towns, viz. Weshakim and Quabaug,† which are coming on to receive the gospel: and reckoning these, there are nine in the Nipmuck country. But they being not fully settled, I omit them.

Thus I have endeavoured particularly to describe these Indian praying villages within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts; which are

Towns

* *Uxbridge.*

† *The south-east part of Brookfield.*

Towns	14	Souls yielding obedience to the gospel about	1100**
Churches	2		

The harvest is ripe for many more, if God please to thrust forth labourers. The pious reader, whose heart desires the honour of God, and

** *That is, in*

Natick [*supposed*	145	*Tradition says, that a hundred and twenty years ago the Indians in Natick were comparatively numerous. See note * to §. 3. A large proportion of the communicants were probably inhabitants of Natick.*
Punkapaog	60	
Hassanamesitt	60	
Okommakamesit	50	
Wamesit	75	
Nashobah	50	*It may perhaps afford satisfaction to some persons to know the number of Indians in Massachusetts, at different periods since the year* 1674. *The following is the only account which we have had time and opportunity to collect. We regret that it is not in our power to make it more complete; but we hope that some of our readers, who possess better information, will supply our deficiences.—The war with Philip greatly interrupted the progress of christianity among the Indians.* [*Hubbard's M. S. Hist. chap.* lxxiv.] *Many praying towns in Massachusetts were broken up. Mr. Eliot says, that in the year* 1684, *they were reduced to four.* [*Appendix to the Life of Boyle, page* 445.] *They seem however to have increased soon after; for in the year* 1687, *Dr. Increase Mather mentions five churches.* [*Lett. to Leusden.*] *They have gradually diminished since that period. In the year* 1753, *there were in Natick, the principal town of Indians in the colony, twenty-five families, beside several individuals. Some of the males were soldiers in the war against the French, which took place soon after. Returning from the lakes, they brought home a mortal disease, of which twenty-three died in the year* 1759. *In the year* 1764, *according to a census then taken, there were thirty-seven Indians only in Natick; but in this return, probably the wandering Indians were not included. The Indians in Natick are now reduced to one family of five persons, and two single women. There are besides, belonging to this place, ten adults, some of whom have children. They lead a wandering life, seldom residing long in one place.—The Indians of Grafton have not wasted so fast. In* 1764 *there were eight or ten families.* [*Hutch. vol.* 1. *page* 167.] *And there are still about thirty persons, who retain a portion of their lands, and receive their annual quit rents from the white inhabitants.—These Indians, with a few in Stoughton, are, we believe, all the remains of the numerous tribes who formerly inhabited the old colony of Massachusetts.—The Muhhekaneew, or Stockbridge Indians, who migrated from Hudson's river, about the year* 1734, *no longer reside in the state, having, between the years* 1785 *and* 1787, *removed to Oneida. Whilst they remained, they wasted away, like all other Indians. Forty years ago, there were about a hundred and fifty families; but in the year* 1764, *they were reduced to two hundred and twenty-one persons, and in* 1786, *to about one third of that number.*
Magunkaquog	55	
Manchage	60	
Chabanakongkomun	45	
Maanexit	100	
Quantisset	100	
Wabquissit	150	
Packachoog	100	
Waeuntug [*supposed*	50	
Total	1100	

and the salvation of these poor heathen, may here see some small beginnings that God hath wrought, and what foundations, through grace, are laid for the future good, and increasing their numbers; for every one of these towns are able to entertain considerable number of Indians, and it pleaseth God now and then to call in some wild Indians to settle among them.

Now we shall proceed to inform you, according to the best intelligence I can obtain, of the progress of the gospel among the Indians, in or near the other English colonies and plantations of New-England.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Progress of the Gospel among the Indians in the colony of New-Plymouth, and the Instruments God hath raised up to promote the same.

§. 1. THE example and exhortations of Reverend Mr. Eliot, and his travelling into Plymouth jurisdiction at sometimes, and writing letters to stir up others, and preaching among some of them, and others coming sometimes to him, hath had an influence, through the grace of God co-operating, to win sundry of them to yield obedience and subjection unto the gospel. For the encouragement and furtherance of that work, it pleased God to raise up one Mr. Richard Bourne, living in that colony, about Sandwich; who being a pious, sober, and active person, endowed with good understanding in the scriptures, having gained by his industry and diligence a competent knowledge and ability to teach them in the Indian language; he applied himself to preach the gospel to some Indians that dwelt not far from his habitation: and afterwards finding good success, went further among them, preaching the glad tidings of salvation to sundry others: that a good and plentiful harvest is gathered in that colony. Of which take the following account from his own hands.

§. 2. "To his much esteemed friend, Captain Gookin, in Cambridge. dddd.

"Worthy Sir,

"All due respects presented; according to your desire, signified in your letter unto myself, I have endeavoured to return you a particular answer, according to the short time I had to accomplish it in. Although I have not been willing to appear formerly in so particular account as this is, but rather did desire, that the effect of the work might speak for me, the which would speak more fully than I could: But being it must be so now, I hope it will occasion many to render thanks to God with myself, in respect of the grace in the gospel manifested among these poor, lost people. And for those that I have been conversant with, and employed amongst, these many years, you may please to see as followeth.

"First there is at Meeshawn, or near the head of the Cape,* and at Punonakanit, or Billingsgate,† that are praying Indians, that do frequently

* *Cape Cod. Part of these Indians probably lived in Provincetown; but the greatest number in Truro.*

† *Now Wellfleet.*

quently meet together upon the Lord's day to worship God; and likewise the rest as followeth; viz.

Men and women -	51	72	
Young men and maids -	21		
Of these seventy-two there is that can read Indian -			25
And that can write there is - - -			16

" Potanumaquut,* or Nawsett,‖ or Eastham, there are praying Indians,

Men and women - -	24	44	
Young men and maids -	20		
Of these forty-four there is that can read - -			7
That can write there is but - - - -			2

" Manamoyik,‡ there are praying Indians,

Men and women - -	42	71	
Young men and maids -	29		
Of these seventy-one there is that can read - -			20
That can write - - - - -			15
That can read English - - - -			1

" Sawkattukett,§ Nobsquassit,§§ Matakees,¶ and Weequakut,** praying Indians,

Men and women - -	55	122	
Young men and maids -	67		
Of these one hundred and twenty-two there is that can read			33
That can write there is - - - -			15
That can read English - - - -			4

" Satuit, Pawpoesit, Coatuit,†† Mashpee, Wakoquet,‡‡ there is praying Indians,

Men and women - -	70	95	
Young men and maids - -	25		
Of these ninety-five there is that can read -			24
That can write - - - - -			10
That can read English - - - -			2

" Codtanmut,§* Ashimuit,‖‖ Weesquobs,¶¶ there is praying Indians,

Men and women - -	12	22	
Young men and maids -	10		
Of these twenty-two there is that can read -			13
That can write - - - - -			7
That can read English - - - -			2

Pispogutt,

* *The south east part of Eastham.*

‖ *The north part of Eastham.* ‡ *Chatham.*

§ *The west part of Harwich.* §§ *The north east part of Yarmouth.*

¶ *The land between Barnstable and Yarmouth harbours, lying principally in the north west part of Yarmouth.*

** *Pronounced at present Cheehwacket. The south west part of the east precinct in Barnstable.*

‡‡ *Satuit, or Sanctuit, Pawpoesit, and Wakoquet, or Waquoit, are all within, or near the limits of Mashpee.*

†† *Coatuit is in the south west part of Barnstable.*

§* *Probably Canaumut Neck in Mashpee.*

‖‖ *Or Shumuit. On the west line of Mashpee.*

¶¶ *Between Pokesset meeting-house and Wenaumut Neck in Sandwich.*

" Pispogutt,* Wawayontat,† Sokones,‡ there is praying Indians,

Men and women	- -	20 } 36	
Young men and maids	-	16 }	
Of these thirty-six that can read	-	-	20
That can write	- - -	- -	7

" Cotuhtikut,|| Assoowamsoo,¶ there are praying Indians, one with another, - - - - - 35

[A] " Concerning these last mentioned, I cannot give such a particular account, as I did in the former; forasmuch as that when I returned from Cotuhtikut to Plymouth, then I was informed of your desires respecting this account; the places being near forty miles distant from my habitation.

" As respecting gathered churches, there is but one; and ninety persons, baptized; besides yet in full communion, twenty-seven. For Englishmen that are employed in the work, that respects this account, there is only myself. Mr. John Cotton is employed in another part of the colony; the which, I conclude, he will give a particular account of.

" The church of Indians in this colony, whereof I am pastor, was gathered near four years since.

" There is four Indians employed in this work, viz. Wuttananmattuk, Meeshawin, Peter, alias Sakantuket, and Charles of Mannamit** and places adjacent. Other Indians, viz. four I have employed; but as yet have not received any wages as from the honoured Commissioners, by reason of the miscarrying of my letters.

" As for lands set out to the Indians, distinct from the English lands, there are divers places already bounded; viz. Where I am most conversant, there is a tract of land preserved for them and theirs forever, under hand and seal; the which is near ten miles in length, and five in breadth. There is the like done at Comassakumkanit,‡‡ near Sandwich, and at Cotuhtikut: Our honoured governour and magistrates being always very careful to preserve lands for them, so far as is in their power to do it.

" The places that want help in a settled way, are these, viz. Cotuhtikut, Potanumaquut, Manamoyik, Sokones, and Mananiet.†† We have and do want books exceedingly to carry on the work by those that are employed therein. I do not question but there is more than one hundred young ones, that are entered both in writing and reading, that are not put into this account. There is good hopes of divers of them;

*

† *Waywayantik, or Wewewantett. Wareham.*

‡ *Commonly pronounced Succonusset. Part of Falmouth.*

|| *Or Titicut. Part of Middleborough.*

¶ *Or Assoowamset. Part of Middleborough.*

[A] Mr. Bourne's account—Souls, 497—That read Indian, 142—that write, 72—That read English, 9.

** *In Sandwich, near the bottom of Buzzard's bay.*

‡‡ *Probably Herring Pond in Plymouth.* †† *Probably Mannamit.*

them ; some of them, being lately dead, having given a good testimony of their being in the faith ; and so lifting up their souls to Christ, as their saviour and their all in all ; as divers of the well affected English know, and have been present among some of them that departed this life.

" I was with one of them the last summer, that had been sick for a long time ; and I stayed with him near one whole day : and there came from him very savoury and heavenly expressions. One passage I will make bold to insert ; the which is this. That he being very sick, not expecting the continuance of his life, told me that his wife did much solicit him to forsake God and live ; forasmuch as many that were not praying Indians, were not so afflicted as he was. But he, using those words in Job ii. 9, 10, gave her this answer, That he would cleave to God, although he died, rather than live, and forsake him.

" Much more I might write in these respects, but am not willing to be troublesome ; although the truth is, that many of them are very loose in their course, to my heart breaking sorrow.

" As concerning the messengers, that were present, when the church was gathered, there was present our honoured governour, that now is, with divers of the magistrates. There was also seven of the teaching elders, with the messengers of their respective churches ; besides, I suppose, five hundred people : some of the chief of them declaring their satisfaction and approbation of the present work at that time.

" Thus I hope I have in general answered your queries according to the short time I had to accomplish these things in, considering the remoteness of the several places, where I am conversant divers times. Thus I have given you a brief answer to your desires ; intreating the blessing of the Lord to be with you and this great work for Jesus Christ which we have in hand : and rest

Yours in the service of Christ,

Sandwich, 1. of 7. month, 1764. RICH. BOURNE."

§. 3. I had another account from Mr. John Cotton, pastor of the English church at Plymouth, concerning those Indians he teacheth in that colony of Plymouth ; which take in this following letter from him, directed to me :

* These for the Worshipful Captain Daniel Gookin, Magistrate, living in Cambridge.

Worshipful and honoured Sir,

" Mr. Bourne having been long in the Indian work, and acquainted with the Indian language in several parts, is most able to give you a satisfying account of the work of God, and its progress among the Indians of this colony. I have not long lived here : but in this time I began to preach the word of God to a company of Indians, at a place called Kitteaumut.* Since which, through the blessing of God, the number of praying Indians is forty males and females. As yet they have no Indian teacher ; but on sabbath days, they usually go to hear one of Mr. Bourne's Indians, at the nearest place to them.

" About

* *Or Katamet. Part of Sandwich, on Buzzard's bay.*

"About ten of these can read the English books; [A] and many more are very desirous to learn to read the word: but here is very great want of Indian primers and bibles. I much desire that the Commissioners would take some speedy course to supply that defect. I sometimes preach to the Indians upon the Cape, at several places, and at Namassekett;† whither come the praying Indians of Assawomit‡ and Ketchiquut.‖ Of those Indians Mr. Bourne gives you the account. When the courts are here, there are usually great multitudes of Indians from all parts of the colony. At those seasons I preach to them; which I mention, because God hath so far blessed it, as to make it a means to encourage some that live very remote, to affect praying to God; viz. Manmanewat, sachem of Sakonett,¶ and some principal Indians of Coquitt;** who made their confessions, and declared their willingness to serve God; and they do improve all the opportunities they can get to hear the word. They came to hear me at Acushnett,†† when I preached there; and do desire further means of instruction. I desire your prayers for me and mine; and rest, Sir,

"Your Worship's in any service for Christ,

"JOHN COTTON."

Plymouth. Sep. 14. 1674."

§. 4. There are some that have hopes of their greatest and chiefest sachem, named Philip, living at Pawkunnawkutt.* Some of his chief men, as I hear, stand well inclined to hear the gospel: and himself is a person of good understanding and knowledge in the best things. I have heard him speak very good words, arguing that his conscience is convicted: but yet, though his will is bowed to embrace Jesus Christ, his sensual and carnal lusts are strong bands to hold him fast under Satan's dominions. It is our duty by faith and prayer to wait God's time, to give a blessing on the means. Indeed the scriptures informs us, *That not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble men, are called. But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world, to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are.* And the reason is, *that no flesh should glory in his presence.* 1 Cor. i. 26—29. Though not many, yet some of the great men of the world, God is pleased sometimes to call; and they are only those that he hath chosen. When a sachem or sagamore is converted to the faith, and yields himself up to embrace the gospel, it hath a great influence upon his subjects;

[A] Translated into the Indian language.

† *Or Namasket. Part of Middleborough.*

‡ *Assoowamset.* ‖ *Titicut.* ¶ *Little Compton.*

** *Or Coxit. Part of Dartmouth.* †† *New Bedford.*

* *Bristol. The nation of which he was sachem, derived their name from this place; see chap. ii. §. 4.—but they were sometimes styled the Wampanoags.*

jects; according to that old maxim; *Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis.*†

CHAP. IX.

Of the Progress of the Gospel among the Indians at Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, and of the Instruments that God hath raised up and employed, to preach the Gospel to the Indians of those Islands.

§. 1. MARTHA's Vineyard, or Martin's Vineyard, called by the Indians Nope, which we have in the former book described, ☞ hath been, through the grace of Christ, a very fruitful vineyard unto the Lord of hosts, and hath yielded a plentiful harvest of converted Indians.

The first instruments, that God was pleased to use in this work at this place, was Mr. Thomas Mayhew, and his eldest son, Mr. Thomas Mayhew, junior. The father was a merchant, bred in England, as I take it, at Southampton; and he followed the same calling in New England

† *Christianity met with much better success in Plymouth, than in Massachusetts. In the year* 1685, *the praying Indians in this colony amounted to fourteen hundred and thirty nine, beside boys and girls under twelve years of age, who were supposed to be more than three times that number.* [*Hutch. vol. I. page* 349]—*In the year* 1693, *there were within the limits of Eastham, five hundred and five adult Indians, to whom Mr. Treat preached; two hundred and fourteen adults, beside stragglers, at Mashpee and places adjacent, under the care of Mr. Rowland Cotton, minister of Sandwich: a hundred and eighty Indians, to whom Mr. Thomas Tupper preached; and five hundred more, under the care of Mr. John Cotton, minister of Plymouth,* [*Matthew Mayhew's Narrative, pag.* 46—53. *See also Mather's Magnalia, Book vi. pag.* 60, *and Neal's Hist. chap. vi. pag.* 256]—*In the year* 1764, *there still remained in the colony nine hundred and five Indians of every age; two hundred and twenty three of whom were in the county of Plymouth; five hundred and fifteen, in the county of Barnstable; and an hundred and sixty seven, in the county of Bristol. Since that period their numbers are much lessened. There is at present no Indian church in the counties of Plymouth or Bristol; and Mashpee only, in the county of Barnstable.—Of a hundred and thirty four Indians in Dartmouth and Freetown in* 1764, *there are now about thirty three left.* [*Information of Rev. Mr. Backus.*] *In the other towns of Bristol they are probably extinct. There are four or five families of Indians in Middleborough; two or three in Pembroke; five or six persons in Bridgewater; and probably a few scattered about in other parts of the county of Plymouth.* [*Inf. of Rev. Mr. B.*]—*In the county of Barnstable, a few Indians remain at Potanumaquut, a few in the town of Barnstable, and a few at Herring Pond, between Sandwich and Plymouth. But the great body of them resides at Mashpee, where there are about eighty families, consisting principally of a mixed race, not more than forty or fifty persons being pure Indians.* [*M. S. Let. of Rev. Mr. Mellen.*]

☞ See the Postcript.

England, at his first coming over, which was in the beginning of the settlement of Massachusetts colony. His abode was at Watertown, where he had good accommodations of land, and built an excellent profitable mill there, which in those first times brought him in great profit. But it pleased God to frown upon him in his outward estate: so that he sold what he had in the Massachusetts, to clear himself from debts and engagements, and about the year 1642, transplanted himself to Martha's Vineyard, with his family. He was, as I take it, the first Englishman that settled that island: where he hath ever since continued as the governour and chief man there; being yet living, and about eighty years of age.*

His eldest son Thomas, being a scholar and pious man, after some time was called to be minister unto the English upon that island. It pleased God strongly to incline the two good men, both the father and the son, to learn the Indian tongue of that island: and the minister especially was very ready in it; and the old man had a very competent ability in it.

These two, especially the son, began to preach the gospel to the Indians, about the year 1648, or 1649, as I best remember; and had set and appointed times to meet with them. Some of the Indians lived near to the English town. The good father, the governor, being always ready to encourage and assist his son in that good work, not only upon the Vineyard, but upon Nantucket isle, which is about twenty miles from it; God's blessing in the success of their labours was and is very great: for the gospel in that place hath been, as the scripture speaks, like leven, a little whereof hath levened the whole lump of these two islands: which two islands have a considerable number of people upon them. Unto all or most of them the gospel is now spread; and divers of them, we hope, are in truth brought home to God. This work prospered with good success several years.

§. 2. But An. 1657, in the month of November, Mr. Mayhew, the son, took shipping at Boston, to pass for England, about some special concerns, intending to return with the first opportunity; for he left his wife and children at the Vineyard: and in truth his heart was very much in that work, to my knowledge, I being well acquainted with him. He took his passage for England in the best of two ships then bound for London, whereof one James Garrett was master. The other ship, whereof John Pierse was commander, I went passenger therein, with Mr. Hezekiah Usher senior of Boston, and several other persons. Both these ships sailed from Boston in company. Mr. Garrett's ship, which was about four hundred tons, had good accommodations, and greater far than the other: and she had aboard her a very rich lading of goods, but most especially of passengers, about fifty in number; whereof divers of them were persons of great worth and virtue, both men and women; especially Mr. Mayhew, Mr. Davis, Mr. Ince, and Mr. Pelham, all scholars, and masters of art, as I take it, most of them. The second of these, viz. Mr. Davis, son to one of that

* *He died in the year* 1681, *in the ninety third year of his age. See Prince's Account of English Ministers, of Martha's Vineyard, annexed to Experience Mayhew's Indian Converts.*

that name at New Haven, was one of the best accomplished persons for learning, as ever was bred at Harvard College in Cambridge in New England. Myself was once intended and resolved to pass in that ship: but the master, who sometimes had been employed by me, and from whom I expected a common courtesy, carried it something unkindly, as I conceived, about my accommodations of a cabin; which was an occasion to divert me to the other ship, where I also had good company, and my life also preserved, as the sequel proved: For this ship of Garrett's perished in the passage, and was never heard of more. And there good Mr. Mayhew ended his days, and finished his work.†

This awful providence of God put a great check upon the progress of the gospel at Martha's Vineyard. But old Mr. Mayhew, his worthy father, struck in with his best strength and skill; and hath doubtless been a very great instrument to promote the work of converting many Indian souls upon those islands.

And here I may take occasion to mention a short, but true story, of certain Quakers, who landing upon that island, went to some of the Indian wigwams; and discoursing with some of the Indians that understood English, as divers of them do, the Quakers persuaded and urged the Indians to hearken to them; and told the Indians, that they had a light within them, that was sufficient to guide them to happiness; and dissuaded the Indians from hearing Mr. Mayhew, or reading the scriptures; and said, that those ministers that preached from, or used the scriptures, were as Baal's priests and hirelings, &c. And at last the Quakers offered the Indians some of their pamphlet books, which they always carry with them; exhorting the Indians to read them; and they would be of greater benefit to them than the bible. The Indians heard all this discourse patiently; and then one of the principal of them that could speak English, gravely answered the Quakers after this manner. You are strangers to us, and we like not your discourse. We know Mr. Mayhew, that he is a good and holy man; but you we know not. You tell us of a light within us, that will guide us to salvation: but our experience tells us, that we are darkness and corruption, and all manner of evil within our hearts. You dehort us from using the bible; but offer your books and commend them to us: We cannot receive your counsel, contrary to our own experience, and the advice and exhortations of our ancient and good teachers. Therefore we pray you, trouble us no further with your new doctrines; for we do not approve it. So the Quakers, not long after, departed from the island; and never since have they been infested with them.

§. 3. In the year of our Lord 1659, it pleased God to bring things to such maturity among the praying Indians at the Vineyard, that one Indian church was gathered among them; which since is become two churches: Where I take this account in part of a letter from Mr. John Cotton, now pastor at Plymouth, which sometimes lived and preached to the Indians upon the Vineyard.

"When

† *Mr. Prince has written memoirs of Mr. Mayhew's life in the book referred to above.*

"When I lived at the Vineyard, the praying towns were Chappaquidgick,* Nashamoiess,† Sengekontakit,‖ Toikiming,‡ Nashuakemmiuk,¶ Talhanio ;** one church there gathered long before, but no officers. Since I lived here, I went over with Mr. Eliot thither ;†† and Hiacoomes was ordained pastor : John Tokinosh, teacher ; John Nonoso and Joshua Mummeecheeg, ruling elders.‡‡ Since I hear they are become two churches ; the pastor and one ruling elder for Chappaquidgick ; the teacher and the other ruling elder, for the other church, which hath some members, if I mistake not, in all the other towns above mentioned. Hands were imposed in ordination, by Mr. Eliot, Mr. Mayhew, and myself.

"The church at Marshpaug,|||| was gathered, and Mr. Bourne ordained pastor of it ; hands imposed by Mr. Eliot and I, and one of the messengers of Natick church, and one of the Vineyard. Major Winslow, now our governour, Mr. Southworth, Mr. ———, Mr. Hinkley, and Mr. Bacon, were the magistrates present ; Mr. Walley, Mr. Arnold, Mr. Shone, Mr. Thornton, Mr. Homes, Mr. Newman, with brethren from all our churches. How these churches have increased since I cannot inform."

Thus far Mr. Cotton's letter, dated at Plymouth, Sept. 14, 1674.

This Mr. Cotton, above named, is second son to Mr. John Cotton, the late worthy teacher of the church of Christ at Boston, in New and Old England. This man is now pastor of the church at New Plymouth : but some years past was preacher unto the English upon Martha's Vineyard ; and having some skill in the Indian tongue, did teach the Vineyard Indians the good knowledge of God. Since his removal to Plymouth, he doth the like, as we have above heard.

§. 4. Here I shall give you a further account of the Indian affairs at Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, expressed in a letter received from Mr. Thomas Mayhew, directed to me.

"To the Worshipful, his worthy friend, Mr. Daniel Gookin. These deliver at his house at Cambridge.

"Upon the Vineyard, Sep. 1, 1674.

"Much honoured Captain Gookin,

"Sir,

"A copy of yours of the 14th of May I did receive, containing fifteen queries. I have no time to answer so many now, of which some

* *Chappaquidgick is an Island east of Martha's Vineyard, separated from it by a strait, about a quarter of a mile wide. It is within the limits of Edgartown.*

† *The south part of Edgartown.*

‖ *Also spelled Sanchecantacket. The North part of Edgartown.*

‡ *Taacame, or Takame. Tisbury.*

¶ *Nashouohkamack. Chilmark.* ** *Probably part of Chilmark.*

†† *In the year* 1670.

‡‡ *See Experience Mayhew's Indian Converts. Chap. I. Examples* 1, 3, 4, 13.

|||| *Mashpee.*

some are very difficult. Briefly, the first church was gathered here just fifteen years since, I sent for Mr. Prince* and several others, but they came not; but the English of the island, and several strangers of divers places, present, did well approve of them. Which church is now become three churches, by reason of their habitations: two upon the Vineyard. There are near fifty in full, and suppose rightly in communion, [A] by virtue of their Godly conversations. Which churches have a pastor and an elder. Mr. Eliot was here, and joined in their ordination. Mr. Cotton was also here with Mr. Eliot. The families here are three hundred at least: upon the isle Chappaquidgick, sixty families; but one of them that prays not to God. The other, two hundred and forty families are generally praying. Care is taken that all and every one come in by voluntary confession; which is and hath been the constant practice here now. We did at the first receive them, they renouncing heathenism and confessing their sins; and those were generally professors. Out of them they entered into church fellowship, when by the word and spirit of God they are moved thereunto. There are ten Indian preachers, of good knowledge and holy conversation; seven jurisdictions; and six meetings every Lord's day. In every jurisdiction the heads are worshippers. The whole holds forth the face of christianity: how sincere, I know not.

"And for Nantucket, there is a church which relates to me. They as I said, first joined into full worship here, and since became a church orderly, and is increased. Upon that island are many praying Indians. Also the families of that island are about three hundred. I have oftentimes accounted the families of both islands; and have very often, these thirty two years, been at Nantucket.

"For schools, sometimes there are some; sometimes, not. But many can read and write Indian: very few, English; none, to great purpose; not above three or four; and those do it brokenly. Myself and my two grandsons can speak the language of this island. But my grandsons not yet employed. John, the younger, doth teach the Indians, and is like now, I suppose to be encouraged by the Commissioners. Matthew, my eldest grandchild, hath also preached to them; and I think, when settled, will again.

"This upon the sudden; which is that I know to be exactly true: for I am always considering of persons and things, being well acquainted with the state and condition of the Indians. I shall not add, but my due respects, and salute you, and rest,

"Worthy Sir, your affectionate friend,
"and servant to command in our Lord Jesus,
"THOMAS MAYHEW."†

§. 5.

* *Governour of Plymouth.*

[A] In the two churches upon the Vineyard.

† *In the year*, 1692, *the number of Indians on Martha's Vineyard was much lessened. The church however at that time consisted of more than a hundred persons*, [*Mat. Mayhew's Nar. pag.* 23]—*In the year* 1720,

§. 5. Concerning the island of Nantucket, and the work of God among the Indians, besides what is above expressed in Mr. Mayhew's letter, take the following account. This island of Nantucket we have described in a former book, ☞ and therefore shall omit it here. The first light of the gospel that came to this island, was by means of Mess'rs. Thomas Mayhew, father and son; and also by Hiacoomes, now pastor of one of the churches upon that Vineyard. The Indians upon this island sow English as well as Indian corn, spin and knit stockings, and are more industrious than many other Indians. The truth is, the Indians, both upon the Vineyard and Nantucket are poor; and, according as the scripture saith, do more readily receive the gospel and become religious. The rules of religion teach them to be diligent and industrious; and the diligent hand maketh rich, and adds no sorrow with it.

Upon September the 4th, 1674, I spoke with some of the principal Indians of Nantucket; particularly with John Gibbs, alias Assasammoogh, pastor of the Indian church there; and with Caleb, alias Weekochisit, one of their teachers and a sagamore's son. These two persons informed me, that there is one church at Nantucket, whereof John Gibbs aforesaid is pastor: that there is about thirty men and women in full communion in the church, whereof twenty are men: that there is about forty children and youths baptized: and that there is about three hundred Indians, young and old, who pray to God and keep

☞ See the Postcript.

1720, *there were on the Vineyard six small villages, containing about a hundred and fifty five families, and about eight hundred souls. Each of these villages was supplied with an Indian preacher. There was also a small assembly at Winthrop's island; another, consisting of twelve or fourteen families, at Tucker's island and Nashaun, which lie near together. There were a few Indians left at Noman's Land. Beside these Indian assemblies, there was a small congregation of Baptists at Gay Head.* (a) [*Exp. Mayhew's Nar. of Ind. on Martha's Vin. pag.* 2]—*In the year* 1764, *there were remaining in Duke's County three hundred and thirteen Indians; eighty six of whom were in Edgartown; thirty nine, in Tisbury: and a hundred and eighty eight, in Chilmark.—About that period they began to intermarry with negroes; in consequence of which the mixed race has increased in numbers, and improved in temperance and industry. At present there are of pure Indians and of the mixed race about four hundred and forty persons: seventy five of whom live on Chappaquiddick, (not more than one third pure;) about twenty five, at Sanchecantacket, (not more than one fifth pure;) about forty, at Christiantown, in the north part of Tisbury, toward the sound, (about one half, pure;) about twenty four, at Nashouohkamuck, (about three quarters, pure;) and about two hundred and seventy six, at Gay Head, (of which about one quarter are pure.) In this account unmixed negroes are not reckoned.* [*Information of Captain Jerningham and Benjamin Basset, Esq.*]

(a) *For the state of the Indian Baptists on Martha's Vineyard in the year* 1774, *see Backus's Hist. vol. I. pag.* 439. *Their minister, Silas Paul, is dead; but their number is not lessened.*

keep the sabbath upon the island: that they meet to worship God at three places, viz. Oggawame where the church meets, at Wammasquid, and Squatesit: that there are four Indian teachers upon that island, viz. John Gibbs pastor, Joseph, Samuel, and Caleb, who also teacheth school. This Caleb is one of them, that gave me this information. He earnestly desires to learn to read and understand English; and intreated me to procure him an English bible, which accordingly he had by order of the Commissioners.

A further account of Nantucket Indians take in part of Mr. Cotton's letter, dated 14th of September, 1674.

"At Nantucket, according to my best intelligence, there are three praying towns; and praying Indians, about three hundred males and females; one church, the pastor is John Gibbs; the men in church fellowship are about twenty; the women, ten. Their children are all baptized. The English upon that island, who are about twenty seven families, and many of them Anabaptists, did at first seek to hinder them from administering baptism to infants; but now they are quiet, and meddle not with them. Caleb is preacher to one town there."†

Thus, according to the best intelligence I can yet obtain, I have endeavoured to give a faithful account of the Indians that pray to God upon these two Islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. And in truth it hath pleased God, in his sovereign grace, to do much for them. I have seen and spoke with divers of the Indians of those islands, that usually every summer come up to our parts, about Boston and the towns adjacent, to work in harvest labour and other employ. Many of them I have judged pious; and most of them, sober, diligent, and industrious; which are commendable qualifications. My desires and prayers are, that not only they, but all the other praying Indians, may more and more increase in virtue and piety.

CHAP. X.

Giving an Account of what is done with respect to the Propagating of the Gospel in the Jurisdictions of Connecticut and Rhode Island.

§. 1. IN the jurisdiction of Connecticut, sundry years since, Mr. Abraham Pierson, pastor of the church at Branford, having gained some knowledge of the Indian tongue, made some beginnings, and continued in that work some years, to preach the gospel to some Indians in those parts: in which work, as I have understood, he was encouraged by the Commissioners of the united colonies. But the providence

† *In the year* 1694, *the Indians on Nantucket were about five hundred adults. There were five assemblies of praying Indians, and three churches; two Congregational, and one of Baptists.* [*Gardener's Let. in Mather's Magn. Book* vi. *pag.* 56.] *Three hundred and fifty eight Indians were remaining the* 16*th of the eighth month,* 1763, *when a fever began among them, and lasted till the* 16*th of the second month,* 1764. *Of this distemper two hundred and twenty two died.* [*See Hutch. Hist. vol. I. pag.* 35]—*The Indians on the island are now reduced to four males and sixteen females.* [*M. S. of Friend Zaccheus Macy.*]

providence of God removing him from those parts unto New Jersey, to the southwest of New York about ten leagues, that work ceased with him: and I have not heard of any considerable fruits of his labours with them, which I impute to this reason, it being now about ten years since he left them. Religion, especial among such a people, is very apt to decay. For precept upon precept, and line upon line, God hath said is needful in such a case. But if the vision fail, the people will perish: and certainly religion will decay and die in every place, if God withdraw the means of grace. Where bread and other food is wanting, the people will famish; and the famine of the word of God is greater than that of bread. The Lord make all mankind sensible thereof. Besides, God hath his times and seasons of grace unto these and those people. It may be, their time is not yet come to receive the gospel. Oh that God would give all men wisdom, to improve the day of grace, while they enjoy it.

§. 2. Since Mr. Pierson's removal, it hath pleased God to stir up the reverend and worthy man, Mr. James Fitch, pastor of the English church at Norwich; who having gained some understanding in the Indian language, doth preach unto some of the Mohegan Indians that live near him. I have endeavoured, both by letters and messages to him, to gain a particular account. But possibly either my letters and messages, or his to me, have miscarried; or else he wants considerable matter to inform. That which I hear in general from others, is, that this good man doth put forth his utmost endeavours,—as his calling in the English church, where he is alone, will permit,—to teach and instruct them; and that some are hopefully coming on; it being but a few years since he began this work. I am apt to fear, that a great obstruction unto his labours is in the sachem of those Indians, whose name is Unkas; an old and wicked, wilful man, a drunkard and otherwise very vitious; who hath always been an opposer and underminer of praying to God; some hints whereof I have given, in the narrative of my journey to Wabquissit, before mentioned. My prayers and desires are, that this servant of Christ may be encouraged and blessed in this work; and though the Indians should not be gathered, yet he shall not fail of acceptance and reward from his and our Lord and master, Jesus Christ.

§. 3. "Honoured Sir,

"Yours I received, dated in September. And I have hitherto delayed, that I might be the better prepared for an answer to your queries. Concerning the Indians in this colony and at Long Island, I cannot understand that they have any inclination to learn the knowledge of God: but when Mr. Pierson did frequently try, in the several plantations in this colony, they did generally show an averseness, yea a perverse contempt of the word of God; and at present they will not yield to any settled hearing or attendance upon the ministry of the word. Since God hath called me to labour in this work among the Indians nearer to me, where indeed are the most considerable number of any in this colony, the first of my time was spent upon the Indians at Moheek,* where Unkas, and his son, and Wanuho, are sachems. These

* *Montville.*

These at first carried it teachably and tractably: until at length the sachems did discern, that religion would not consist with a mere receiving of the word; and that practical religion will throw down their heathenish idols, and the sachem's tyrannical monarchy: and then the sachems, discerning this, did not only go away, but drew off their people, some by flatteries, and others by threatenings: and they would not suffer them to give so much as an outward attendance to the ministry of the word of God. But at this time some few did show a willingness to attend. These few I began meetings with them, about one year and a half since. What progress they have made, I have informed the Commissioners. Firstly, in respect of knowledge, they are enlightened in the common principles of the true religion. Secondly, in respect of practice, they have yielded to cast off heathenish devil worship, and on the Lord's day to meet together, to repeat and to confer about that, which they have heard me teach them of the word of God. And he that is the chief among them, whose name is Weebax, hath learned so much, that he is willing and able in some degree to be helpful in teaching and prayer to the other, on the Lord's day: and this Weebax is of such a blameless conversation, that his worst enemies and haters of religion cannot but speak well of his conversation; and the same may be said concerning another, whose name is Tuhamon.

"The number of these Indians is now increased to above thirty grown persons, men and women, besides children and young ones. Some have showed a willingness, that their children should learn to read; but it is not yet two years since I began with these; and truly the charge and expense to set up and keep a school amongst them, it is too great for me at present to compass. These Indians do suffer much, especially the chief among them, that it is to wonderment they are not utterly discouraged, considering they are but in their beginnings: for the sachem and Indians round about, do to the utmost what they can, by reproaches, revilings, and threatenings, especially in a private and clandestine manner, to dismay them.

"And for the settlement and encouragement of these Indians, I have given them of mine own lands, and some that I have procured of our town, above three hundred acres of good improvable lands, and made it sure to them and theirs, so long as they go on in the ways of God.

"And at this time Unkas and his sons seem as if they would come on again to attend upon the ministry of the word of God. But it is no other but in envy against these, and to promote some present self design: but it is easy with God to turn all to salvation, &c.

"I have nothing further at present to add, but that the Lord would direct and prosper you in your pious intendments; so intreating your prayers for me, who am,

"Your unworthy friend and servant
"in the work of the Lord,
"JAMES FITCH, senior.†

"From Norwich, Novem. 20th. 1674."

§. 4.

† "*In* 1774, *when a census of the inhabitants of the state of Connecticut was taken, there were but thirteen hundred and sixty-three In-*

§. 4. In Rhode Island and Providence plantations there are sundry English live, that are skilful in the Indian tongue, especially Mr. Williams of Providence, of whose endeavours I have heard something that way: but God hath not yet honoured him, or any other in that colony that I can hear of, with being instrumental to convert any of those Indians; and yet there are very considerable numbers of Indians that live near them. If there should be any enlightened and converted by them, when I shall be certified thereof, I would gladly mention it in this our History. But on the contrary, I have observed, that the Indians who live in these parts, generally are more indisposed to embrace religion, than any Indians in the country. The reasons whereof, I conjecture, are principally these two. First, the averseness of their sachems. Secondly, the bad example of the English in those parts, where civil government and religion among the English runs very low. Those two orders of magistracy and ministry, are as Jachin and Boaz, strength and stability, upon which the happiness and prosperity of any people doth, under God, depend: and where these are wanting in splendour and beauty, I never promise myself to see any great honour or good to such a people. But yet let me add this by way of commendation of the Narragansitt and Warwick Indians, who inhabit in the jurisdiction, that they are an active, laborious, and ingenious people; which is demonstrated in their labours they do for the English; of whom more are employed, especially in making stone fences, and many other hard labours, than of any other Indian people or neighbours.*

CHAP.

dians; [another account says, thirteen hundred and ninety-three] the greater part of whom lived at Mohegan, between Norwich and New London. In the eighteen years which have since elapsed, judging from their usual decrease, and from some circumstances which have fallen under my own observations, I should suppose the above number is diminished at least one half. Besides, a considerable part of the Mohegan tribe, I have been informed, have lately removed from their former residence, near New London to Oneida, with the late Mr. Occom. So that I do not imagine, the present number of Indians in Connecticut exceeds four hundred." [M.S. Letter of the Rev. Jed. Morse.]

** The Narragansett Indians, within whose country Rhode-Island and Providence plantations fall, were strongly opposed to the propagation of the christian religion. Their sachems would not suffer the gospel to be preached to their subjects; and the people obstinately adhered to the traditions and customs of their ancestors. Mr. Williams made some laudable attempts to instruct them; but he soon left off discouraged; conceiving that he could not, with any propriety, preach christianity to them in their own language, without immediate inspiration. After Philip's war their numbers were much lessened; and they were reduced to the most abject state of poverty and wretchedness. In the year 1730, there were left in the colony no more than nine hundred and eighty-five Indians. [Callender's Century Sermon. pag. 40, 82, 84.] Forty-four years after, their number was fourteen hundred and eighty-two. There seems*

CHAP. XI.

Of the Honourable Corporation at London, for the Propagating the Gospel among the Indians in New-England; and of the Honoured Commissioners of the United Colonies in New-England, intrusted with that affair.

§. 1. NOW I think it my duty to inform the candid and ingenious reader, of the abundant favour and goodness of God, in a way of means raised up by him, for the encouragement of this design, by inclining the hearts of many pious benefactors in Old England to contribute to this work, and the faithful disposing of the same in general, for the good intended by the donors.

It is most true, that neither gold or silver, or any thing under the sun, is the price of the redemption of souls: for, as the scripture saith, *we were not redeemed with silver or gold, or any other thing, the work of men's hands; but only with the precious blood of Jesus Christ.* I Pet. i. 18, 19. Ezek. vii. 19. Neither can all the gifts and benevolences of men purchase the favour of God for ourselves or others. If we could give to God, as the prophet speaks, for a sacrifice in a way of expiation for the least sin, ten thousand bullocks, or ten thousand rams, or ten thousand rivers of oil, or the first born of our bodies, &c. what would it signify to procure God's favour to man, or pardon for the least sin? No, the redemption of the souls of men is more precious, &c.

Though this be a great truth; yet, on the other hand, the outward comforts of this life are so far necessary, that God ordained, that he that preacheth the gospel, should live of the gospel; and that he that goeth a warfare in this kind, it is not to be at his own charge. Now, in carrying on this work of preaching unto, and civilizing these Indians, there are many occasions, both with respect to themselves, and to the instruments that labour among them, which need supply, and that abundantly, more than is yet in being. But God, of his gracious goodness and beneficence, hath made some provision in the manner following.

§. 2.

seems here to be an increase. But it should be remembered, that in the year 1740, *Attleborough Gore, and the towns of Bristol, Tiverton, and Little Compton, and a great part of Swanzey and Barrington,—which probably contained a large proportion of the Indians in the colony,—had been taken from Massachusetts, and annexed to Rhode-Island. We cannot determine the present number, but it is supposed to be less than five hundred.*

The parts of New-England, not particularly mentioned in Gookin's Historical Collections, are the states of New Hampshire and Vermont, and the district of Maine. There are now no Indians in New Hampshire; some of them having removed into Canada, but the greatest part being extinct. The Indians were never numerous in Vermont; and at present, it is entirely destitute of them. Within the district of Maine, the Indians, who are all Roman Catholicks, are reduced to about sixty families on Penobscott river, and about thirty at Passamaquady. They have a church at each of these places.

§. 2. In the year of our Lord 1649, some years after Mr. Eliot began to preach the gospel to the Indians, God in his divine providence so ordered it, that Mr. Edward Winslow, one of the magistrates of Plymouth jurisdiction, a person of great worth, piety, and wisdom, being sent for England by the united colonies of New-England before, as their agent about some publick affairs, this worthy man, at the time of his being there, made it part of his business to solicit the parliament of lords and commons, then sitting, to cast their eye of favours upon this good work, in passing an act of parliament, to consitute some worthy and known persons of piety and integrity, to be a corporation to receive and improve the free contributions of all persons for the encouragement of this design, in propagating the christian religion among the Indian natives of New-England in America. Unto which pious motion of Mr. Winslow it pleased the Right Honourable Parliament, according as their weighty affairs permitted, did grant and pass an act of parliament of both houses, nominating, constituting, and empowering, several worthy persons as a body politick and incorporate, to manage and execute that affair to all intents and purposes, as may more particularly appear in the said act of parliament.

N. B. Here the act of parliament is to be recited; but I having it not here, refer it to friends in England, that peruse this tract, to cause it to be inserted in this place.*

§. 3. In prosecution of this trust, they used their best endeavours in all faithfulness, keeping their meetings and accounts openly at Cooper's hall in London, where any person might freely have opportunity to see and observe the integrity of their accounts and proceedings: and the expense of their time, strength, and charge, in managing of that affair, as I have heard, was borne by themselves, and not charged upon the collections. And God was pleased so to bless their endeavours, and open the hearts and purses of divers well disposed persons, both in the city, army, and country, that considerable sums were returned unto them; which they faithfully disposed, most of it in making purchases of lands and rents for an annual revenue and income; and some of it transmitted to New-England, there to be distributed and disposed by the honoured the Commissioners of the united colonies, as the said act directed and empowered them, according as they, in their wisdoms, saw most expedient, to further and promote the main design: which to my knowledge,—for I have seen the accounts,—was and is most faithfully and prudently disposed of and conveyed in sundry channels: as particularly, First, some small salaries to instruments employed in the work. Secondly, keeping several Indian youths to school, providing diet, clothing, and books for them; which expended annually, for divers years, considerable sums. Thirdly, the building an Indian college, of which we have before spoken. Fourthly, the charge of printing the bible and other books in the Indian

* *The act referred to may be found in Hazard's Historical Collections, vol. I. pag.* 635. *For a breviat of the act, see Hutch. Hist. vol. I. pag.* 163.

dian language. This cost a great sum. Fifthly, providing sundry tools and instruments for the Indians to work with in several callings. Sixthly, furnishing them with some sheep's wool and cotton wool, for their encouragement in ways of industry and diligence. Seventhly, in allowing some encouragement and small salaries to Indian rulers, teachers, schoolmasters, and interpreters. These, with several other particular occasions, fell in annually, which indeed needed much more than was returned. In all these matters the Commissioners of the colonies, from time to time, acquitted themselves, as became wise, worthy, and faithful persons; never expending any thing of the Indian stock, for any labour or charge thereabout, which cost them several days yearly about that affair; all the expenses being defrayed at the cost of that colony, where the Commissioners kept their meeting; which has exhausted very considerable sums. So that in that respect New-England people are not behind hand in charge towards that work; and I believe, not less, but far more, in proportion, than their countrymen in England.† Thus this affair was managed smoothly and comfortably for many years.

§. 4. When his Majesty Charles the second, now reigning, was in a wonderful and admirable manner restored to his crown, An. 1660, there were some, as I have heard, endeavoured to undermine and overthrow this corporation, and to swallow up the revenues thereof into his Majesty's coffers, as was pretended, but rather into their private purses; alleging the illegality of that act, as done without royal assent, and other suggestions tending to its dissolution. But it pleased God so to influence and move the heart of our royal and gracious king, not to receive impressions by those motions, but most princely, honourably, and christianly to grant a new charter, nominating and appointing several honourable persons of the nobility and others, to manage that affair. And he was pleased to continue several of those persons that were of the former corporation; appointing that pious, and deservedly to be honoured, and noble person, Robert Boyle Esquire, brother to the Right Honourable the earl of Corke, to be governour and president of that corporation, for propagating the gospel among the Indians in New-England; continuing unto the same the revenues formerly purchased; fully and amply empowering them in that affair to all intents and purposes: which may be seen more particularly by the charter.

Here insert the charter, which I cannot procure in New-England, but I hope such persons, to whom this is committed to be published, will procure it, and cause it to be printed in this place.*

This

† *The churches in Boston made annual collections for this purpose. Neal says, that in the year* 1718, *they collected four hundred and eighty-three pounds; and that they had at that time besides, a fund of eight hundred or a thousand pounds, the income of which was appropriated to the conversion of the Indians.* [*Hist. of N. Eng. chap.* vi. *pag.* 265.]

* *This charter is printed in the Appendix to Birch's Life of Boyle, pag.* 319—335.

This benign act of his Majesty will, I doubt not, redound to his everlasting honour, and the great honour of the persons intrusted, especially the worthy governour, Mr. Boyle; who hath in a special manner approved himself a promoter and encourager of this good work, for about twelve years past, since he first engaged therein; causing constant supplies annually to be sent over, and writing encouraging letters in the name of the Honourable Corporation, from time to time: which letters of his, and those of the former corporation, are all worthy to be published, and would give great light into that affair; but they would swell this tract to too great a bulk. I shall therefore content myself with reciting the Honourable Mr. Boyle's first letter, and the Commissioners' answer thereunto, and the account of that year's disbursements; which may serve to give a taste of the rest.

§. 5. "Honoured Gentlemen,

"A letter of yours being brought hither, directed to Mr. Ashurst and Mr. Hutchinson, though the former of these two gentlemen did by the last ship, as he tells us, acknowledge the receipt of it, and intimate the reasons of our silence; yet we now think it meet to assure you also ourselves, how acceptable it was to us to be informed, partly by that letter of yours, and partly by the relation of some learned ministers, that came a while since from New-England, that you continue your care and concern for the propagating of the gospel of Christ amongst the poor Indians. And we are glad, that through the goodness of God, we are now in a condition to inform you, that since the receipt of your lastly mentioned letter, it hath pleased the king's Majesty, in council, to grant a charter of incorporation, wherein many of the nobility and other persons of quality, and most of those gentlemen that were formerly employed in the like work, are authorized and appointed to endeavour the carrying on of that pious design, for converting the heathen natives: wherein they deservedly esteem it both an honour and advantage to be employed in this new establishment: being, among other particulars, enjoined to appoint commissioners in New-England, to prosecute there, by our directions, his Majesty's pious intentions.

"We judge this to be a matter of the highest concernment, that belongs to the work intrusted to us. For all our endeavours here, and all the supplies we may procure from hence, will be but ineffectual, though not to our own souls, yet to the work we would promote, unless there be a prudent and faithful management of what we send over, by the Commissioners we shall appoint in New-England, and those that they shall employ. And therefore since having obtained the best information we can, and seriously considered the matter, we have pitched on the same course, that hath been formerly taken in pursuance of the same ends and care. Accordingly determined at present to desire you to take upon you again the care and management of this work upon the place. We hope you will discern how great a trust we willingly repose in you: and we doubt not of your readiness to comply, as formerly you have done, with our directions herein: the business wherein we desire to engage you being such, as we think it truly honourable

to be engaged in ourselves; and the design being of a nature to which the greatest and most precious promises are annexed: besides that the civilizing and converting of your barbarous and unbelieving neighbours is that, whose success will be, in some regards, of more immediate advantage to yourselves than to us.

"Our good wishes to so christian a work makes it much our trouble, to see the means of carrying it on are no greater, than we now at our entrance find them: which we mention not by way of reflection upon those, to whose hands the management of them was committed, before the grant of our charter; but because it is necessary for us to acquaint you with the condition we are brought to, partly by the great charge you and we have been at on several necessary occasions, and partly, and indeed chiefly, by the injurious dealing of some, who take advantage of the letter of the law, against all justice and equity, to repossess themselves of what they formerly sold,† whereby the greatest part of our revenue is at present detained; which will prove, we fear, very expensive and somewhat difficult to recover. And therefore we desire as little money may be drawn upon us for this year to come, as will possibly consist with the not neglecting of what is necessary to be done. We say, for this next year; because we cannot be so despondent, as not to hope, that the providence of God will, by some means or other, provide for the supply of a work, so much tending to his own glory, and so acceptable to those, that are so heartily concerned for it.

"The bill for eight hundred pound, drawn for the use of the Indian work, is for the most part paid, and should have been entirely so ere now, were it not for the want of present money. That which is from time to time laid out, we desire may, according to your commendable practice, be sent over in a particular account, within the year. And it may assist us in the regulating our expenses, if you be pleased to let us know, by the first conveniency, what further charge you judge you shall be put to, by perfecting the printing of the bible. The use of that divine book, and also a constant use of catechisms, we judge most necessary for the Indians' instruction in religion. And we also think it may conduce to unity and order, if the same catechism be generally taught amongst them.

"If our stock do increase, which we hope hereafter it may, especially since his Majesty himself hath graciously pleased particularly to countenance this work, and to secure both what hath been, and may be given towards it, by a legal settlement, which before was wanting:—If, we say, our means increase, we shall consider of some employment, in the way of trade and manufacture, to employ the Indians in. Or if in the interim, there occurs to you any thing about this or any other matter, that you judge may tend to the promoting of that good work, wherein we have the happiness to be jointly engaged, your informations and advice will be, as well as your assistance, very welcome to us.

"Signed in the name, and by the appointment, of the Corporation for the propagating of the gospel in America.

"Pr. ROBERT BOYLE, Governour.

"London, May 15th, 1662. "For

† *See Neal's Hist. of N. Eng. chap.* vi. *pag.* 261—263. *and Birch's Life of Boyle. pag.* 136, 140, 141.

"For the Worshipful the Commissioners of the united colonies of New-England, in New-England. These."

An answer thereunto this following letter was returned.

§. 6. "Right Honourable,

"We received yours of the 15th of May, 1662, intimating the receipt of ours directed to Mr. Ashurst, also of a letter from him in answer thereunto, which is not as yet come to our sight.

"That it pleased the Lord to put it into the heart of our dread sovereign, the King's Majesty, with his most honourable council, to cast a favourable aspect upon these so far remote parts of his dominions, not only to the owning of his subjects, the people of his own nation, with privilege of protection and confirmation of our wonted liberties, to the rejoicing of the hearts of many, the Lord's poor people here, that were before sad, and to the shame of those, who were the enemies of the peace of our Zion: but also, as by the information given us by your Honours' letters, extending his royal favour to our neighbours, the barbarous natives, and that in such wise, as no other interest or concernment can be any motive therein to his Majesty, save only his unfeigned love to the honour of God and bowels of compassion to poor mankind, the experience not only of a kingly, but also of a fatherly, godlike spirit; especially considering the objects of this his bounty, who are such of whom it may be truly said, that being beheld in their own savage ways and customs, there is very little more of the relicks of that glorious image put upon our first parents, to be seen in them, than this, that they are of that race:—The consideration whereof, together with the gentleness and candour of your generous minds, expressed in yours to us, breathing forth your unfeigned desires to advance the interest of the Lord Jesus Christ; so that the labour and difficulties, inevitably accompanying such an undertaking, have not deterred your truly noble spirits from the acceptance thereof:—cannot but greatly oblige us, as the expressions of our thankfulness to the Lord, and yourselves, to study the faithful discharge of so great a trust, by your Honours reposed in us, for the improvement of the means aforesaid, for the instructing of the barbarous natives in the true knowledge of God: that so, through his rich blessing thereon, a people, among whom Satan hath had his throne, may now become the Lord's, and his name may be known and exalted, by those who, for so long a time, have sat in darkness and the shadow of death:—The time of the establishing and resettling of this weighty affair, by his Majesty's influencing thereof, and putting the royal stamp of his authority thereupon, being such wherein the adversary was seeking to undermine all former endeavours, to the utter disappointing of all our future hopes, by the subtilty and powerful attempts of his instruments, even of those of whom we may truly say, they fear not the Lord nor honour the king:—That, at such a season, the Lord should raise up his Majesty to be an horn of salvation to these poor natives;—it doth greatly encourage us to hope and believe, that he hath even among them some, that are of those other sheep, whom in time he will cause to hear his voice, and that he will continue to bless the endeavours of his people for that end.

"Touching

"Touching the progression of this work, at present your Honours may please to be informed, that, as we have formerly related, we are still waiting on the Lord in the use of the means afforded.

"The labourers in that work, for instructing the Indians in the several colonies, continued, together with the education of sundry youths; two whereof have been, the year past, brought up at the college in Cambridge; where they have good commendations of the president and their tutors, for their proficiency in learning. Also two others are at the grammar school; and two more, at the English school; where they learn to read and write: one whereof is now fitted for the grammar school; besides many others that are instructed by schoolmasters in other places to read and write. It hath pleased the Lord to frown upon our endeavours in this kind; taking away by death, at sundry times, six youths or more, upon whom considerable cost had been expended for their education: wherein it very well becometh us, and all herein concerned, humbly to submit unto his sovereign pleasure.

The number of lectures, with the schoolmasters that constantly attend that work in the respective places of the Indians' abode, your Honours may more particularly discern by their names, inserted in the account enclosed, together with their respective salaries and allowance for the same. We are informed by the Reverend Mr. Eliot, that he is so far satisfied concerning the Lord's effectual work with his word, on the hearts of sundry of the natives, that he hath proceeded to administer the sacrament of baptism at two of their plantations; the one called Martha's Vineyard; and the other, Natick; being in distance about one hundred miles.

"The bible is now about half done; and a constant progress there is made. The printer hopes it will be finished within a year. The future charge is uncertain: by estimate, not less than two hundred pounds. We have herewith sent twenty copies of the new testament, to be disposed of as your Honours shall think meet.

"The trust your honours hath seen meet to repose in us for the managing of this work, we shall endeavour in all faithfulness to discharge. The account enclosed tells you, to whom, and in what manner, and for what ends, the money sent over hath been distributed; whereby you will plainly see, that neither our colonies nor particular concernments are any diminishers thereof, but the whole is improved according to the will of the donors. And for the future, we shall be ready to observe the more particular directions of your Honours; humbly intreating this favour, that no information or complaint may be received against us to the prejudice of our trust, until we have had advice thereof, with a seasonable opportunity to return an answer thereto. The sum at present resting in hand, the foot of the account doth declare; which will be more than all expended before the return of the year. Less than five hundred pounds we could not charge bills, to be paid this year; without which the work will inevitably be interrupted, if not broken in pieces. We shall not give your Honours further trouble,

ble, but commend you to the guidance and protection of the Almighty, resting your Honours to serve in the work of Christ.

"The Commissioners of the united colonies in New England.

"Boston. Sept. 10th. 1662.

"To the Honourable Robert Boyle Esquire, Governor of the Corporation for the propagation of the gospel in New England."

Boston, in New England, Sept. 10, 1662.

The Honourable Corporation for the Indians, Dr.

	£.	s.	d.
Imprimis, to sundry disbursements for printing the bible.	237	5	0
To books for the Indian scholars, as pr. account enclosed.	19	12	6
To diet, clothing, and tutorage of two Indian youths at the college, one year past, with extraordinary expenses at entrance.	44	12	3
To Mr. Daniel Weld, schoolmaster at Roxbury, for diet, clothing, and schooling of two youths, one year past, abating one third part of a year, for one of them, ending December 20th next.	25	0	0
To Mr. Thomas Danforth, for diet and clothing of two Indian youths, the year past.	30	0	0
To the diet and clothing Matthew Mayhew, one year past.	13	0	0
To the schoolmaster of Cambridge for two Indian youths and Matthew Mayhew.	8	0	0
To the maintenance of Mr. Stanton's son, one year.	25	0	0
To Mr. Pierson of New Haven, for his pains and travel, instructing the Indians at several places in those parts.	30	0	0
To Mr. Eliot senior, his salary for the year past.	50	0	0
To his interpreter Job, and three schoolmasters.	40	0	0
To Mr. John Eliot junior, his salary for one year past.	25	0	0
To Mr. Mayhew, his salary the year past.	30	0	0
To eight Indian schoolmasters at Martin's Vineyard.	30	0	0
To Mr. Bourne in Plymouth patent, his salary.	25	0	0
To two schoolmasters, employed by him in those parts.	5	0	0
To Captain Gookin, for instructing and governing the Indians.	15	0	0
To sundry well deserving Indians in the several colonies.	15	0	0
To Mr. William Thompson, his salary, for instructing the Indians about Pequot.	20	0	0
To Mrs. Mayhew, relict of Mr. Mayhew deceased.	6	0	0
To Mr. John Alkock, for physick to sick Indian scholars, pr. order.	7	9	5
To two Indian coats for the Pequot sachems.	0	16	0
To Mr. James of Easthampton, his salary for instructing the Indians at Long Island.	20	0	0
To Captain George Denison, for time and expense among the Indians, sundry times, pr. order.	6	13	4
	728	8	6

I have

I have transcribed this account, to give the reader a specimen of the various occasions for employing a stock in this work. And although the matter of charge doth differ from this in other years; yet there is always more occasion to disburse, than there is money to be disbursed. And as the work doth increase, and the gospel spread among the Indians, as it doth, and we should labour and pray it may; so there will be greater occasion of oil to the wheels of this motion.

CHAP. XII.

Containing Proposals, as an Expedient for Civilizing the Indians, and Propagating the Gospel among them.

§. 1. THAT which I shall here offer, may be comprehended under two heads. First, that utmost endeavours be used, with all industry and diligence, that the Indians, especially the children and youth, may be taught to speak, read, and write, the English tongue.

For this end I propose, first, that as many of their children as may be procured, with the free consent of their parents and relations, be placed in sober and christian families, as apprentices, until the youths are twenty one years, and maids eighteen years of age: the males to be instructed in the trade practised by their masters; and the females, in good housewifery of all sorts: with this provision in all contracts and indentures, that they shall be taught to read and write the English tongue at the cost of their masters. And this may be easily accomplished, because servants are scarce in New England. The ordering of this affair must be committed to the management of prudent persons, that have an interest in the Indians, and that may be able, by their authority and wisdom, so to argue this case with the Indians, as to convince them that this way is for their children's good; for they are generally so indulgent to their children, that they are not easily persuaded to put them forth to the English.

Secondly, another way for bringing this matter to pass, is by setting up one or two free schools, to learn them to read and write English. But because this thing hath some difficulty in it; partly because, first, a suitable pious person for a schoolmaster will not be willing to leave the English society, and to live constantly among the Indians, as such a work will require: and, secondly, how the Indian children that are sent to school, shall be provided with diet and clothing, without charge to the Indian stock,—excepting only a blue coat for each of them once a year, which will not cost much, but may greatly encourage the Indians:—and therefore it must be contrived, for effecting this thing, that those difficulties may be obviated.

For the accomplishing this matter for the Indians, within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, I have consulted and advised, not only with Mr. Eliot;—and we both joined in a proposal to the honoured Commissioners of the united colonies, at their last meeting, desiring them to move the Right Honourable the Corporation, at London, about it;—but also with most of the principal rulers and teachers of the praying Indians: and they have generally agreed and approved the expedient following: and I trust in God, that the Right Honourable the Corporation

ration at London, will in due season approve it; and give direction unto the Commissioners in New England, to put it in execution. The expedient proposed is as follows.

§. 2. There is an Indian village, within twenty eight or thirty miles of Boston, westward upon the road to Connecticut, called Okommakamesit, alias Marlborough, which lieth very near the centre of most of the praying villages. This Indian plantation joineth unto an English town called Marlborough; so that the English and Indian plantation bear the same name. In this Indian plantation there is a piece of fertile land, containing above one hundred and fifty acres, upon which the Indians have, not long since, lived, and planted several apple trees thereupon, which bear abundance of fruit; but now the Indians are removed from it about a mile. This tract of land doth so imbosom itself into the English town, that it is encompassed about with it, except one way: and upon the edge of this land the English have placed their meeting-house; which is an argument to demonstrate that they look upon it as near the midst of their town, according to general computation and practice. This parcel of land, with the addition of twenty acres of the nearest meadow, and a woodlot of about fifty acres, is well worth two hundred pounds in money: and yet the Indians will willingly devote it for this work; for it brings little or no profit to them, nor is ever like to do; because the Englishmen's cattle, &c. devour all in it, because it lies open and unfenced; and while the Indians planted there, it was in a sort fenced by them; yet by their improvidence and bad fences, they reaped little benefit in those times; and that was one cause of their removal.

Now I propose that the parcel of land above expressed, be set apart for an Indian free school, and confirmed by an act of the general court of this colony, unto the Corporation for the Indians, for this end forever: and that it be infenced with a stone wall into two or three enclosures for corn, pastures, &c. and this may be done easily, because there are stones enough at hand upon it: and then to build a convenient house for a schoolmaster and his family, and under the same roof may be a room for a school: also to build some outhouses for corn, hay, cattle, &c. The charge of all this will not amount to above two hundred pounds in money. This being done, the place will be fit to accommodate a schoolmaster and his family, without any other salary but the use of this farm. Moreover it is very probable, that the English people of Marlborough, will gladly and readily send their children to the same school, and pay the schoolmaster for them; which will better his maintenance; for they have no school in that place at the present: in which regard I have heard some of the most prudent among them lament: but it being chargeable to raise a school and maintain a schoolmaster for twenty or thirty children, the inhabitants are backward to do it, until they are compelled by the laws of the country, which requireth every village consisting of fifty families, to provide a school to teach the English tongue and to write; but these people of Marlborough, wanting a few of fifty families, do take that low advantage to ease their purses of this common charge. But as soon as this school herein proposed, is set up, it will be their interest to put

their

their children to it, being the most thrifty and facile way they can take; and hereby the schoolmaster will be advantaged in his neighbourhood, and communion with the English church there; and this will tend to remove the first difficulty. Besides, the English and Indian children, learning together in the same school, will much promote the Indians' learning to speak the English tongue: of which we have had experience, when Indian children were taught by English schoolmasters at Roxbury and Cambridge, in former years, when several Indian children were kept at those schools, at the great charge of the Corporation for the Indians.

But a second difficulty is this: how shall these Indian children, though they have their schooling free, be accommodated for diet and clothing, without publick charge? I answer, that I have conferred with several of the most prudent and judicious praying Indians of the other towns, who make it no difficulty to provide diet for their children, with the Indians, their countrymen, that inhabit in that place: for diet among them is at reasonable rates, being mean for quality, and yet best suiting their bodies in point of health. And as for clothing, a little serves them, and that mean; and that their parents can provide; especially if the Honourable Corporation order them a blue coat once a year, in the beginning of winter, of which I have spoken before, and also provide them books. But if this design of a free school, to teach the Indians' children, should fail of its end, of which there is no cause to doubt; yet the laying out of so much money upon this tract of land aforesaid, will be, as I conceive, as good an improvement, as can be made of so much of the stock, for the furtherance of the Indian work; for it will be a real estate, and bring in a good rent yearly.

§. 3. The like school may be set up in the colony of New Plymouth, if a convenient place may there be found, and set apart for such a work; to which school, for aught I know, the Indian children of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket may be conveniently taught, and all other neighbour Indian children of Narragansitt, Cooawsett, and places thereabout, if it shall please the Lord to incline their hearts.

§. 4. Concerning this affair I shall further add, that I have advised with many judicious men of quality among us, who do very well approve of this contrivance as a very good expedient, not only to civilize, but to propagate religion among the Indians. And also most of the known and pious Indians earnestly desired it: and the reasons that do occur to encourage that there will be good in it, are, First, hereby the Indians will be able to converse with the English familiarly; and thereby learn civility and religion from them. Secondly, they will be able to read any English book, the better to teach them the knowledge of God and themselves. And likewise thereby they may sooner come to the understanding of several other arts and sciences, wherein English authors do abound. Thirdly, they will hereby be able to understand our English ministers, who are better fitted to instruct them in substantial and orthodox divinity, than teachers of their own nation, who cannot in reason be imagined to be so sufficient, as if they were learned men: for who is sufficient for these things? Fourthly, it hath been the observation of some prudent historians, that the

changing

changing of the language of a barbarous people, into the speech of a more civil and potent nation that have conquered them, hath been an approved experiment, to reduce such a people unto the civility and religion of the prevailing nation. And I incline to believe, that if that course had been effectually taken with the Irish, their enmity and rebellion against the English had been long since cured or prevented, and they better instructed in the protestant religion; and consequently redeemed from the vassallage and affection to the Romish see; who have by this means kept the greatest part of them in ignorance, and consequently in brutishness and superstition to this day.

§. 5. A second thing that I would humbly propose, for the civilizing and propagating the gospel among the Indians, is, that utmost endeavours be used by all Englishmen, in power and place, and of publick spirits, to raise a greater revenue or stock to carry on this design, as well to encourage the Indians that are poor, as the instruments that are or may be employed, whose labour and travail is not small. In truth the work is glorious, and the harvest is great; but there are very few labourers. The Lord thrust forth more; and endow them with a spirit of love, diligence, humility, patience, and self-denial; for in this labour among the Indians, all those graces will need to be exercised.

And for this end I do, in all humility, petition and beseech his most excellent Majesty, our gracious king, and all his people, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, to grant and promote a general collection, or brief, throughout all his dominions; whereby his pious and well disposed subjects may have an opportunity to cast in freely some mites of their substance, as an offering to the Lord, and a sweet smelling savour in our Lord Jesus Christ: and that the care of this collection be committed to the Right Honourable Corporation for the propagating the gospel among the Indians in America, residing at London, or unto such other pious and faithful persons, as they shall in their wisdom appoint: so that this gift unto the Lord God may not be diverted from its true and proper end and use, or be conveyed in any by-channels for private interest. Doubtless such a good work will be acceptable to God in Jesus Christ, a very great honour and renown unto his Majesty and his people. And I am persuaded it will be no grief of heart unto any of the servants of God, in the day of their account to God, who have had any hand to further this good work. But every one may consider and say, as we are directed in Cant. viii. 8, 9, 10. *We have a little sister*, &c. And when this thing is effected, his Majesty and people may well bless and praise the Lord, as that great king and man after God's own heart, David, once did upon an occasion of like nature, mentioned I. Chron. xxix. 10.—17. *Wherefore David blessed the Lord before all the congregation: and David said, Blessed be thou, Lord God of Israel, our father, for ever and ever. Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty: for all that is in the heaven and in the earth, is thine; thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as head above all. Both riches and honour come of thee, and thou reignest over all, and in thine hand is power and might, and in thine hand it is to make great, and to give strength unto all. Now therefore, our God,*

God, we thank thee, and praise thy glorious name. But who am I, and what is my people, that we should be able to offer so willingly after this sort? for all things come of thee, and of thine own have we given thee. For we are strangers before thee, and sojourners, as were all our fathers; our days on the earth are as a shadow, and there is none abiding. O Lord our God, all this store that we have prepared to build thee an house for thine holy name,—among these poor forlorn sons of men, the Indians,—*cometh of thine hand, and is all thine own. I know also, my God, that thou triest the heart, and hast pleasure in uprightness. As for me, in the uprightness of my heart, I have willingly offered all these things; and now have I seen with joy, thy people to offer willingly unto thee.*

§. 6. Now to close up this discourse, the judicious, intelligent, and candid reader may observe in this tractate concerning the Indians, especially referring to the converted and civilized Indians, these few particulars following.

First, here we may see, as in a mirror, or looking glass, the woful, miserable, and deplorable estate, that sin hath reduced mankind unto naturally, and especially such as live without means of cultivating and civilizing, as these poor, brutish barbarians have done for many ages: for these, excepting their rational souls, are like unto the wild ass's colt, and not many degrees above beasts in matters of fact.

Secondly, hence we may learn what great reason men have, that are born and bred among civilized and christian nations, to praise God for such a mercy, which is not a small thing in my judgment; and I conceive it should have a voice in it, calling aloud to all such of mankind, to love, serve, and obey God, that hath in his divine providence and abundant goodness, made this distinction between them and others.

Thirdly, is there not cause of wonderful admiration and exaltation of Almighty God in Christ Jesus, who hath been pleased to condescend to cast an eye of favour and grace, founded in his eternal decree, upon some of the desolate souls of these forlorn sinners of the gentiles?

Fourthly, may we not observe here one reason of God's transplanting some of his people into this wilderness, viz. that they might be instrumental to carry his name and gospel unto some of these heathen?

Fifthly, here we may behold the real fulfilling of those precious promises made to Jesus Christ, *that God will give him the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession.* Ps. ii. 8. and thereupon take occasion to praise God, and encourage our faith and hope in him, for a further and more ample fulfilling of his good word in that respect.

Sixthly, we may find here just occasion to magnify God, who hath fitted and raised up instruments for converting these barbarians,—for it is from God that every good motion and gift cometh,—and also for stirring up the hearts of many to promote this good work by their prayers, contributions, and labours.

Seventhly and lastly, we may take occasion from that, which hath been here truly related, First, to put up our earnest prayers to God, the lord of this harvest, that he would thrust forth labourers into it, which are greatly wanting. Secondly, that God would frustrate the design and

and stratagems of Satan and wicked men, who endeavour to disturb and destroy the day of small things begun among this people. Thirdly, that the English nation, which dwell among them, may live so holily and honestly, that by their good conversation, all stumbling blocks may be removed out of the way of the Indians in their travel towards the heavenly Canaan, and such gracious examples set before them, that they may more and more be induced to obedience to the yoke of our Lord Jesus Christ.

THE END OF THE HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF THE INDIANS IN NEW ENGLAND.

A POSTCRIPT.

THERE are some passages in the foregoing discourse, unto which this mark ☞ hath reference: as in Chap. II. §. 2. it is said, "We shall have occasion to speak more particularly in the sequel of this our history." And in Chap. IX. §. 1. speaking of "Martha's Vineyard, called by the Indians Nope, which we have in the former book described." These two passages, with some others of like nature, do refer to something going before and something following after, and yet no mention of it.

Concerning this matter the reader may please to understand, that when I first drew up these Collections, it was intended for a second book of the history of New-England. But that being not yet above half finished, and this concerning the Indians being distinct from the other, which treateth principally of the Indians in New-England, although it was no great incongruity, had it accompanied the rest: But for some reasons at this conjuncture, I have thought it not unseasonable to emit this of the Indians first. The scope and design of the author in that intended history, you may see in what follows, setting forth the number and subjects of each book.

THE HISTORY OF NEW-ENGLAND, ESPECIALLY OF THE COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS, IN EIGHT BOOKS, FAITHFULLY COLLECTED BY DANIEL GOOKIN, ONE OF THE MAGISTRATES THEREOF.

BOOK I. Describeth the country of New-England in general: the extent thereof: the division of it into four colonies: the situation of the several harbours and islands: the nature of the land and soil: the commodities and product both of the earth and sea, before it was inhabited by the English nation: and divers other things relating thereunto: with a map of the country, to be placed at the end of this first book.

BOOK II. Treateth of the Indians, natives of the country: their customs, manners, and government, before the English settled there: also their present state in matters of religion and government; and in especial of the praying Indians, who have visibly received the gospel; mentioning the means and instruments that God hath used for their civilizing and conversion, and the success thereof through the

the blessing of God: the present state of these praying Indians: the number and situation of their towns, and their churches and people, both in the colony of Massachusetts, and elsewhere in the country: with divers other matters referring to that affair.

BOOK III. Setteth forth the first discovery, planting, and settling New England by the English: as the time when it was undertaken; the occasion inducing them to transplant themselves and families; the condition and quality of the first undertakers; especially those of Massachusetts colony; and the grounds and motives for their removal from their native country unto New England: with divers other matters concerning the same: and in the close of this book, a brief account of the author's life, and the reasons inducing him to remove himself and family into New England.

BOOK IV. Discourseth of the civil government of New England; particularly of the colony of Massachusetts, which is founded upon the royal charter of king Charles the first, of famous memory: with a recital of the chief heads of the said charter or patent: with the several gradations of the courts, both executive and legislative: together with a brief mention of the state of the confederacy between the united colonies of New England, viz. Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Plymouth, with the publick benefit and safety occurring to the whole country thereby.

BOOK V. Of the present condition and state of the country: as the number and names of the counties and towns: a conjecture of the number of people in the country: the military forces of horse and foot: their fortifications upon their principal harbours: their navigation and number of ships and other vessels: their money, and commodities raised in the country, for use at home, or commerce abroad: of foreign commodities most suitable for the country's use, to be imported: of their manufactures; with the opportunities and advantages to increase the same, which hitherto hath been obstructed, and the reason thereof: with some arguments to excite the people unto more intenseness and diligence in improving the manufacture of the country.

BOOK VI. Giveth an account of the worthies in New England, and especially the magistrates and ministers in all the colonies: their names, and the characters of some of the most eminent of them that are deceased: with the names of the governours of Massachusetts, from the beginning until this present, and the times of their death: and sundry other matters appertaining thereto.

BOOK VII. Mentioneth some of the most eminent and remarkable mercies, providences, and doings of God for this people in New England, from the first beginning of this plantation unto this day; wherein many wonderful salvations of the almighty and our most gracious God hath showed and extended towards them, which they should declare unto their children and children's children, that so the great name of Jehovah may be magnified and only exalted.

BOOK VIII. Declareth their religion and the order of their church government in New England: with a rehearsal of their faith and

platform of church discipline, drawn out of the word of God: with a vindication of this people from the unjust imputations of separatism, anabaptism, and other heterodoxes: also a brief mention of the college at Cambridge in New England: the present state thereof: the care and faithful endeavours used, that it may be upheld and encouraged for the education of learned and able men, to supply both orders of church and state in future times: also a brief commemoration of the names of the presidents and fellows, that have been of that society; with other learned men, dead and living, that have been graduates there from its first foundation.

You may here see my design, which I earnestly desired might have been drawn by a more able pen: and I have often earnestly moved able persons to undertake it: but not knowing of any, and being unwilling that a matter of so great concernment for the honour of God and the good of men, should be buried in oblivion, I have adventured in my old age, and in a plain style, to draw some rude delineaments of God's beautiful work in this land. I have, through grace, travelled half way in this work, as is said before: but in truth, I find myself clogged with so many avocations; as my publick employ among the English and Indians, and my own personal and family exercises, which by reason of my low estate in the world are the more obstructive and perplexing: so that I cannot proceed in this work so vigorously as I desire. Yet I shall endeavour, by God's assistance, if he please to spare me life and ability, to make what speedy progress I can. If this tract concerning the Indians find acceptance, I shall be the more encouraged to finish and send forth the other: which although it should prove very imperfect, by reason of the weakness and unworthiness of the author; yet I shall endeavour that it be drawn according to truth; and then, if it be of no other use, it may serve to inform my children, or possibly contribute some little help to a more able pen, to set forth the same thing, more exactly and exquisitely garnished, in after times.

THE END OF THE POSTCRIPT.

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A short

A short Account of DANIEL GOOKIN, *author of the Historical Collections of the Indians in New England.*

DANIEL GOOKIN, author of the Historical Collections of the Indians in New England, was born in the county of Kent. He came early to North America, and at first established himself in Virginia.

In the year 1644, he removed with his family to New England, and settled in Cambridge; "being drawn hither," according to Johnson, "by having his affections strongly set on the truths of Christ and his pure ordinances."

Soon after his arrival, he was appointed captain of the military company in Cambridge, "being a very forward man to advance martial discipline, as well as the truths of Christ." About the same time, he was chosen a member of the house of deputies.

In 1652, he was first elected assistant, or magistrate; and four years after, was appointed by the general court superintendent of all the Indians, who had submitted to the government of Massachusetts. He executed this office with such fidelity, that he appears to have been continued in it, except two or three years whilst he was in England, until his death.

In 1656, he visited Cromwell's court, and had an interview with the protector, who commissioned him to invite the people of Massachusetts to transport themselves to Jamaica, which had been then lately conquered from the Spaniards.

In 1662, he was appointed one of the licensers of the printing press at Cambridge; the Rev. Mr. Mitchell being the other.

About six months after the writing of his Historical Collections, the harmony which had so long subsisted between the people of New England and the Indians, was unhappily interrupted by the commencement of Philip's war. Some instances of perfidy in Indians, who had professed themselves friendly, excited suspicions and jealousies against all their tribes. The general court of Massachusetts passed several severe laws against them; and the Indians of Natick and other places, who had subjected themselves to the English government, were hurried down to Long Island in the harbour of Boston, where they remained all winter, and endured inexpressible hardships. Good Mr. Eliot had firmness enough to stem the popular current. But the only magistrate who opposed the people in their rage against the wretched natives, was our author; in consequence of which he exposed himself to the reproaches of the other magistrates, and to the insults of the populace, as he passed the streets. Gookin was too confirmed a patriot, to feel any resentment; nor did he wish to abridge the liberties of the people, because he had suffered the unmerited effects of their licentiousness.

Not many years elapsed, before he had an opportunity of recovering, by the fairest means, the confidence of his fellow citizens. Soon after Philip's war, which terminated in 1676, attempts were made to deprive Massachusetts of its privileges, which finally issued in the destruction of its charter. Our author was one of the firmest in resisting

ing these machinations. This drew on him the resentment of the infamous Randolph, who in February, 1681, exhibited to the lords of the council articles of high misdemeanour against him and others, styled by him a faction of the general court.

At this period there were two parties in the government, both of whom agreed in the importance of charter privileges, but differed in opinion respecting their extent, and the measures proper to preserve them. The governour, Mr. Bradstreet, was at the head of one party. Gookin was of the other party, which was headed by the deputy governour, Mr. Danforth. This party opposed sending agents to England, or submitting to acts of trade, which they apprehended to be an invasion of their rights, liberties, and properties, they being unrepresented in the parliament of England. In a word, they were for adhering to the charter, according to their construction of it, and submitting the event to providence. Gookin, being advanced in life, desired that a paper, containing the reasons of his opinion, which he drew up as his dying testimony, might be lodged with the court. We are sorry that it is not in our power to present this paper to the publick; but we have searched for it in vain.

He was now so popular, that the same year he was appointed major general of the colony, and continued in the magistracy till the dissolution of the charter in 1686.

He did not long survive the introduction of arbitrary government; but died in the year 1687,—a poor man. In a letter written by Mr. Eliot to Mr. Boyle, not long after his decease, he solicits that charitable gentleman to bestow ten pounds upon his widow.

The features of his honest mind are in some measure displayed in his book; but we will add for the information of those who wish to be more intimately acquainted with him, that he is characterized by the writers who mention his name, as a man of good understanding, rigid in his religious and political principles, but zealous and active, of inflexible integrity, and exemplary piety, disinterested and benevolent, a firm patriot, and, above all, uniformly friendly to the Indians, who lamented his death with unfeigned sorrow. These worthy qualities, we hope, will throw a veil upon his bigotry and prejudices, which are too apparent in some parts of his work. We would not presume to apologize for them entirely; but we think that they are in some measure extenuated by the opinions and habits, which generally prevailed among his contemporaries in Massachusetts.

He left several children; but we can give no account of any of them, except Daniel, the eldest, who was minister of Sherburne, and preacher to the Indians in Natick.

We cannot determine whether Gookin's History of New England, mentioned in the Postcript, was ever completed. If the whole or any part of it be preserved by his descendants, we hope that they will not suffer it to be lost to the world.

[Johnson's Wonder Working Providence, p. 109, 192. Mather's Magnalia, Book. I. p. 28. Book. II. p. 21. Book. vi. p. 61. Hutch. Hist. Vol. I. p. 136. 191. 192. 257. 296. 322. 331. 332. Hutch. Collect. of Papers. p. 526. Gookin's Hist. Collect. chap. vi. sect. 1. Appendix to Birch's Life of Boyle. p. 437. 444. 448. Records of the General Court.]

Since the last sheet was struck off, a member of the Historical Society has received a letter from the Hon. NATHANIEL FREEMAN, *Esq. of Sandwich. As it contains some valuable information, we take the liberty to publish a part of it, without waiting to receive the permission of the respectable writer; who, we hope, will have the goodness to pardon us, as well as to prosecute his inquiries into Indian names and traditions.*

Sandwich, Sept. 23d, 1792.

DEAR SIR,

FROM the best of my own recollection, and the little additional information I have obtained, I believe there are not more than two or three Indians, and those females, remaining in Sandwich.

In Barnstable, I know of not one, except it be in a part of Mashpee included in Barnstable limits for taxing. These, as they are not within the boundaries of the township, are included in the number for Mashpee.

In Falmouth proper, there may be, at a place called Cataumut, (the same which is noted in Holland's map) seven or eight; some of whom are mixed.

An Indian territory, called Herring Pond, in the neighbourhood of Sandwich, about five miles north west from this village, and so extending from thence along shore to Monument Ponds, all included within the township of Plymouth, I am told by Joseph Nye, Esq. one of their guardians, contains about a hundred and twenty souls, one half of whom are mixed. The Indian name of this territory I never could learn. They appear to have been considered as a distinct tribe, now known by the name of the Herring Pond Indians. Might not this place be Comassakumkanit ?*

The same Mr. Nye, who is guardian also to the Mashpee tribe, says that there are about two hundred and eighty souls in that place, of whom at least two thirds are mixed. I suppose the Indians have diminished since 1785; but the mixed race may be increased, as many negroes and molattoes from abroad have, since that period, settled there.

I know of none below Barnstable upon the Cape, except at Potanumaquut, a part of Harwich; and there, I believe, there may be six or seven souls only. The Rev. Mr. Damon thinks there is one in Truro.

Wakoquet, Weequakut, or Coquitt,† I think probably may be Wawquoit. The latter seems as like the sound to me as either. But as the first is associated with Satuit, Pawpoesit, Coatuit, and Mashpee, it is most likely to be that. Then the second may be what is now called Chequocket, or by some Shequocket, which is in the south west part of the east parish in Barnstable; where there is an inlet called Lewiss' harbour, not the same as Lewiss' bay, which is more easterly. Or if it better accommodate with the history, it may be a place and pond near Howland's ferry, Tiverton, Rhode Island, called Quaket, or Quaket Pond.

There

* *See Gookin's Hist. Collect. page* 198.

† *See Gookin's Hist. Collect. pag.* 197, 200.

There is a place in Mashpee, called Popponessit, or by some Indians pronounced Popponeeste. This, I think, may be Pawpoesit.

Weesquobs I know nothing of. Great Neck in Mashpee is a place famous for eels. The Indians, when they go in a canoe with a torch, to catch eels in the night, call it Weequash, or anglicised, *weequashing*. There were a great number of Indians formerly on this neck ; and it seems now the metropolis of Mashpee. Whether any supposed affinity between Weesquobs and Weequash will justify a conjecture, I cannot say.

Codtanmut may be Canaumut Neck in Mashpee. Kitteaumutt is most probably Cataumut in Holland's chart. Shumuit, which I suppose to be Ashimuit, is about equidistant from Cataumut on Buzzard's bay and Canaumut Neck, rather nearest the latter ; and so might be associated with either in Gookin's Historical Collections. But if you suppose Weesquobs to be Whakepee, a pond in Mashpee, then most like Codtanmut and Canaumut must be the same. If you should associate Cataumut, Shumuit, and Great Neck (for Weesquobs) together, there would then be Wawquoit between the two last, and so the other places not contiguous.

Wawayontat you say is undoubtedly Wareham. There are two rivers which pass through Wareham into the bay. That through town, is called Agawam ; and the Indians generally call Wareham by that name. The other, which is near the west end of the township, toward Rochester, is called Weantick. This may like enough be Wawayontat.

Falmouth still goes by the name of Sokonesset, and is undoubtedly the Sokones mentioned by Gookin.

There is a place on Buzzard's bay, on Sandwich side, called Pokesset ; but I have been told the Indians used to call it Poughkeeste. It is the second parish in Sandwich, about eight miles south west from my house,¶ but not more than two leagues across the bay to the mouth of Weantick river, and lies on a line between Wareham and Falmouth, adjoining northerly on Cataumut, which is rather in the edge of Falmouth than Sandwich, as you supposed. Can Pokesset be the same as Pispogutt ? There is a neck of land within Pokesset, called Pachawesit : This seems as dissimilar as the other. The place where Doctor Bourn's house stands, viz. about two miles up Manumit river, and near the Herring Pond, is called Pumspisset : and a neck of land in Wareham, next to Monument, or Manumit, and parted from it by a small gut, is called Cowesit. Take which you please, or neither, for Pispogutt. The syllable *pis* you have in one of them ; but I presume Pokesset was the most noted Indian place.

Besides these places, I recollect the following Indian names, which I spell as near the sound I have heard them as I can, as I have endeavoured to do in the others. I mention them and their situations, as they may possibly assist your discoveries.

Scusset,—the next village westerly from this.

Unset,

‡ *See Gookin's Hist. Collect. pag.* 199.

¶ *Near the meeting house of the first parish.*

Unset, or Onset, and Quansit,—two little bays, or shores, at the bottom of Buzzard's bay, within Wareham.
Cohasset,—the gut between Manumit and Cowesit.
Wenaumut,—a neck within Pokesset.
Mashne,—an island in Buzzard's bay.
Quisset,—an inlet in Falmouth north shore, Buzzard's bay.
Nobska,—near Woods' Hole,—a bluff shore or head.
Naashawn, Nashawinna, Cuttahunka, Pesk,—Elizabeth's Islands.
Menemsha,—a bite on the Vineyard shore.
Quashne, or Quashnet,—a river in Mashpee.
Skanton, or Scorton,—the lower end of Sandwich.
Muset,—a creek in Sandwich, off Spring Hill.
Skunkamug,—south side of the parish of Great Marshes.
Hockanum,—between Yarmouth and Nobscusset.
Nobscusset,—the east parish of Yarmouth.
Suet, or Sesuet,—a neck in Yarmouth.
Naamskeket,—the south side of Harwich.
Skeket, or Skaket,—the lower part of Harwich, next to Eastham.

The Amount of the whole of Warlike Stores in Massachusetts, April 14th, 1775.

FIRE Arms	21549
Pounds of Powder	17441
Ditto of Ball	22191
No. of Flints	144699
No. of Bayonets	10108
No. of Pouches	11979

The whole of the Town Stocks.

No. of Fire Arms	68
No. of bbls. of Powder	357½
Pounds of Ball	66781
No. of Flints	100531

A return was made from the several Towns in all the counties, except Duke's County and Nantucket.

There was little more than half a pound of powder to a man.

The following account of the Coast of Labrador was found among some papers of the late Sir FRANCIS BERNARD, *Governour of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, at the time it was written.*

LA Terre de Labrador, or the land for cultivation, if settled and improved by civilizing the natives, would afford a great fund for trade, especially that part of it called the Eskimeaux shore, between Cape Charles in the straits of Belle Isle, in lat. 51 : and Cape Chudley, in lat. 60 North, bounding East on the Atlantic ocean. There is but one noted writer of the French nation who mentions the Eskimeaux Indians : The derivation of Eskimeaux must depend entirely on him, as it is a French termination. What nation of Indians he intends by his descriptions of a pale red complexion, or where situated, it is not easy to conceive ; he surely don't mean those on the east main of Labrador, as it evidently will appear by the following observations that no foreigner had ever been among them, till Anno 1729 ; at least since Capt. Gibbons, in Anno 1614, who, had he seen any of the natives, it is probable, would have mentioned it ; and therefore I suppose the French writer must mean those who live on or between the lakes Atchoua, and Atchikou, who have been known to trade with the French in Canada, and perhaps at St. James' Bay factory.

The Eskimeaux coast is very easy of access early in the year, and not liable to the many difficulties, either on the coast of Newfoundland or Cape Breton.

This coast is very full of islands, many of them very large, capable of great improvements, as they have more or less fine harbours, abounding in fish and seals, water and land fowl, good land, covered with woods, in which are great numbers of fur beasts of the best kind.—Along the coast are many excellent harbours, very safe from storms ; in some are islands with sufficient depths of water for the largest ships to ride between, full of cod fish, and rivers with plenty of salmon, trout, and other fish. The climate and air is extremely wholesome ; being often refreshed with thunder and lightning, though not so frequently as to the southward of Belle Isle straits : fresh water is found every where on the coast and islands in great plenty.

What follows shall be a plain narration of facts, as I received them from several persons who have been on the Eskimeaux coast, with now and then a digression, which I hope may be pertinent.

Capt. Henry Atkins sailed from Boston in the ship called the Whale, on a voyage to Davis's straits, in 1729. On his return to Boston, he went on shore in several places southward of Davis's inlet, in lat. 56 ; but could not discover any where the least sign of any persons but the natives, having been there before him. In lat. 53 : 40 : or thereabouts, being hazy weather, he could not be very exact, he described twelve canoes with as many Indians, who had come from the main, bound to an island not far from his ship. The Indians came near and viewed his ship, and then paddled ashore to the island as fast as possible. Capt. Atkins followed them, and came to anchor that night, where he

lay till the next day in the afternoon. He went on shore with several of his men, with small arms, cutlasses, and some small articles, to trade with the Indians, who made signs to him to come round a point of land, but he chose to go ashore on a point of land that made one side of a fine harbour. The Indians stood a little distance from the point, and by their actions shewed signs of fear and amazement. He being resolved to speak with them, advanced toward them without any thing in his hands, the Indians took courage and suffered him to come near them, he shewed them a file, knife, and sundry other little articles, to exchange for fur, whalebone, &c.: they did not apprehend his design, which obliged him to send on board his ship for a slab of whalebone, on sight of which they made a strange noise; it being near sunset, they pointed to the sun going down, and then lay down with their faces to the ground, covering their eyes with their hands: In a few minutes they arose again, pointing to the sun, and then turned themselves to the east, by which Capt. Atkins understood they would come to him again the next morning. The Captain then went ashore, and carried with him some trifles he thought most agreeable to the Indians, who returned to the same place, and brought a quantity of whalebone, at least fourteen feet long, and gave him in exchange for about 10*s.* sterling value, as much bone as produced him £120 sterling at Boston.

The Indians were chiefly dressed in beaver clothing of the finest fur, and some in seal skins. He could not distinguish their sex by their dress, but one of his seamen, being desirous to know, approached one of them, who, opening her beaver, discovered her sex, which pleased the Indians greatly. Capt. Atkins ordered one of his men to strip himself, which caused the Indians to hollow as loud as possible; while they were thus engaged one of the Indians snatched up a cutlass, upon which they all run off; Capt. Atkins resolved not to lose it and followed them, and making signs, they halted. He applied to one of them, whom the others payed most respect to, and got it returned; he then fired one of his guns pointed to the ground, which terrified them extremely, which their hollowing plainly discovered. I am the more particular in this account from his own mouth, as I think it plainly indicates that the Indians on this coast and islands had never any trade or commerce with any civilized people from Europe or America; of course not with the French from Canada, or the Hudson's bay factories. The Indians signified to Capt. Atkins, that if he would go over to the main, he should have more whalebone, but he did not choose to trust them. He observed their beaver coats were made of many pieces sewed together, being the best patches in the skin, which shews plainly they set light by their beaver skins, and this undoubtedly for want of trade.

Capt. Atkins observed they were dexterous, and active in the management of their canoes or boats, which were made of bark and whalebone, strongly sewed together, covered with seal skin, payed over with a dark sort of gum. These Indians were well made, and strong, very fat and full of blood, owing to their living on raw whale fat, and drinking the blubber or oil. Their limbs well proportioned, their complexion

ion a dark red, their hair black, short, and straight, having no beard nor any hair but on their heads. Their behaviour very lively and cheerful; their language guttural and dissonant; their arms were bows and arrows, some of bone and some of wood; their arrows feathered and barbed; they sling their darts through a piece of ivory, made square and fastened to the palms of their hands. Capt. Atkins conceives them to be a very cunning, subtile people, who could easily apprehend his meaning, when he made signs to them, but took no notice of his speaking to them. As Capt. Atkins coasted that main, he found the country full of woods, alder, yew, birch, and witch-hazel, a light fine wood for shipbuilding; also fine large pines for ship masts, of a much finer grain than in New England, and of course, tougher and more durable, though of a slower growth; and no question but naval stores may be produced here. The two inlets called Fitch and Davis, it is not known how far they run up the country; Fitch's is a fair inlet, bold shore, and deep water, and great improvement might be made upon it, there being many low grounds, and good grass land: Capt. Atkins sailed up Davis's inlet, about 25 leagues. This coast is early very clear of ice, though at sea a good distance off there are vast islands of ice that come from Hudson's and Davis's straits, which are frequently carried as far as the banks of Newfoundland, by the strong current that sets out from those straits southward.

Capt. Atkins made his last voyage on this coast. Sailed the beginning of June, 1758, arrived at Mistaken Harbour, which he called so, having put in there July 1st, following, in a foggy day, and went northward, (with fine weather, very hot, with some thunder and lightning) to lat. 57, searching for the Indians to trade with. Saw two large canoes which run from him: Despairing of meeting any more there, he returned southward, and went on shore in lat. 56: 40: at the Grand Camp place, which he called so from great signs of Indian tents that had been fixed there; here he also saw two Indian men, one woman, and three children, who run from him; he pursued and took them and carried them on board his vessel, treated them kindly, and gave them some small presents, and then let them go. They were well pleased with Capt. Atkins: they called whalebone Shou-coe, a woman Aboc-chu, oil, Out-chot. When he sent his seamen to fetch one of their canoes that had drifted from the vessel's side, they said Touch-ma-noc.

I shall once for all take notice that the several harbours and places named by him, was from any thing remarkable he found in them, as Gull Sound and Harbour, from the prodigious number of gulls he saw there, also after the name of some of his particular friends.

The entrance of Hancock's inlet, in lat. 55: 50: a very fair inlet; very little tide sets in or out; from fifteen to twenty fathom water going in; five hundred sail of ships may ride conveniently in this harbour, secure from any weather. On the east side, the harbour is a natural quay or wharf, composed of large square stones, some of them of prodigious bulk. This quay is near three miles long; runs out into the harbour in some places sixty, in others two hundred feet broad; eight fathom

water

water at the head at high water; so that ships might lay at the quay afloat, and save their cables. The harbour abounds in cod fish very large, that a considerable number of ships might load there, without going outside, which may be cured on the shore and at the quay, except in very high tides; while some are employed in the cod fishery, others might be catching salmon, seals, &c. in the harbours so called. Capt. Atkins and his people waded in Salmon river in two feet water, and catched some salmon in their hands, as many as they had salt to cure, one of which measured four feet ten inches long. How far up this river reached, he could not tell, but believes a good way in land, (though shallow in some places), to be capable of breeding such vast shoals of salmon, salmon trout, and other small fish that passed by them while fishing there; also several acres of flats in Salmon river, filled with clams, muscles, and other shell fish, among many other conveniences necessary to a good harbour, and some falls of water suitable to erect saw mills, grist mills, &c.; all kinds of sea fowl are very plenty and easily taken; a good settlement might be made on Fort island in this harbour, easily secured from any attacks of Indians.

On Cape Cod there is a vast plenty of wood; some pines he saw there sufficient to make masts for ships of six or seven hundred tons, and he doubts not but a little way in land they are much larger, and witch hazel, and other woods fit for ship building; the soil in this harbour is capable of great improvements, there being rich low grounds. The woods abound in partridges, pheasants, and other game, as well as bears, deer, beavers, otters, black foxes, hares, minks, martins, sables, and other beasts of rich fur. The beavers are of the black kind, of the finest fur in this country; he took particular notice of some small birds of passage, among them some robins, well known to love a pleasant climate; and on the shore side great plenty of geese, ducks, teal, brants, curlews, plovers, and sand birds; and from all Capt. Atkins and his people could observe, they are all well persuaded that the winters at this harbour, (he now called Pownal harbour in Hancock's inlet), are not so uncomfortable as at Newfoundland and Louisbourgh, though so much further northward. In September 29th, 1758, he left this delightful inlet in fine weather, bound home to Boston, searching the coast and trading, put into Fortune bay, and left it October 16th; some sleet and rain and a little cold; had five days passage to St. Peter's bay in Newfoundland, where the weather had been so cold and tempestuous for fourteen days before, they could not catch fish, which Capt. Atkins might have done at Fortune bay the whole time.

I can hear of no vessel having wintered on that coast, except a snow which Capt. Prebble found at Fortune bay, when sent on that coast by Capt. Atkins in 1753. Capt. Prebble traded with the natives, about seventy men, women and children; got from them about 3000lb. of bone for a trifling value. Capt. Prebble carried with him a young Frenchman, in hopes that some Indians might be found who understood the French language, but they could not find one who took more notice of it than of English; a plain proof these people had never left their own

country

country to trade with the French; for it is very observable that the Indians who have been used to trade with the French, speak that tongue well. Capts. Atkins, Prebble, and others agree, that the current sets southward; in the several harbours they went into they found the tides flowed about seven feet.

The river St. Lawrence being now opened to us, a passage from Boston may be made early to the Eskimeaux coast, through the straits of Belle Isle. I might here add sundry observations made by Capt. Atkins and others, respecting the advantages that might accrue to the whalemen and others, on this coast; and of their conjectures of the richness of this country in mines and minerals; but I, at present, content myself with a bare relation of facts, sincerely wishing the foregoing observations might be of any advantage to future navigators.

Boston, Feb. 16th, 1761.

A Topographical Description *of the Town of* CONCORD, *August 20th,* 1792. *Presented by Mr.* William Jones, *student of Harvard College.*

Situation.] CONCORD in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, is situated 19 miles distant from the capital of the state, and bears W. about 33° N. and is in N. Latitude 42°, 25′, and in Longitude 3°, 46′, E. from Philadelphia. It lies not far from the centre of the county of Middlesex.

Extent and boundaries.] This town was originally six miles square. Afterwards it was increased by a grant from the General Court to nearly twelve miles. But since that time a considerable* part has been taken from it, and incorporated into other towns. So that at present, the town is not so large as at first; and the form of it is very irregular. It is now bounded on the N. and N. E. by Carlisle and Bedford; on the E. and S. E. by Lincoln; on the S. and S. W. by Sudbury; and on the W. by Acton.

Soil and productions.] The soil is various; consisting of rocky, sandy, and moist land; but it is in general fertile. This is an excellent township for grain and hay. Rye is raised here and Indian corn, sufficient not only to supply the inhabitants; but to afford considerable for market. The pasture land is not in proportion to the meadow land and other soil; but the principal farmers own pastures back in the country, where they fatten their beef, and pasture their young cattle. Hemp thrives here; and flax succeeds so well, that a gentleman a year or two since, raised a thousand weight from two acres of ground. All kinds of vegetables are produced here in abundance; and this town is remarkable for raising great quantities of onions; which is a proof

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* The most of Bedford, incorporated Sept. 23d, 1789. The whole of Acton, incorporated July 3d, 1735. The greater part of Lincoln, incorporated April 19th, 1754. And the chief of Carlisle, incorporated April 28th, 1780.

a proof of an excellent soil. Fruits of almost all sorts except apples, are scarce; of these considerable cider is annually made.

Hills and woods.] This town contains no hills of consequence except Nassinutt, in the north west part of the town, and a ridge which extends from the centre of the town along the east road about a mile, and on the north about half a mile; which, being very barren and sandy, renders the road beneath in dry weather very dusty; but in winter it secures the traveller, and the inhabitants on the road from the northern blast. There are also a number of gentle risings, which seem to have been designed by nature to variegate the scene and beautify the prospect. The town is tolerably well supplied with wood, consisting of pine, oak, walnut, birch, and maple; there are likewise many ash, elm, locust, and button trees.

Rivers.] Concord river running north, divides the town into two very nearly equal parts, leaving the meeting-house about half a mile on the south. It takes its rise in Hopkinton, on the south west part of the county of Middlesex, and runs through Framingham, where it receives a considerable addition from the ponds, and through Sudbury into Concord; whence it takes its course through Bedford and Billerica, and empties itself at Tewksbury into the Merrimac. This river is remarkable for the gentleness of its current, which by the eye is scarcely perceivable. At low water mark it is from a hundred to two hundred feet wide, and from three to twelve feet deep. The North river rises in Westborough and Grafton, and running through Marlborough, Stow, and Acton, discharges itself into Concord river, through its northern bank, about the centre of its progress through the town. Both rivers overflow their banks after any considerable rain; and in the spring of the year, when the snow melts, they cover the neighbouring meadows, which are very extensive. At such times, in many places, Concord river is near a mile in width; and when viewed from the town makes a fine appearance.

Ponds.] There are three considerable ponds in the town; one called Fairhaven pond, which lies about two miles south west of the meeting-house; another called Walden pond in the south east part of the town; and the other is called White pond, likewise in the southerly part of the town. Each of these ponds is about two miles in circumference. In the middle of the latter, may be seen, when the water is very low, a tree which appears as if it grew in the place where it now stands, although the roots are fifty feet below the surface of the water; the top of this tree is broken off; and, at that place measures fourteen inches in diameter. The water of this pond has a remarkable crystalline appearance, from which circumstance it takes its name. There is a mill pond in the middle of the town, which is about eighty rods long and thirty wide. It is in the form of an oblong square, lying north and south. The ends are wharfed with stone, and the pond is surrounded with handsome buildings.

Fish.] In the spring of the year shad and alewives are caught; and at

at all times the ponds and rivers are well supplied with perch, ruffs, pike, shiners, pouts, eels, suckers, and cheven.

MILLS AND MANUFACTORIES.] There are four grist mills, two fulling mills, and two pot and pearl ash works.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS.] Of these the principal are the Prison, the Court-house, and the Meeting-house. The Prison is one of the best in the state. It was built of stone in the year 1789. It is sixty five feet in length, thirty two in breadth, three stories high, and contains eighteen apartments, one of which is the dungeon. The ground floors are nearly eight feet thick of stone and lime. On the front of the building there is a stone stair case, with two flights of steps, which communicate with the second story. There is a brook which runs under the building and cleanses it. The roof is slated, and has a pyramid upon it, with a Venetian window. The Meeting-house is pleasantly situated on the east side of the mill pond. It is large, and was repaired in an elegant manner last year. The steeple is handsome, and from the balcony there is a very fine prospect. The town below, the rivers meandering through the meadows, and the distant hills rising one above another, form a landscape not easily painted.

ROADS AND BRIDGES.] Most of the roads from the upper part of the county of Middlesex to Boston, lead through Concord, and are generally in good repair. A little to the north of the centre of the town, a few rods below the confluence of the two rivers, was lately erected a very handsome bridge, after the manner of Charles river bridge ; being two hundred and eight feet long, and eighteen wide, supported by twelve piers. Said bridge was built at the expense of a few individuals, for the use of the publick. A few rods below this bridge stands the famous north bridge, about a hundred feet long, where the Americans first engaged the British troops, several of whom lie buried upon the banks of the river. There are three other bridges in the town nearly of the same dimensions with the north bridge, which being painted, and ornamented with rails, posts, and balls, make a handsome appearance.

EMPLOYMENTS AND INSTITUTIONS.] The greatest proportion of the inhabitants of this town are farmers, especially on the exterior parts of it. But in the centre there are a number of professional men and traders, who transact considerable business ; there are but few towns in the country where every mechanical branch of business is carried on with greater skill or industry. There is a pretty library belonging to a company, the books of which were raised by subscription. An association is established called the Social Club, who meet once a week at each other's houses. This club is founded upon principles, and governed by rules, that are admirably promotive of the social affections and useful improvements. Upon the whole, this town is in a very prosperous situation. The people are very industrious, enterprising, hospitable and patriotick.

CLIMATE AND POPULATION.] The town, being surrounded with hills, appears, as you approach it, to lie low, from which circumstance, together with the rivers, and the vast tracts of meadow grounds, which

which lie upon the rivers, persons* unacquainted with the town, might be led to imagine that it is an unhealthy place; but facts however prove the contrary. Those diseases, which are peculiar to low marshy soils, are seldom or never known here. The town contains 1590 inhabitants, 75 of whom are seventy years of age and upwards. Since the year 1738 there have been 2456 persons †baptized. On an average for thirteen years past, about 17 persons have died annually, making 222 in the whole number; 97 of whom were 70 years of age and upwards, as will appear by the adjoining bill of mortality. There are in the town 225 dwelling houses, 60 of which are within half a mile of the meeting-house.

A bill of Mortality and a list of Baptisms, for thirteen years, taken from the minutes of the Rev. EZRA RIPLEY.

		70 yrs. & up.	80 & up.	90 & up.	Baptis.
A.D. 1779	Whole number died were 12, of whom	5	1	0	34
1780	10	0	0	0	30
1781	15	6	4	3	34
1782	18	9	4	1	28
1783	24	3	1	0	28
1784	17	5	3	2	43
1785	18	2	0	0	31
1786	18	4	2	1	41
1787	12	1	1	0	20
1788	19	6	3	0	26
1789	16	5	5	1	20
1790	26	7	3	0	21
1791	17	6	3	0	39
Whole number	222	59	30	8	395
		38	8		
		97	38		

HISTORY.] Sometime in the year 1635, Musquetequid was purchased of the natives, and called Concord, on account of the peaceable manner in which it was obtained, as appears by the testimony of two settlers, William Buttrick and Richard Rice, and two Indians, Jehojakin

* There are two grave yards in the town, which are very full of grave stones, from which circumstance travellers are led to consider the climate in an unfavourable point of view; but it might be remembered, that before the incorporation of the several towns of Bedford, Acton, Lincoln, and Carlisle, all the dead within those districts were buried within these two grave yards.

† Reckoning those which were born in these parts of the town that have since been incorporated with other towns.

It is judged that about three fourths of the children born in the town are baptised.

kin and Jethro.* They unitedly testify and say, "That they were present at the making of the bargain for the town of Concord. That at the house of the Rev. Peter Bulkely, Mr. Simeon Willard, Mr. John Jones, Mr. Spencer, and others, did purchase of Squaw Sachem, Tahattawau and Nimrod, a tract of land six miles square, the centre being the place (or near) where the bargain was made. That said Willard and others did pay for said land in wampam peague, hatchets, hoes, knives, cotton cloth, and chintz, to the said Indians. And that Wappacowet, husband to squaw Sachem, received a suit of cotton cloth, a hat, a white linen band, shoes, stockings, and a great coat, on account of said bargain. That in the conclusion, the Indians declared they were satisfied, and that the English were welcome.

The town was incorporated Sept. 3, 1635, and was the first settlement, at so great a distance from the sea-shore, in New England. The settlers never had any contest with the Indians, nor were there ever by them but three persons killed within the limits of the town. It is supposed, "That the cause of their quietness was owing in a great measure, to the full satisfaction that they received at the time of purchase." The General Court have repeatedly set in this town, as did the Provincial Congress in the year 1774; and of late years, three fifths of the courts of justice in the county have done the same.

A large quantity of provisions and military stores, being deposited here, induced General Gage, who commanded the British troops at Boston, on the memorable 19th of April, 1775, to send a detachment to destroy them. Who, after they had thrown a considerable quantity of flour and ammunition into the millpond, knocked off the trunnions, and burnt the carriages of several field pieces, and committed other outrages, were opposed at the North bridge by the militia of this and the neighbouring towns; and after a short engagement, in which several on both sides were slain, they were forced to retreat with great precipitation.

While the troops were in town, they fired the court house, in the garret of which there was a great quantity of powder. This fire, by the intercession of one Mrs. Moulton, a woman of above eighty years of age, the troops extinguished; otherwise, the houses adjoining, would have been destroyed by the explosion of the powder. Indeed, in every part of the conduct of the inhabitants, there appeared to be a surprising presence of mind, which protected them from the insults of the soldiery, and, in a great measure, defeated the design of the expedition. A tavern keeper, whose house they came to plunder, declared in a spirited manner, that they should not take the least article without paying for it. A gentleman who is now in town, and had at that time the superintendance of a considerable quantity of the public stores, preserved the same by an innocent evasion, which few in his situation would have

* These depositions are recorded in the town books of Concord, instead of the first records which were burnt.

A number of these facts were taken from the Rev. Mr. Ripley's sermon, preached at the dedication of the meeting-house, in January last.

have dared to attempt. When the troops came to his door, he appeared to be very complaisant, invited them in, told them he was glad to see them, asked them to sit and eat some bread and cheese, and drink some cider, which they did. After this, they went out doors, and were about to break open his corn house. He called to them to stop, and not to trouble themselves to split the door; if they would wait a minute, he would fetch the keys, and open it himself, which he did. There being a large quantity of flour in the corn house, belonging to the public, he says, "Gentlemen, I am a miller, I improve those mills yonder, by which I get my living, and every gill of this flour," at the same time putting his hand upon a bag of flour, that was really his own, "I raised and manufactured on my own farm, and it is all my own; this is my store house, I keep my flour here, until such a time as I can make a market for it." Upon this, the commanding officer says, "Well, I believe you are a pretty honest old chap, you don't look as if you could do any body much hurt, and we won't meddle with you."—Then he ordered his men to march. By this, and several other such instances of policy and resolution, but few of the public stores were destroyed.

NEW ENGLAND'S FIRST FRUITS, *in respect to the progress of learning, in the Colledge at Cambridge in Massachusetts-bay; with divers other speciall matters concerning that countrey; published in London, in the year* 1643, *by the instant request of sundry friends, who desire to be satisfied in these points, by many New-England men who are here present, and were eye or care-witnesses of the same.*

1. AFTER God had carried us safe to New England, and wee had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our liveli-hood, rear'd convenient places for God's worship, and settled the civill government: One of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate ministery to the churches, when our present ministers shall lie in the dust. And as wee were thinking and consulting how to effect this great work; it pleased God to stir up the heart of one Mr. Harvard (a godly gentleman, and a lover of learning, there living amongst us) to give the one half of his estate (it being in all about 1700l.) towards the erecting of a Colledge, and all his Library: After him another gave 300l. others after them cast in more, and the publique hand of the State added the rest: The Colledge was, by common consent, appointed to be at Cambridge, (a place very pleasant and accommodate) and is called (according to the name of the first founder) Harvard Colledge.

The edifice is very faire and comely within and without, having in it a spacious hall; where they daily meet at Commons, Lectures, and Exercises; and a large library with some bookes to it, the gifts of diverse of our friends, their chambers and studies also fitted for, and possessed by the students, and all other roomes of office necessary and convenient, with

with all needfull offices thereto belonging: And by the side of the Colledge a faire Grammar Schoole, for the training up of young schollars, and fitting of them for Academical learning, that still as they are judged ripe, they may be received into the Colledge of this schoole: Master Corlet is the Mr. who hath very well approved himself for his abilities, dexterity, and painfulnesse in teaching and education of the youths under him.

Over the Colledge is Master Dunster placed as President, a learned conscionable and industrious man, who hath so trained up his pupills in the tongues and arts, and so seasoned them with the principles of divinity and christianity, that we have to our great comfort (and in truth) beyond our hopes, beheld their progresse in learning and godlinesse also: The former of these hath appeared in their publique declamations in *Latine* and *Greeke*, and disputations Logicall and Philosophicall, which they have been wonted (besides their ordinary exercises in the Colledge-Hall) in the audience of the magistrates, ministers, and other schollars, for the probation of their growth in learning, upon set dayes, constantly once every moneth to make and uphold: The latter hath been manifested in sundry of them by the savoury breathings of their spirits in their godly conversation. Insomuch that we are confident, if these early blossomes may be cherished and warmed with the influence of the friends of learning and lovers of this pious worke, they will by the help of God, come to happy maturity in a short time.

Over the Colledge, are twelve Overseers chosen by the General Court, six of them are of the magistrates, the other six of the ministers, who are to promote the best good of it and (having a power of influence into all persons in it) are to see that every one be diligent and proficient in his proper place.

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2. *Rules and Precepts that are observed in the Colledge.*

1. WHEN any schollar is able to understand Tully, or such like classicall Latine author extempore, and make and speake true Latine in verse and prose, *suo ut aiunt Marte*; and decline perfectly the paradigim's of nounes and verbes in the Greek tongue: Let him then and not before be capable of admission into the Colledge.

2. Let every student be plainly instructed, and earnestly pressed to consider well, the maine end of his life and studies is, *to know God and Jesus Christ which is eternall life*, Joh. xvii. 3. and therefore to lay Christ in the bottome, as the only foundation of all sound knowledge and learning.

And seeing the Lord only giveth wisedome, let every one seriously set himselfe by prayer in secret to seeke it of him. Prov. ii. 3.

3. Every one shall so exercise himselfe in reading the scriptures twice a day, that he shall be ready to give such an account of his proficiency therein, both in theoreticall observations of the language, and logick, and in practicall and spiritual truths, as his Tutor shall require, according to his ability; seeing *the entrance of the word giveth light, it giveth understanding to the simple.* Psalm. cxix. 130.

4. That

4. That they eschewing all profanation of God's name, attributes, word, ordinances, and times of worship, doe studie with good conscience, carefully to retaine God, and the love of his truth in their mindes, else let them know, that (notwithstanding their learning) God may give them up to strong delusions, and in the end to a reprobate minde. 2 Thes. ii. 11, 12. Rom. i. 28.

5. That they studiously redeeme the time; observe the generall hours appointed for all the students, and the speciall houres for their own *classis*; And then diligently attend the lectures, without any disturbance by word or gesture. And if in any thing they doubt, they shall enquire as of their fellowes, so, (in case of non satisfaction) modestly of their Tutors.

6. None shall under any pretence whatsoever, frequent the company and society of such men as lead an unfit, and dissolute life.

Nor shall any without his Tutors leave, or (in his absence) the call of parents or guardians, goe abroad to other townes.

7. Every schollar shall be present in his Tutor's chamber at the 7th houre in the morning, immediately after the sound of the bell, at his opening the scripture and prayer, so also at the 5th houre at night, and then give account of his own private reading, as aforesaid in particular the third, and constantly attend lectures in the hall at the houres appointed. But if any (without necessary impediment) shall absent himself from prayer or lectures, he shall be lyable to admonition, if he offend above once a weeke.

8. If any schollar shall be found to transgresse any of the lawes of God or the schoole, after twice admonition, he shall be lyable, if not adultus to correction, if adultus, his name shall be given up to the Overseers of the Colledge, that he may bee admonished at the public monethly act.

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3. *The times and order of their Studies, unlesse experience shall shew cause to alter.*

THE second and third day of the weeke, read Lectures, as followeth.

To the first yeare at 8th of the clock in the morning, Logick, the first three quarters, Physicks the last quarter.

To the second yeare, at the 9th houre, Ethicks and Politicks at convenient distances of time.

To the third year, at the 10th, Arithmetick and Geometry, the three first quarters, Astronomy the last.

Afternoone.

The first yeare disputes at the second houre.

The 2d yeare at the 3d houre.

The 3d year at the 4th, every one in his art.

The 4th day reads Greeke.

To the first year, the Etymologie and Syntax at the eighth houre.

To the 2d at the 9th houre, Prosodia and Dialects.

Afternoone.

The first yeare at 2d houre, practice the precepts of Grammar, in such authors as have variety of words.

The

The 2d yeare at 3d houre practice in Poesy, Nonnus, Duport, or the like.

The 3d yeare perfect their Theory before noon, and exercise Style, Composition, Imitation, Epitome, both in prose and verse, afternoone.

The fifth day reads Hebrew, and the Easterne tongues.

Grammar to the first yeare houre the 8th.

To the 2d Chaldee, at the 9th houre.

To the 3d Syriack at the 10th houre.

Afternoone.

The first yeare practice in the bible at the 2d houre.

The 2d in Ezra and Danel at the 3d houre.

The 3d at the 4th houre in Trestius New Testament.

The 6th day reads Rhetorick to all at the 8th houre.

Declamations at the 9th. So ordered that every scholler may declaime once a moneth. The rest of the day vacat Rhetoricis studiis.

The 7th day reads Divinity Catecheticall at the 8th houre, common places at the 9th houre.

Afternoone.

The first houre reads history in the winter.

The nature of plants in the summer.

The summe of every lecture shall be examined, before the new lecture be read.

Every schollar, that on proofe is found able to read the originals of the Old and New Testament into the Latine tongue, and to resolve them logically; withall being of godly life and conversation; and at any publick act hath the approbation of the Overseers and Master of the Colledge, is fit to be dignified with his first degree.

Every schollar that giveth up in writing a System, or Synopsis, or summe of Logick, naturall and morall Philosophy, Arithmetick, Geometry, and Astronomy: And is ready to defend his Theses or positions: Withall skilled in the Originalls as abovesaid: And of godly life and conversation: And so approved by the Overseers and Master of the Colledge, at any publique act, is fit to be dignified with his 2d degree.

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4. *The manner of the late Commencement, expressed in a letter sent over from the Governour, and divers of the Ministers, their own words these.*

THE students of the first classis that have beene these foure yeeres trained up in University learning (for their ripening in the knowledge of the tongues, and arts) and are approved for their manners, as they have kept their publick Acts in former yeares, ourselves being present at them; so have they lately kept two solemn Acts for their Commencement, when the Governour, Magistrates, and the Ministers from all parts, with all sorts of schollars, and others in great numbers were present, and did heare their exercises; which were Latine and Greeke Orations, and Declamations, and Hebrew Analasis, Grammaticall, Logicall and Rhetoricall of the Psalms: And their answers and disputations in Logicall, Ethicall, Physicall and Metaphysicall questions; and

and so were found worthy of the first degree, (commonly called Batchelour) pro more Academiarum in Anglia: Being first presented by the President to the Magistrates and Ministers, and by him, upon their approbation, solemnly admitted unto the same degree, and a booke of arts delivered into each of their hands, and power given them to read Lectures in the hall upon any of the arts, when they shall be thereunto called, and a liberty of studying in the library.

All things in the Colledge are at present, like to proceed even as wee can wish, may it but please the Lord to goe on with his blessing in Christ, and stir up the hearts of his faithfull, and able servants in our owne native country, and here (as he hath graciously begun) to advance this Honourable and most hopeful worke. The beginnings whereof and progresse hitherto (generally) doe fill our hearts with comfort, and raise them up to much more expectation, of the Lord's goodnesse for us hereafter, for the good of posterity, and the churches of Christ Jesus.

Your very loving friends, &c.

Boston in New-England, Sept. the 26, 1642.

THUS farre hath the good hand of God favoured our beginnings: See whether he hath not engaged us to wait still upon his goodnesse for the future by such further remarkable passages of his providence to our plantation in such things as these:

1. In sweeping away great multitudes of the natives by the small-pox, a little before we went thither, that he might make room for us there.

2. In giving such mervellous safe passage from first to last, to so many thousands that went thither, the like hath hardly been ever observed in any sea voyages.

3. In blessing us generally with health and strength, as much as ever (we might truly say) more then ever in our native land; many that were tender and sickly here, are stronger and heartier there. That whereas diverse other plantations have been the graves of their inhabitants and their numbers much decreased: God has so prospered the climate to us, that our bodies are hailer, and children there born stronger, whereby our numbers is exceedingly increased.

4. In giving us such peace and freedome from enemies, when almost all the world is on a fire that (excepting that short trouble with the Pequits) we never heard of any sound of warres to this day. And in that warre which we made against them God's hand from heaven was so manifested, that a very few of our men, in a short time, pursued through the wildernesse, slew and took prisoners about 1400 of them, even all they could find, to the great terrour and amazement of all the Indians to this day; So that the name of the Pequits (as of *Amaleck*) is blotted out from under heaven, there being not one that is, or (at least) dare call himself a Pequit.

5. In subduing those erronius opinions carryed over from hence by some of the passengers, which for a time infested our churches peace, but

but (through the goodness of God) by conference preaching, a generall assembly of learned men, magistrates timely care, and lastly, by God's own hand from heaven, in most remarkable stroaks upon some of the chief fomenters of them : the matter came to such an happie conclusion, that most of the seduced came humbly and confessed their errours in our publique assemblies and abide to this day constant in the truth ; the rest (that remained obstinate) finding no fit market there to vent their wares, departed from us to an iland farre off ; some of whom also since that time have repented and returned to us, and are received again into our bosomes. And from that time not any unsound, unsavourie and giddie fancie have dared to lift up his head, or abide the light amongst us.

6. In settling and bringing civil matters to such a maturity in a short time amongst us, having planted 50 towns and villages, built 30. or 40. churches, and more ministers houses, a castle, a colledge, prisons, forts, cartwaies, causies many, and all these upon our owne charges, no publique hand reaching out any helpe : Having comfortable houses, gardens, orchards, grounds fenced, corne fields, &c. and such a forme and face of a Commonwealth appearing in all the plantation, that strangers from other parts, seeing how much is done in so few years, have wondered at God's blessing on our endeavours.

7. In giving such plenty of all manner of food in a wildernesse, insomuch that all kinds of flesh, amongst the rest store of venison in its season. Fish both from sea and fresh water. Fowle of all kinds wild and tame ; store of white meate, together with all sorts of English graine, aswell as Indian, are plentifull amongst us ; as also rootes, herbs, and fruit, which being better digested by the sun, are farre more faire, pleasant and wholsome than here.

8. In prospering hempe and flaxe so well, that its frequently sowen, spun, and woven into linnen-cloth ; (and in a short time may serve for cordage) and so with cotton-wooll, (which we may have at very reasonable rates from the ilands) and our linnen yarne, we can make dimittees and fustions for our summer clothing. And having a matter of a 1000. sheep, which prosper well, to begin withall, in a competent time we hope to have woollen cloath there made. And great and small cattel, being now very frequently killed for food ; their skins will afford us leather for boots and shoes, and other uses : So that God is leading us by the hand into a way of clothing.

9. In affording us many materialls, (which in part already are, and will in time further be improved) for staple commodities, to supply all other defects : As

1. Furres, bever, otter, &c.

2. Clapboord, hoops, pipestaves, masts.

3. English wheat and other graine for Spaine and West Indies ; and all other provisions for victualling of Shippes.

4. Fish, as cod, haddock, herrings, Mackerill, basse, sturgeon, seales, whales, sea-horse.

5. Oyle of sundry sorts, of whale, sea-horse, &c.

6. Pitch.

6. Pitch and tarre, rosen and turpentine, having pines, spruce, and pitch-trees in our countrey to make these on.

7. Hempe and flaxe.

8. Mineralls discovered and proved, as of iron in sundry places, black-lead (many other in hopes) for the improving of which, we are now about to carry over servants and instruments with us.

9. (Besides many boats, shallops, hoyes, lighters, pinnaces) we are in a way of building shippes, of an 100. 200. 300. 400. tunne, five of them are all ready at sea; many more in hand at this present, we being much encouraged herein, by reason of the plenty and excellencie of our timber for that purpose, and seeing all the materialls will be had there in short time.

10. In giving of such magistrates as are all of them godly men and members of our churches, who countenance those that be good and punish evil doers, that a vile person dares not lift up his head; nor need a godly man to hang it down, that (to God's praise be it spoken) one may live there from yeare to yeare, and not see a drunkard, heare an oath, or meet a begger. Now where sinne is punished, and judgement executed, God is wont to blesse that place, and protect it, Psal. c. 30. Jer. v. 1. Jos. vii. 25. with 8. i. e. contra, Esa. xx. 21.

11. In storing that place with very many of his own people, and diverse of them eminent for godlinesse. Now where his people are, there is his presence, and promise to be in the middest of them, a mighty God to save, and to joy over them with singing, Zeph. iii. 17.

12. Above all our other blessings, in planting his own name, and precious ordinances among us; (we speake it humbly, and in his feare) our endeavour is to have all his own institutions, and no more than his own, and all those in their native simplicity, without having any humane dressings; having a liberty to enjoy all that God commands, and yet urged to nothing more then he commands. Now wheresoever he records his name, thither he will come and blesse, Ex. xx. 24.

Which promise he hath already performed to very many soules, in their effectual conversion to Christ, and the edification of others in their holy faith, who daily blesse God that ever he carried them into those parts.

All which blessings named we looke upon as an earnest-penny of more to come. If we seeke his face, and serve his Providence, wee have no cause to doubt, that he, for his part, will faile to make seasonable supplies unto us.

1. By some meanes to carry on to their perfection our staple trades begun.

2. By additions of ammunition and powder.

3. By maintenance of schooles of learning, especially the Colledge, as also additions of building to it, and furnishing the library.

4. By stirring up some well-minded to cloath and transport over poore children boyes and girles, which may be a great mercy to their bodies and soules, and a help to us, they being super-abundant here, and we wanting hands to carry on our trades, manufacture, and husbandry there.

5. By

5. By stirring up some to shew mercy to the *Indians*, in affording maintenance to some of our godly active young schollars, there to make it there worke to studie their language, converse with them, and carry light amongst them, that so the gospell might be spread into those darke parts of the world.

Ob. But all your own cost and ours also will be lost, because there can be no subsistence there for any long time. For,

1. Your ground is barren.

Answ. 1. If you should see our goodly corne-fields neere harvest, you would answer this your selfe. Secondly, how could it be thin, that we should have *English* wheat at 4. s. *per* bushell, and *Indian* at 2. 8. and this not only for ready money, but in way of exchange. Thirdly, that in a wildernesse in so few yeares, we should have corne enough for our selves and our friends that come over, and much to spare.

2. *Obj.* Your ground will not continue above 3. or 4 yeares to beare corne.

Answ. Our ground hath been sowne and planted with corne these 7. 10. 12. yeares already by our selves, and (which is more than can be said here of *English* land) never yet summer tild: but have borne corne, every yeare since we first went, and the same ground planted as long by the *Indians* before, and yet have good crops upon it still; and is like to continue as ever: But this is, (as many other slanders against that good land) against all sense, reason, and experience.

3. *Obj.* But you have no money there.

Answ. It's true we have not much, though some there is, but wee have those staple commodities named; they will (still as they are improved) fetch money from other parts. Ships, fish, iron, pipestaves, corn, bever, oyle, &c. will help us with money and other things also.

2. Little money is raised in coyne in *England*, how then comes it to abound, but by this meane?

3. We can trade amongst our selves by way of exchange, one commodity for another, and so doe usually.

4. *Obj.* You are like to want clothes hereafter.

Answ. 1. Linnen fustians, dimettees we are making already. Secondly, sheepe are comming on for woollen cloath. Thirdly, in meane time we may be supplied by way of trade to other parts. 4th. cordevant, deere, seale; and moose skins (which are beasts as big as oxen, and their skins are buffe) are there to be had plentifully, which will help this way, especially for servants' cloathing.

5. *Obj.* Your winters are cold.

Answ. True, at sometimes when the wind blowes strong at *Nor-West*: but it holds not long together, and then it useth to be very moderate for a good space. First, the coldnesse being not naturall (that place being 42 degrees) but accidentall. Secondly, the cold there is no impediment to health, but very wholsome for our bodies, insomuch that all sorts generally, weake and strong had scarce ever such measure of health in all their lives as there. Thirdly, its not a moist and foggie cold, as in *Holland*, and some parts of *England*, but bright, cleare, and faire weather,

er, that men are seldome troubled in winter with coughes and Rheumes. Fourthly, it hinders not our imployment, for people are able to worke or travell usually all the winter long, so there is no losse of time, simply in respect of the cold. Fifthly good fires (wood being so plentifull) will make amends.

6. *Ob.* Many are growne weaker in their estates since they went over.

Answ. Are not diverse in *London* broken in their estates? and many in *England* are grown poore and thousands goe a begging (yet wee never saw a beggar there) and will any taxe the city or kingdome, and say they are unsubsistable places?

Secondly, their estates now lie in houses, lands, horses, cattel, corne, &c. though they have not so much money as they had here, and so cannot make appearance of their wealth to those in *England*, yet they have it still, so that their estates are not lost, but changed.

3. Some mens estates may be weaker through great and vast common charges, which the first planters especially have bin at in makeing the place subsistable and comfortable, which now others reape the fruit of; unknowne summes lye burried underground in such a worke as that is.

4. Some may be poore, (so we are sure) many are rich, that carried nothing at all that now have house, land, corne, cattel, &c. and such as carry something are much encreased.

7. *Ob.* Many speake evill of the place.

Ans. Did not some doe so of the land of *Canaan* it selfe, yet *Canaan* was never the worse, and themselves smarted for so doing. Secondly, some have been punished there for their delinquencies, or restrained from their exorbitances; or discountenanced for their ill opinions and not suffered to vent their stuffe; and hence, being displeased, take revenge by slanderous report. Thirdly, let such, if any such there be, as have ought to alleadge, deale fairely and above board, and come and justifie any thing against the country to our faces, while we are here to answer, but such never yet appeared in any of our presnce to avouch any thing in this kinde, nor (we beleive) dare do it without blushing.

8. *Ob.* Why doe many come away from thence?

Answ. Doe not many remove from one country to another, and yet none likes the country the lesse because some depart from it? Secondly, few that we know of intend to abide here, but doe come on some speciall busines, and purpose to return. Thirdly, of them that are come hither to stay, (on our knowledge) some of the wisest repent them already, and wish themselves there again. Fourthly, as some went thither upon sudden undigested grounds, and saw not God leading them in their way, but were carried by an unstayed spirit so have they returned upon as sleight headlesse unworthy reasons as they went. Fifthly, others must have elbow-roome, and cannot abide to be so pinioned with the strict government in the *Common-wealth*, or discipline in the Church, now why should such live there; as *Ireland* will not brooke venemous beasts, so will not that land vile persons, and loose livers. Sixthly, though some few have removed from them, yet (we may truly say) thousands as wise as themselves would not change their place for any other in the world.

A Topographical Description *of* Georgetown *in the County of Lincoln.*

THE river Kenebeck brings the waters from the highlands, which divide the dominions of the United States from the kingdom of Great Britain; and pours them into the ocean through the town of Georgetown.

That town was incorporated in the year 1616. There were at that time, no incorporated towns within the limits of Massachusetts, on the eastern side of New Hampshire, excepting York, Wells, Kittery, North Yarmouth, Scarborough, and Berwick. Georgetown is consequently the oldest corporation in the county of Lincoln, no other town was incorporated within what is now that county, until the year 1753. The settlements in that part of the country, were retarded by the frequent hostilities of the savages. There was an easy communication for the natives, with Canada, from the head of the Kenebeck. The Norridgewalks, who inhabited the head of that river, were but eighty miles from the Penobscot tribe, and the forces of both tribes united, were much superior to all the forces which could be raised by the white people, in the Province of Maine, and Sagadahoc, prior to the year 1740.

Georgetown now contains thirteen hundred inhabitants; and lying on both sides of the Kenebeck, is bounded, southerly by the ocean, westerly by the towns of Harpswell, and Brunswick, northwesterly by Bath, northerly and easterly by Woolwich. It is entirely surrounded by navigable waters, excepting about two miles of land, which divides the waters of Winnagance Creek, (a part of the Kenebeck) from an arm, or influx of Casco-Bay, called Stephen's River.

The entrance at the mouth of Kenebeck river, is guided, on the east by an island within Georgetown, called Parker's Island. This island contains about twenty-eight thousand acres of land and marsh, and is inhabited by more than one third part of the people of the town.

Upon this island, the Europeans who first colonised to New England, made their landing. Virginia was planted in the year 1606; and has therefore assumed the dignified title of, *the Ancient Dominions;* but the Colony of Parker's Island, which has since been called Sagadahoc, was but one year behind her. In the year 1607, George Popham, Rawleigh Gilbert, Edmund Harlow, Edmund Davis, and about one hundred other adventurers, in form of a Colony, landed and took possession of Parker's Island. De Monts, a Frenchman, under a grant of Henry the fourth of France, had been in the river about four years before that time. Had the leaders of this little Colony survived the severity of the winter next after their landing, Plymouth might have been deprived of the honour of being the mother of New England.

There are but a very few, who are formed for leaders, in the business of a new, and dangerous enterprise; and there is but a very small part indeed, of the human race, who can furnish their own resources, and depend upon themselves in the difficulties incident to the

the conquest, or defence of countries. Julius Cæsar, and a few others, will constitute the exception. George Popham, the brother of an English Baronet, was the President, and leader, of this band of adventurers. He was no doubt, a man equal to the undertaking, and expected the support of his brother, and other powerful men, who, according to the rage for colonising which then prevailed, had associated for that purpose.

Unfortunately for this little number of emigrants, their leader died in the winter next after they had landed. Many of their friends were taken away in England at the same period. The spirits of adventurers are at once depressed upon the defect, or death of their leaders; but yet there is a natural pride in the human heart, which urges mankind to ascribe the cause of a retreat to something besides their own weakness, or cowardice. The death of Mr. Popham might have been a sufficient cause for these people giving over their enterprise, and taking leave of Georgetown, but they ascribed it to a prevailing sickness, occasioned by the severity of the winter.

There was a tradition amongst the Norridgewalk Indians, that these planters invited a number of the natives, who had come to trade with them, to draw a small cannon by a rope, and that when they were arranged on a line in this process, the white people discharged the piece, and thereby killed and wounded several of them. The ideas which the Europeans conceived from the grant of the Pope to the Portuguese in the fourteenth century, of all the heathen nations, might cause them to consider a murder of this kind, very differently, from what it would appear to a moralizing eye, viewing it through the sentiments of philanthropy, which are now supposed to flow from the Christian religion. The story is, that the resentment of the natives, consequent to this treacherous murder, obliged the Europeans to re-embark the next summer.

Parker's Island is formed by the waters of the Kenebeck on the west, by the sea on the south, by the waters called Jeremysquam-Bay on the east, and by a small straight of waters which divides it from Arrowsick Island on the north.

The settlements were not re-commenced on the river, until near forty years after the dereliction of Georgetown by Popham's party. The island is now called Parker's Island, because it was purchased of the natives in the year 1650, by one John Parker, who was the first occupant after the year 1608. The occupancy has continued under his title, from that day to this, excepting the intervals occasioned by the Indian wars; and some of Parker's posterity are now proprietors of a part of the island, and live upon it.

On the northern side of this island is another called Arrowsick. On this nearly one third of the inhabitants of Georgetown are found: they have there, a meeting house built by the town; in which a regularly settled minister officiates. The island is bounded southerly by the waters between that and Parker's Island, on the west, by the waters of the Kennebeck; on the north, by navigable waters which divide

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it from Woolwich; on the east by the waters of Jeremysquam-Bay, which divide it from a large island in Woolwich, called Jeremysquam: from these waters there is a strong tide round the north end of Arrowsick, communicating with Kenebeck, and upon which, vessels, rafts, &c. are borne to the Sheepscut river, which is easier of access for large ships than Kenebeck is. Arrowsick Island contains about twenty thousand acres of land, including a large quantity of salt marsh.

In the year 1661, Major Clark and Captain Lake purchased this island of the natives. There was at that time, a fort on the west side of the island, on the east bank of the Kenebeck, nine miles from the sea, at a place now called Stinson's Point; one Hammond an ancient trader lived there, and probably erected the fort to prevent a surprise from the natives, with whom he traded. We do not find that he ever purchased, or claimed any land at that place. There is now found at Toccoonneck Falls about sixty miles up the river, an old cellar. The Norridgewalk tribe of Indians, used to have a tradition, that a house was erected where that cellar is found, by the white people who lived on Stinson's Point, for a place of trade with the Indians, and that upon a certain time, when the Indians were intoxicated, the white people stole their arms, and their furs; in resentment of which, the natives surprised, and took Hammond's Fort on a Sunday morning, whilst the people were at their devotions. If the story of the theft is true, the Indians could have but a poor opinion of the religious exercises of the men who committed it.

Governor Hutchinson in his history, supposes the fort of Hammond to have been on the west side of Kenebeck river; and says that the savages passed over the river from the capture of Hammond's house, to the fort of Clark and Lake, upon the island of Arrowsick; but the fact was, that both forts were upon that island, and that the Indians having not alarmed Clark and Lake's garrison by their attack upon Hammond's, and finding a great proportion of the people belonging to that, in the one they had taken, they proceeded immediately and surprised that also. This fort was two miles, or perhaps more, distant from Hammond's; and stood near where the meeting house now stands: The remains of it was buried by the ploughshare in or near the year 1756, when the forts were built by government further up the river. Captain Lake in attempting to flee from his garrison over the river, to a place where the late James McCobb, Esq. lived, was wounded mortally by the fire of the savages, and his bones being afterwards found, were, as it is said, brought to Boston and interred.

About the year 1700, the descendants of Mr. Clark, built a large brick house on the island, two stories high. This building was on the bank of the river, a small distance southerly from where the fort was built by their ancestor. The bricks were made at Medford, but were so very illy made, that the house was not durable. Two flankarts for holding small cannon ornamented and guarded the ends of the house. Those were taken down in the year 1769; and the house has been prostrated since the year 1775; but was not inhabitable for several years before that date. One John Penhallow, who married a descendant

scendant of Mr. Clark, lived in the house in the year 1720; and some of the lands which belonged to that estate continued in the family until the year 1772.

There is another island near the mouth of the Kenebeck, and within the limits of Georgetown, containing about six acres of land, lately improved for a fishery. This small island is not included in any deed of purchase from the natives, nor is there any particular title to it. The cellar of a house still exists there: And the remains of an ancient brick chimney have been very plain within thirty years last past. This house must have been erected at a very early period, and the bricks for the chimney must have been brought from Europe; but there is no conjecture by whom, or when the house was built. There have been fruit trees near the cellar, within the memory of people who were alive twenty years ago.

Before the forts were built at Tocconneck Falls, the Norridgewalk Indians, who lived towards the head of the river, about twenty miles from Fort Halifax, went down to Arrowsick, and killed one Mr. Preble, who was planting corn, and then proceeded to his house, killed his wife and carried away his son about five years old, and his two daughters who were older. Nine or ten years after, when the Province of Quebec had been ceded to the British Crown, their grandfather, on their mother's side, (one Captain Hamden) went to Canada and obtained their freedom; and brought them back. The son has told the writer of this account, that the Indians on their way from the Norridgewalk country, to Canada, where they went to obtain the bounty bid by the French Government for prisoners, suffered exceedingly for food; but that they always shared their morsels with their tender prisoners, and frequently carried even the girls in their arms, or on their backs, when they were fatigued. Perhaps this might be in some degree owing to the humane provision of the French Government, in bidding a greater bounty upon captives, than upon scalps. The young man also said, that he and his sisters suffered more in being separated from the savage society, to which they had been so long habituated, than they did in their original captivity; he said he attempted several times to escape from his grandfather, to return to the Indians. Mankind have naturally such a strong disinclination to exertion, and labour, that the idle life of a savage may be very soon rendered agreeable.

The residue of Georgetown lies on the west side of the Kenebeck; and is bounded northerly by the town of Bath; on the line between those towns, is a water, coming on the flood from Kenebeck, and returning on the ebb, called Winnagance Creek; from the head of which, westerly, to an arm of the Casco-Bay, called Stephen's River, is less than two miles. From this creek to the mouth of the Kenebeck is about ten miles, the land on this side the river has no general name, but that of Small Point. Across this point, over westerly, we come to the waters of Casco-Bay; Small Point being the easterly boundary of those waters. This neck of land is found on the west by these waters, and bounds westerly on the line of the county of Cumberland, being the towns

towns of Harpswell and Brunswick. This tract is of various widths; being in some places four miles wide, and in others less than two; and contains nearly as many inhabitants as the island of Arrowsick.

The waters which surround the town of Georgetown, produce a variety of fish, such as sturgeon, salmon, shad, bass, and alewives. And the contiguity of the sea gives every advantage of the cod-fishery.

The land of Georgetown, on this side of the river, is held under a grant from the savages, to the same John Parker, who purchased Parker's Island: But the title has been long merged in an ancient possession; and we hear but little of it at this day. On this place, and directly opposite to where the brick house was afterwards erected, on the Arrowsick Island was a block-house, to which Mr. Clark attempted to fly from the Indians, as was before mentioned: But there is no tradition of the time when, or the persons by whom it was built. The land round there for a great distance has since been owned by James McCobb, Esq. who came to the country in the year 1734, and died in 1789.

The soil of Georgetown is not good for Indian corn; rye yields an uncertain crop there; and wheat is too generally blasted to be depended upon; barley does very well, and potatoes are produced in great abundance there. The lands are very good for grazing. The sheep are well clothed with wool, and the mutton is of a remarkable good flavour. The butter made on the islands is exceeding fine, and produced in greater quantities than can be expended by the inhabitants.

Notwithstanding the supposed severity of their winters, the people on the Kenebeck live full as well as the inhabitants in the western parts of the State. Apple trees do not flourish in Georgetown; but whether this is owing to the depreciation of the seed, or to an alteration lately had in the climate, must be left to experience to decide. On the land where the late Major Denny lived, and near where the garrison of Clark and Lake was, there were some large and fruitful apple trees, so lately as the year 1770. The oldest people there, did not remember them before they were in bearing; and it was generally believed that they were planted by Clark and Lake about the year 1670. Nearly as late as 1770 there were large old apple trees, on Stinson's Point, where Hammond's fort was. From all inquiries it is probable, that they were planted there as long ago as when that fort was erected. Young orchards have been planted lately, near by, but have not succeeded. This has been the case along the eastern shores generally, and perhaps the same observation may be made in the ancient settlements in every part of New England. Should there be a quantity of apple seeds imported and sowed in the various parts of the country, the rising generation may derive a benefit from it, which is but little contemplated at this time.

We draw great pleasure from recollecting the incidents which attended the first planting of that, which is now the most happy country in the world; while the imagination roves with exquisite delight, over the places where the foot of civilization made its first impression, the mind is wrapt in astonishment at the hardships, the difficulties, and the dangers

dangers, which were encountered, and manfully overcome by the first adventurers to New England.

The settlers on Parker's Island in the year 1607, had no reason to expect to meet a winter full of unceasing and boisterous winds, which brought lasting mountains of snow upon them. The inhabitants they had forsaken, were further to the northward than the Kenebeck, but they had nevertheless been strangers to durable mountains of snow, and to unrelenting ice. Their return in 1608, full of complaints, very probably gave the northern part of the continent a description, and raised an opinion concerning it, which made Oliver Cromwell, many years after, advise the people of Massachusetts, to quit their Colony, and take possession of Jamaica.

The following Account of the first settlement of BOSTON, *was written in the year* 1784, *by the late Dr.* SAMUEL MATHER.

TEN years after the settlement of *Plymouth* Colony, under Governour *Carver*, in 1620, the Colony of the Massachusetts was begun to be settled by the arrival of Governour *Winthrop* and company at *Salem*, who landed there on June 12th, 1630.

It was in the year preceding, that the Charter of the King, confirming the *Patent* of the *Massachusetts Colony*, was obtained before by a fair purchase, was procured from the petition of the *Massachusetts* Company: And, in this year, it was agreed to transfer the government to *New England* itself.

The *Massachusetts Company* accordingly in the following year, with their prudent and faithful Governour at their head sailed for *New England*, and they arrived here at the place and at the time abovementioned.

But as *Salem* was not judged by them to be a meet place for their capital; so one or two places more were, upon examination, found to be inconvenient, and hence disapproved by them: Whereupon, in the year 1630, they came to *Charles Town*; and here they landed themselves and the goods, which they brought with them.

And as the town had its inhabitants soon multiplied; so the Church in it was soon increased by the addition of one hundred and fifty-one members: And hence they thought it proper and advisable to make a peaceable separation, and to collect themselves into two Churches.

The major part of them were inclined to a removal from *Charles Town* to the place that is now called *Boston*; which is a commodious and beautiful *Peninsula*, about two miles in length and one in breadth; and which appeared, at the time of high water, in the form of two pleasant islands: And so they plucked up stakes, and came over to this place to fix themselves here.

As the *Indians* had long before given the name of *Shawmut* to this place; it was then also generally called by this name; but the people, who resided at *Charles Town*, from their view and observation of *three hills*, that appeared in a range to them, saw fit to call it first by the name of *Trimountain*.

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Rev. Mr. DAMON's Letter.

Extract of a letter from the Rev. Mr. Damon *of Truro, dated October 2d,* 1792.

THERE are two places in this town called by their Indian names. One is Tashmuit; the other, Squawbay Neck. The former scarcely retains its Indian name, except in giving deeds of land, included in it, or that adjoin it.

There is one family of Indians* in the town. It consists of four or five persons; one male; the others are females. It is said that they are mixed. They live on what is called † Pamet Point, near Welfleet.

* *Truro formerly contained a large number of Indians.*

† *This is the Indian name of Truro. A small stream which rises within a few yards of the ocean, and empties itself into Barnstable bay, is called Pamet River.*

An Historical Account of the Settlement of Brookfield, in the county of Worcester, and its distresses during the Indian wars.

Extracted from a discourse delivered on the last day of the year 1775, *by the Rev.* Nathan Fiske, *D. D. Pastor of the third church in that town; and corrected by the author.*

PREFACE.

AS this town is of ancient date, and, compared with most of the towns in this county, even with the shire-town itself, is like an elder matron amidst a group of youngerly females; and as it has been famous for Indian inhabitants, Indian wars, and Indian barbarities, I have for a considerable time felt a strong inclination and desire to search into its history—to find out its origin—the difficulties and hardships of its first English inhabitants—its gradual increase, and progressive improvements. In short, I wished to be acquainted with whatever was curious, entertaining, or instructive in the circumstances of the town, and the transactions or sufferings of its early settlers. With this view I have searched all the histories of the country I could meet with—inquired for manuscripts that might have preserved a circumstantial account of some occurrences which the printed histories are wholly silent about, or give but a general sketch of. I have consulted many of the descendants of the first settlers, and those that have been most acquainted with the affairs of the town. I have perused records, &c. But the result of my inquiries does not wholly satisfy my curiosity or answer my wish. No intelligence is to be obtained concerning some things

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☞ *Doctor* Mather's *account of the first settlement of Boston, which was continued from our last sheet has been mislaid; and as another copy cannot be obtained, we are obliged to leave it incomplete.*

things that have happened ; and many circumstances relative to divers events that might have been entertaining at this day, have not been handed down by tradition. Our ancestors were under great disadvantages as to making extensive observations, or keeping exact records, or preserving them for the perusal of posterity. However, I have gleaned a few things relative to the settling and subsequent improvements of this town, which may serve as a clue to trace the conduct of divine Providence—to point out many instances of the divine goodness—to lead our minds to some religious reflections—to excite gratitude in our hearts for the wonderful works which God hath done for us and our fathers—to encourage our hope and trust in the same power and goodness to protect and bless us and our posterity—and to engage us to *keep his commandments*.

I cannot find exactly at how early a period the first English settlements began in this town, nor who the persons were that began them. A tribe of Indians were the original inhabitants ; nor did they move off, before, or at the coming of the white people ; but both English and Indians lived together in friendship for some time.

These Indians were commonly called Quaboag Indians. Governor Hutchinson in his history says, the Nipnet or Nipmuck Indians ambushed the party that went to treat with them at Meminimisset. I suppose it was in conjunction with the Indians of Quaboag. For these, partaking in the uneasiness and commotion that Philip was endeavouring to excite among all the tribes through the country, and growing somewhat shy of their English neighbours, and taking offence at some damages they had sustained from their cattle, they quitted their lands here just before the war broke out, and went up to Meminimisset, and assisted in the ambuscade, and in burning Brookfield. After which they returned no more, unless for mischief ; but scattered among other Indians till they were no more distinguished or known. From a similarity in divers words in their language, it is probable they intermixed with the Stockbridge Indians.

It is certain there were English inhabitants here many years before there were any between this place and Marlborough on the east, Connecticut river on the west, and Canada on the north.

In the year 1660, i. e. forty years after the first settlement of Plymouth, several of the inhabitants of Ipswich petitioned the Great and General Court for a grant of land in these parts. The Court granted them six miles square, or so much land as should be contained in such a compass, near Quaboag pond, upon certain conditions, " provided they have twenty families there resident within three years, and that they have an able minister settled there within the said term, such as this court shall approve ; and that they make due provision in some way or other for the future, either by setting apart of lands, or what else shall be thought mete for the continuance of the ministry among them." I insert this, principally as a specimen of the pious principles that actuated our ancestors, and the care which the legislative body took that

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new settlements should have the gospel and the administration of the ordinances among them, as early, as statedly, and as regularly as possible. And no doubt it is owing to this care, under Providence, that the country flourished so greatly both in spirituals and temporals: For it hath been often observed that no people was ever the poorer, but on the contrary flourished the faster, for maintaining the gospel ministry among them. And it is undoubtedly owing to the wise and pious provision of our laws and civil establishment, obliging parishes to settle and support evangelical and learned ministers, that the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut and New Hampshire, are so much better instructed in the things of religion, and are so much more remarkable for the strict observation of the Sabbath, and for good morals, than those of most of the other colonies.

This was the legal origin of the town. These men, that they might have a *just* and *equitable*, as well as a *legal* right to the land, purchased it of the natives, who claimed and possessed it, and it was conveyed to them by deed.* It is somewhat probable there were small beginnings made here by the English before this grant. But this is not material. It is certain that from small and early beginnings, the settlement increased, even under the disadvantages and discouragements of that day, so that upon application made to the General Court in the year 1673, the inhabitants were incorporated into a township by the name of Brookfield.† And in the year 1675, when the town was burnt, they had at least twenty families, a meeting house, and preaching, though no settled minister.

The circumstances of its desolation I shall relate chiefly in the words of the late Governor Hutchinson, in his history of the Massachusetts Bay. "The Nipnet, or Nipmuck Indians, had killed four or five people at Mendon in the Massachusetts colony the 14th of July, 1675. The Governor and Council, in hopes of reclaiming the Nipnets, sent Capt. Hutchinson with 20 horsemen to Quaboag (Brookfield) near which place there was to be a great rendezvous of those Indians. The inhabitants of Brookfield had been deluded with the promise of a treaty at a place agreed upon the 2d of August. Some of the principal of them accompanied Captain Hutchinson thither. Not finding the Indians there, they rode forward about four or five miles towards the Nipnet's chief town, and came to a place called Miminimisset, a narrow passage between a steep hill and a thick swamp, at the head of Wickaboug pond. Some of the company, when they found the Indians were not come according to agreement, suspected treachery and advised immediately to return. Others putting too much confidence in their fidelity, urged to proceed, which they accordingly did, till they were ambushed by two or 300 Indians, who shot down eight of the company, and mortally wounded three more. Capt. Hutchinson being one of the number. The

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* See the Appendix for the deed at large.

† The act of incorporation bears date October 15, 1673.

The rest escaped through a by-path to Quoboag. The Indians flocked into the town; but the inhabitants being alarmed, had all gathered together in the principal house. They had the mortification to see all their dwelling-houses, about twenty, with all their barns and out-houses burnt. The house where they had assembled was then surrounded, and a variety of attempts were made to set fire to it. At length the Indians filled a cart with hemp and other combustible matter, which they kindled; and whilst they were thrusting it towards the house, a violent shower of rain fell suddenly and extinguished the fire. [This is according to Mr. Hubbard. Mr. Mather takes no notice of the rain, but says Willard came upon the Indians and prevented the execution." This latter account is nearest the truth.] "August 4th, Major Willard, who had been sent after some other Indians westward, heard of the distress of Brookfield, when he was about four or five miles from Lancaster, which caused him to alter his course; and the same night he reached Brookfield, after 30 miles march. And though the Indian scouts discovered him and fired their alarm guns, yet the main body, from their high joy, always accompanied with a horrid noise, heard them not. Willard joined the besieged, and the Indians immediately poured in all the shot they could, but without execution, and then quitted the siege, and destroyed all the horses and cattle they could find, and then withdrew to their dens. They were not pursued, being much superior in number.

Three of the men who were killed in the ambushment belonged to Brookfield, viz. Capt. John Ayres, John Coye, and Joseph Pritchard. When the Indians pursued the party into the town, they set fire to all the buildings, except a few in the neighbourhood of the house in which the inhabitants had taken shelter. They endeavoured to intercept five or six men that had gone to a neighbouring house to secure some things there; but they all got safe to the place of refuge, except a young man, Samuel Pritchard, who was stopped short by a fatal bullet. The house in which they were besieged was unfortified, except by a few logs hastily tumbled up on the outside after the alarm, and by a few feather beds hung up on the inside. And though the siege continued several days, in which time innumerable balls entered the house, only one man, Henry Young, who was in the chamber, was killed. The Indians shot many fire arrows to burn the house; but without effect. On one night the besieged were surprised by a sudden light without doors, and soon perceived that the Indians had placed a quantity of combustibles by the side of the house and set them on fire. Though the people were obliged to go out and draw water to extinguish the flames, and were all the while exposed as marks to the enemy's bullets, yet they saved the house without any one's being hurt. During the siege one man was wounded, as he was drawing water. A board fence hid him from the Indians; but one of them seeing the well-pole drawing down, took aim at the place where he thought the man must stand, and struck him just on the chin. The man affrighted, bawl'd out that he was kill'd. The Indian, knowing

knowing his voice, shouted and said, "Me kill Major Wilson." When the troop that relieved Brookfield got into the town, which was late at night, they were joined by great numbers of cattle, that had collected together in their fright at the conflagration of the buildings, and the firing and war-hoops of the Indians; and for protection, these poor animals followed the troop till they arrived at the besieged house. The Indians deceived hereby, and thinking there was a much larger number of horsemen than there really was, immediately set fire to the barn belonging to the besieged house, and to Joseph Pritchard's house and barn and the meeting-house, which were the only buildings left unburnt, and went off. A garrison was maintained at this house till winter, when the court ordered the people away, soon after which the Indians came and burnt this house also.

I cannot conclude without saying something concerning Major Willard, the celebrated deliverer of the people here. His conduct in altering his course and coming to the relief of Brookfield, being dictated by humanity and executed with bravery and success, has gained him the applause of people in general. But as it was beside his orders, he was censured by the court and cashiered, which disgusted his friends and broke his heart. And though the punishment may seem too rigorous, yet it ought to be remembered, that if commanders of parties, sent upon particular expeditions, may take liberty to vary from their express orders, nothing effectual could be accomplished, and only confusion, disappointment, loss, and in many cases ruin would be likely to ensue.

Several years did the town lie desolate and in ruins; the buildings in ashes—the farms uncultivated, and the inhabitants scattered abroad; but peace being settled with the Indians, some of the dispersed, after a while, returned to the place of their former habitation, and, in conjunction with others, gradually resettled the town. But it being still in the midst of a wilderness, and always exposed to the bloodthirsty savages, whenever they should take it into their heads to molest the English, its increase and improvements were slow.

Another thing which contributed to retard the improvement of their lands and the advancement of their estates for some years afterwards, was the peculiar habit of living which the inhabitants had contracted in the Indian wars, and in time of peace; as the woods abounded with deer, game, &c. the inhabitants, like their predecessors the Indians, depended much on what they caught in hunting, and spent considerable of their time in that employment.

I cannot find out the exact time when the town began to be peopled a second time. So long ago as the year 1692 there were inhabitants enough to think it necessary to petition the General Court for a committee to assist in laying out the lands and settling the township. The following is the answer. "At a Great and General Court or Assembly convened, held, and kept at Boston, on Wednesday, the 8th of June, 1692. Upon reading a petition from the inhabitants of Brookfield, alias

alias Quaboag, praying that a committee may be appointed as formerly, to direct and regulate the settlement of said plantation and the affairs thereof, ordered, that a committee be appointed," &c.

Signed, WILLIAM PHIPS.

For the information of those who may wish to know, I would say something concerning the constitution of this town. Though the inhabitants were incorporated and the town named by the court as early as the year 1673, yet they were not allowed the powers and authorities of a town till the year 1718: But the court appointed and continued a committee consisting of gentlemen belonging to other places, to direct, regulate, and ratify all affairs relative to settling and building up the town. So that without said committee the inhabitants could not take up for themselves, or grant to others, any lands. And it was by the direction and assistance of said committee, that monies were granted, a meeting-house built, a minister chosen, &c.—To encourage the settling of the town, especially in the time of the Indian wars, lands were granted to divers persons upon condition they would possess and improve them for a certain number of years. The first grant of any lands I find on record is to Joseph Woolcot, and bears date February 24th, 1687.

In the war which is commonly denominated Queen Anne's war, which broke out not long after the second settlement of the town, and continued several years, Brookfield, as well as many other towns, was greatly harassed and annoyed; the Indians frequently making sudden inroads, killing and scalping, or captivating one and another of the inhabitants—women and children fleeing like frighted birds to the fortified houses; nor had they always time to escape. During this war twelve or thirteen men were killed, six at one time. Two women also, and four or five children, fell a sacrifice to Indian barbarity: Several men and one woman were taken prisoners, and three men were wounded.

I cannot obtain information enough to enable me to point out the exact order of time, or the day, month, or year, in which some of the skirmishes and slaughters happened in this town. The first mischief was in the latter end of July, or beginning of August, 1692. A party of Indians came into the town and broke up two or three families. Joseph Woolcot being at work a little distance from his house, his wife, being fearful, took her children and went out to him. When they returned to the house at noon, they found the Indians had been there, for his gun and several other things were missing. And looking out at a window, he saw an Indian at some distance coming towards the house. He immediately sent out his wife and his two little daughters to hide themselves in the bushes; and he taking his little son under his arm and his broad ax in his hand, went out with his dog in sight of the Indian. The dog being large and fierce, attacked the Indian so furiously, that he was obliged to discharge his gun at the dog to rid himself of him: immediately upon which Woolcot sat down the child and pursued

sued the Indian till he heard the bullet roll down his gun (the Indian charging as he ran) he then turned back, snatched up his child and made his escape through the swamps to a fort. His wife being greatly terrified, discovered by her shrieks where she was; and the Indian soon found and dispatched both her and her children. Others of the party about the same time came into the house of one Mason, while the family were at dinner. They killed Mason and one or two children, and took his wife and an infant which they had wounded, and carried them off. They also took two brothers, Thomas and Daniel Lawrence: they soon dispatched Thomas, pretending he had misinformed them about the number of men that were in the town. John Lawrence, their brother, rode with all haste to Springfield for assistance. A company under the command of Captain Coulton came with the greatest speed and pursued the Indians. They found Mrs. Mason's child, which the savages had knocked on the head and thrown away in the bushes; and continuing their pursuit, they came upon the Indians' encampment, which was surrounded by a sort of brush hedge, which they deridingly called "Englishmen's fort." The party waited till break of day, and then came so near as to put their guns through this brush and fire upon the Indians, fourteen or fifteen of whom were killed; the rest fled with such precipitation as to leave several of their arms, blankets, powder-horns, &c. and their prisoners, Daniel Lawrence and Mrs. Mason, whom our men conducted back. This same John Lawrence, who rode express and procured the company that rescued the abovementioned prisoners, was afterwards going in company with one Samuel Owen in search of a man that was missing: the Indians came upon them, killed Lawrence, but Owen escaped—Mary Mc Intosh was fired upon and killed as she was milking her cows. Robert Grainger and John Clary were passing along the road on a certain day; and being fired upon by the savages, Grainger was killed on the spot; Clary attempted to escape, but had not fled far before he also was shot down. At another time Thomas Battis of Brookfield riding express to Hadley, was killed in the wilderness, at a place now called Belcher-Town. Early one morning John Woolcot, a lad about twelve or fourteen years old, was riding in search of the cows, when the Indians fired at him, killed his horse under him and took him prisoner. The people at Jennings' garrison, hearing the firing and concluding the people of another garrison were beset, six men set out for their assistance, but were way-laid by the Indians. The English saw not their danger till they saw there was no escaping it. And therefore, knowing that an Indian could not look an Englishman in the face and take a right aim, they stood their ground, presenting their pieces, wherever they saw an Indian, without discharging them, excepting Abijah Bartlet, who turned to flee and was shot dead. The Indians kept firing at the rest and wounded three of them, Joseph Jennings in two places: one ball grazed the top of his head, by which he was struck blind for a moment: another ball passed through his shoulder, wounding his collar

collar bone; yet by neither did he fall, nor was mortally wounded. Benjamin Jennings was wounded in the leg, and John Green in the wrist. They were preserved at last by the following stratagem. A large dog hearing the firing came to our men; one of whom, to encourage his brethren and intimidate the Indians, called out "Captain Williams is come to our assistance, for here is his dog." The Indians seeing the dog, and knowing Williams to be a famous warrior immediately fled, and our men escaped. John Woolcot, the lad abovementioned, was carried to Canada, where he remained six or seven years, during which time, by conversing wholly with Indians, he not only entirely lost his native language, but became so naturalized to the savages, as to be unwilling for a while to return to his native country. Some years afterwards, viz. in March, 1728, in a time of peace, he and another man having been hunting, and coming down Connecticut river with a freight of skins and fur, they were hailed by some Indians; but not being willing to go to them, they steered for another shore. The Indians landed at a little distance from them; several shots were exchanged, at length Woolcot was killed.

The last mischief which was done by the savages in Brookfield was about the 20th of July, 1710. Six men, viz. Ebenezer Hayard, John White, Stephen and Benjamin Jennings, John Grosvenor, and Joseph Kellog were making hay in the meadows, when the Indians, who had been watching an opportunity to surprize them, sprung suddenly upon them, dispatched five of them, and took the other, (John White) prisoner. White spying a small company of our people at some distance, jump'd from the Indian that held him, and ran to join his friends; but the Indian fired after him and wounded him in the thigh, by which he fell; but soon recovering and running again, he was again fired at and received his death wound.

Though there were several Indian wars afterwards, in which other towns were visited by the enemy, and distressed more or less, and Brookfield often alarmed and put in fear, yet it was not invaded, nor was any person in it either killed, wounded, or captivated. The inhabitants were interrupted and retarded in their business, especially in their husbandry, but never attacked. In the year 1723, Rutland was invaded by the savages, who killed, among others, the Rev. Mr. Willard: but still Brookfield escaped.

Amidst such difficulties and discouragements, no wonder the increase and improvements of this town were so slow and gradual. It was in the year 1716, i. e. forty years after the burning of the town, before the inhabitants erected another meeting-house, and 1718, before they were invested with the powers and privileges of a town, having then scarcely fifty families.* They hired preachers at different times, but did

* To his Excellency Samuel Shute, Esq. Captain General and Governor in chief in and over his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in

did not proceed to settle a minister till several years after the troubles, on account of the Indian wars, had subsided. They invited Mr. Thomas Cheney, who had been preaching to them a considerable time, to take the charge of their souls; and he was ordained the third Wednesday in October, 1717. He lived in harmony with his people, and ministered both to their acceptance and spiritual advantage more than thirty years. He obtained the character of a good man and a faithful pastor, and died December 11, 1747, aged fifty-seven years, leaving no issue.

The people remained destitute of a settled minister almost two years, and on the 13th of September, 1749, (having previously observed a day of fasting and prayer, as they had done before, previous to the ordination of Mr. Cheney, to ask direction of Heaven) Mr. Elisha Harding was solemnly separated to the work of the ministry in this town. In his day was the town divided. For so fast did it fill with inhabitants, that soon after the settlement of Mr. Harding, a considerable number of families incorporated and formed the second precinct.* They gathered a church, observed a day of prayer, and gave an invitation to Mr. Eli Forbes, who took the oversight of them by solemn ordination, June 3, 1752. The Rev. Mr. Harding continued the minister of the other part of the town till the people fell into unhappy disputes and difficulties about erecting a new meeting-house. The contention was so sharp, and the opposite parties so uncomplying, that they parted asunder, erected two meeting-houses, and incorporated into two distinct parishes.

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in New-England; the honourable Council and House of Representatives, convened in General Court the 28th of May, 1718. We undernamed the committee for Brookfield, after many disappointments by war and otherwise, which for a long time the people have laboured under, by the good providence of God are now so increased that they are now near fifty families in this place, have near finished a very convenient meeting-house, have settled a church and ordained an orthodox and learned minister; we humbly propose that they be made a township, to order all the affairs of a township according to the directions of the law, by themselves, and said committee be released, which we submit to the court's determination; and for your excellency and honours shall ever pray.

Samuel Patridge, } *Committee*
Samuel Porter, } *for*
Luke Hitchcock, } *Brookfield.*

The prayer of this petition was granted and Brookfield invested with all the powers, privileges and authorities of a town, Nov. 12, 1718. The year following the inhabitants, not satisfied with their limits, which contained only six miles square, presented another petition, which was granted, and the township containing eight miles square, was invested with all the powers, privileges and authorities of a town, Dec. 3, 1719.

* The incorporating act is dated March 29, 1750.

es.‡ These things proved such a discouragement to Mr. Harding, that he requested a dismission, which was granted by the church and confirmed by an ecclesiastical council mutually chosen, May 8, 1755. He was a gentleman of great benevolence; and his public administrations were serious, and calculated to edify and benefit his hearers.

That part which still retained the denomination of the first church and precinct obtained the consent of Mr. Joseph Parsons to administer the word and ordinances statedly among them, which he was regularly authorised to do by an ordaining council, November 23, 1757. He continued in the ministry upwards of thirteen years, though bodily infirmities increased upon him to that degree as to disable him from carrying on the work for about three years before his death. He was released from his pains and received to his reward, January 17, 1771, in the fourteenth year of his ministry, and thirty-eighth of his age. He was a gentleman of sprightly powers, an accurate reasoner, and a sensible preacher—In his life a promoter of peace and order, and an example of the christian virtues—In his sickness, a pattern of patience and resignation—and in his death, strong in faith and full of hope.

The bereaved flock did not long continue destitute of the stated administration of the ordinances; but, *studying the things which make for peace, and the things wherewith one might edify another*, they soon united in the choice of Mr. Ephraim Ward for their minister; and he was instated in the pastoral office the 23d of October, 1771, where we hope he will continue for a long time an ornament to the ministry, and a peculiar blessing to his flock.

The Rev. Mr. Forbes continued in the faithful discharge of the ministerial work amongst the people of the second precinct almost twenty-three years; and on the first of March, 1775, the pastoral relation was dissolved by mutual consent, under the conduct of an ecclesiastical council, each party in charity with, and heartily recommending the other.—A church was embodied in this third precinct, April 15, 1756, when twenty-five males and fourteen females subscribed a church covenant. And on the 24th of May, 1758, I was honoured by being put into the ministry in this place.

Sixty years ago there was no meeting-house, nor settled minister in the town. And when the inhabitants had built a house for the worship of God, they had no occasion for galleries for the people to sit in, though the house was not large. But now, not to reckon a great part of Western, which was then Brookfield, but was set off about thirty-five years ago, nor a considerable number of families which joined with others to form the district of New-Braintree, about twenty-five years ago, there are within this town three distinct parishes, the least of which contains upwards of one hundred families—three commodious well-finished

‡ The bill for dividing the town of Brookfield, and incorporating the first and third precincts, was signed by Governor Shirley, Nov. 8, 1754. The meeting-house in the third precinct was erected April, 1754; that in the first precinct not till the year following.

finished meeting-houses—three regular congregational churches—and in the whole town at least three thousand souls.*—It would have been pleasing to a curious mind to have known the exact number of births, deaths, baptisms, and admissions to full communion since the commencement of the town: But this I find impossible to ascertain; because records of these things have not been preserved. The birth of earliest date that I find upon record is in the year 1701.† As to deaths, ever since a book was kept, many people have been, and are still, negligent in transmitting an account of them to the town-clerk. And as to church records, I cnnot find that any were kept in Mr. Cheney's or Mr. Harding's day. During the Rev. Mr. Parsons's ministry, two hundred and three were baptized in the first church; and since the Rev. Mr. Ward's ordination eighty-seven, in all two hundred and ninety. In the second church, since its incorporation, I find the record of four hundred and twenty-six baptisms. Since my settlement, three hundred and sixty-six have been baptized in this church; ninety-eight admitted to full communion, which, added to the thirty-nine which were first embodied, make one hundred and thirty-seven: Nineteen of which are dead, and fifteen dismissed to other churches. So that there are now one hundred and three members of this third church.—Of this town therefore, as well as of the country in general, we may say, *though thy beginning is small, yet thy latter end is greatly increased.*

Instead of a desolate uncultivated wilderness—instead of mountains and plains covered with thick untraversed woods—and swamps hideous and impassable, the face of the earth is trimmed, and adorned with a beautiful variety of fields, meadows, orchards, and pastures. *The desart blossoms as the rose: The little hills rejoice on every side; the pastures are clothed with flocks, the valleys also are covered over with corn; they shout for joy, they also sing.* Instead of the dreary haunts of savage beasts, and more savage men, wounding the ear, and terrifying the heart with their dismal yells, we find now only harmless retreats, *where the fowls of heaven have their habitation, which sing among the branches.* Instead of the smoaky huts and wigwams of naked, swarthy barbarians, we now behold thick settlements of a civilized people, and convenient and elegant buildings. In fine, our hearts are now gladdened at the sight of noble edifices reared in honour, and to promote the worship and service of the true God, near to the unhallowed grounds where Satan's seat once was. This affords a noble pleasure in the contemplation.

Every

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* This was too large a number: in consequence of a calculation upon a wrong principle, viz. that every family on an average consisted of six persons: whereas exact enumeration makes the number considerably less.

By the census taken in the year 1790, there were found to be three thousand one hundred inhabitants in Brookfield.

† Mary Bartlet, daughter to Benjamin and Mary Bartlet, born May 6, 1701.

Every time we discover any vestiges of the aboriginals—any of the points of their arrows, or fragment of their more harmless utensils—any hillocks where their bones are deposited—or any remains of their haunts or fortresses, we should not only remember the dangers and sufferings which those underwent, who first began a settlement here, and laid a foundation for the fair inheritances and peaceful habitations we now possess, but we should cherish a grateful sense of these favors as coming from God; and give thanks to him who *has been our habitation in all generations.* When we now walk abroad upon business or pleasure, we are *not afraid of the terror by night, nor for the arrow which flyeth by day.* We are not anxious lest the frightful savage should spring from his thicket with his murderous tomahawk, or drive the leaden death through our bodies before we are aware; nor lest, when we return home, we should find our dwellings in ashes, our *little ones dashed against the stones*, and our wives carried captive through a perilous, dreadful wilderness, by those whose tender mercies are cruelty. We can now walk in safety over those very grounds which once were stained with the blood, and rendered horrid to the sight by the mangled carcasses of some of our ancestors.

When our forefathers took sanctuary in these then inhospitable shores, it was to secure to themselves and their progeny "peace, liberty, and safety." When they purchased lands of the natives, they thought them their own: And when they cultivated them for their children whom they hoped to leave free and happy, they little thought their posterity would be disturbed in their possessions by Britons, more than themselves were by savage Indians. And at the conclusion of the last war, which seemed to put an end to our fears of any molestation from the savages for time to come, who could have thought that the same nation that then assisted us in conquering them, would ever have laid such a plan, and taken so much pains to instigate those savages to renew their cruelties, to ravage our western borders, to murder women and children, and if possible to desolate the country? Who could have thought that Britons would practise what the uncultivated tribes of Indians have refused to do; and that they themselves would distress and destroy our most populous towns on the sea coast, when the savages could not be prevailed on by flatteries or gifts to molest our back settlements? What have we done to merit such treatment? What high-handed crimes have we been guilty of to awaken such vengeance? Many crimes have we been guilty of against heaven; but none, adequate to such punishment, against the nation that executes such vengeance upon us. We think we have refused submission in no instance, but where submission would have been unworthy of Englishmen, and a crime in the descendants of such ancestors as ours. We think we have resisted no authority but such as natural and constitutional right warrants us to resist. We have never lifted up a hand but in our own defence, to ward off the blow that was aimed at our heads, or to return the blow after it had been first given. But I forbear. We have appealed to heaven for the justice of our cause; and *GOD*, the God of justice, *sitteth on the throne judging right.*

APPENDIX.

"HERE followeth the copy of the deed for the purchase of the lands at Quabaug (now called Brookfield) from the Indian called Sattoockquis, together with Lieut. Thomas Cooper his resignation of the said deed to the inhabitants of Quabaug now called Brookfield. For the said deed was framed in name to the said Lieut. Cooper, but indeed for the only use and behoof of the inhabitants of the said plantation called Brookfield. Also the copy of the said Lieut. Cooper's acknowledgment of his said resignation before the worshipful Major John Pynchon."

"THESE presents testify, that Shattoockquis, alias Shadookis, the sole and proper owner of certain lands at Quabaug hereafter named, hath for good and valuable considerations, him the said Shattoockquis, thereunto moving, given, granted, bargained, and sold, and by these presents doth fully, clearly, and absolutely give, grant, bargain, and sell unto Ensign Thomas Cooper of Springfield, for the use and behoof of the present English planters at Quaboag and their associates, and their successors, and to them and their heirs forever, certain parcels of land at, towards, or about the north end of Quaboag pond, that is to say, beginning at a little meadow at the north end of the pond Quaboag, which meadow is called Podunk, with the land about it, and so to a little hill Wullamannuck, and from thence northward or north and by east about three miles, and so westward off to the north end of Wickobaug pond, taking in all the plains, meadows, and upland from Podunk by Quaboag pond to Wickobaug pond, all the land betwixt, as that called Nacommuck (viz. a brook where meadow is) and so to Massaquockummis, viz. another brook where meadow is, and so through the plain to Wickobaug pond, and then down to Lashaway, viz. the river which comes from Quaboag pond, all the land as aforesaid on the east or the north east side of that river and about three miles north or north and by east from the river, together with the said river, and the lands on the west side or south or southwest side of the said river, and particularly from Lashaway down the river to a brook or stream called Naltaug, and so up that brook to the head of it southward, and then from the head of that brook to the verge of a hill called Asquoach, and so down southward or south east to that pond Quaboag, taking in all the wet meadow and meadows called Masquabanisk and Nanantomqua, it being about four miles from the river to the verge or foot of the hill aforesaid called Asquoach, and about six miles or near thereabouts from the river at the mouth of the brook called Naltaug, to Quaboag pond, all the aforesaid tract of land from Wickobaug to Podunk, at the north end of Quaboag, and from Naltaug to Quaboag, called Naltaug, Lashaway, Massequockcummis, Nacommuck, Wullamannuck, Podunk, Nanantomqua, Masquabamisk, and so to the hill called Asquoach; all which land afore described, together with the trees, waters, stones, profits, commodities, and advantages thereof and thereunto belonging, the

the said Ensign Thomas Cooper, for himself, and for the present planters of Quaboag, and their associates and successors, is to have, hold, and enjoy, and that forever. And the said Shattoockquis, as well for other considerations, as also for and in consideration of the sum of three hundred fathom of wampumpeag in hand received, doth grant, bargain, and sell all and singular the aforenamed tract of land to Ensign Thomas Cooper, his successors, and assigns as aforesaid, and to their heirs forever. And the said Shattoockquis doth hereby covenant and promise to and with the said Ensign Thomas Cooper, that he will save the said Thomas Cooper harmless from all manner of claims of any person or persons lawfully claiming any right or interest in the said lands hereby sold, or in any part thereof, and will defend the same from all, or any molestation and incumbrance by any Indians lawfully laying claim or title thereunto. In witness whereof the said Shattoockquis hath hereunto set his hand this tenth day of November, 1665.

Subscribed and delivered in the presence of
Elizur Holyoke,
Samuel Chapin,
Japhet Chapin.

The mark of † Shattoockquis.
The mark of Mattawamppe, ‡ an Indian witness, who challenging some interest in the land above sold, received part of the pay, and consented to the sale of it all.

Shattoockquis an Indian abovementioned did own and acknowledge this to be his act and deed, resigning up all his right, title, and interest in the lands abovementioned, unto Thomas Cooper, his associates and assigns as abovesaid, this tenth day of November, 1665.

Before me, John Pynchon, Assistant.

I Thomas Cooper abovementioned, do hereby relinquish and resign up all my right and title in the lands within-mentioned to be bought of Shattoockquis, hereby declaring that my acting in the premises was only in the behalf of and for the use and behoof of the inhabitants of Quaboag (now called Brookfield) and their successors, the purchase of the abovementioned land being at their proper cost and charge, who had obtained a grant thereof from the honourable General Court and are now allowed a town. I do therefore hereby deliver up this instrument or deed of sale to John Warner, Richard Coye, and William Pritchard of Quaboag, alias Brookfield, for the use and as the proper right of the inhabitants of Brookfield, the said persons being betrusted by the town or present inhabitants of Brookfield for taking in and receiving this present deed. Wherefore I do hereby deliver it up to them, hereby declaring it and the land therein mentioned to be sold, to be, and belong to the present inhabitants of Brookfield as they are a township, and to particular persons only, according as they have, or shall have grants of land confirmed to them. The whole tract of land abovementioned I do fully and absolutely resign up to the inhabitants of Brookfield aforesaid, and to their successors and their heirs forever, as witness my hand this 19th day of December, 1673.

Thomas Cooper.

December 19th, 1673. Lieut. Thomas Cooper above mentioned, subscribed hereunto and acknowledged the resigning up this deed and all his interest in the premises to the inhabitants of Brookfield.

Before me, John Pynchon, Assistant.

This deed was recorded March, 1673,

By me, Elizur Holyoke, Recorder.

Hampshire, sc. A true copy from record, examined per

Edward Pynchon, Regr."

The enemies of New England have often cast reproaches upon our forefathers as having cheated the natives out of their lands. The above deed is therefore inserted not only as a curiosity in itself, and as a gratification to the inhabitants of Brookfield, but as an evidence that the first settlers of this town were so far from seizing upon the possessions of the Aboriginals and crouding out the lawful owners, that they purchased the lands for a valuable consideration. This also is to be attended to, that the Indians had the whole country before them, and that they wanted lands only to raise a little Indian corn and for hunting, and therefore were far from setting so high a value on lands as we do now; and that wampumpeag was in high estimation among them, as gold and silver among the Europeans. And however some individuals among the natives may have been imposed on and cheated by particular mercenary traders, yet sufficient evidence may be produced that our forefathers got not this land in possession by fraud and injustice, but by fair purchase or lawful conquest.

A Description of the town of BROOKFIELD, *in the county of* WORCESTER, *in addition to the account which is given in the "Historical Discourse relative to the settlement of Brookfield." By the Rev. Dr.* FISKE.

BROOKFIELD is distant from the State-House in Boston, between sixty and seventy miles. The great post road from Boston to New-York runs through it; the sixty-one mile stone being near the eastern boundary, and the seventy mile stone near the western line. It is bounded on the east by Spencer, on the south by Sturbridge and Western, on the west by Western and Ware, and on the north by New-Braintree and Oakham. The lands are generally uneven and stony, though there are three or four plains of considerable extent, and large tracts of meadow upon Quaboag river, which runs in a westerly direction through the town. The main branch of this river comes from Rutland, another branch arises (it is said) from a pond in the north part of Leicester, runs through Spencer, and empties into Quaboag river in the easterly part of Brookfield. This river continues a westerly course through Western, Palmer, &c. and after receiving two other considerable rivers on the north, discharges its waters into the Connecticut a little to the northward of Springfield, where it is known by the name of Chickopee. The land is generally fertile and friendly to the cultivator,

cultivator, containing such a variety of soils as to be suited to tillage, grazing, mowing, and fruit. The tillage lands will produce on an average twenty-five bushels of Indian corn per acre, and about twelve bushels of rye. Other kinds of grain also may be raised to advantage; and farmers in this, as well as most other towns, are improving in this husbandry. There are many more bushels of all kinds of bread corn raised from the same ground, as well as more ground cultivated, than there were a few years ago. There is so little descent in Quaboag river for five miles, that the current is very sluggish, the waters almost stagnant, and the extensive meadows on each side are of small value in their present state, being so liable to be overflowed. This evil has been growing for many years through increasing obstructions in so torpid a stream; so that the grass from being large and of good quality, is now so mean, and the making of it into hay so uncertain, as to be very generally rejected. This evil may be gradually cured by much labour and expense in clearing the channel of obstructions. A trial was made last year by the proprietors of the meadows to considerable advantage; and they are encouraged and determined to persevere. Besides this flat meadow, there are pretty large tracts of swaily or swampy land, which yield considerable quantities of fowl-meadow and other valuable grasses, to the amount of two tons, or nearly, on an acre, when made into hay.

There is one large pond in the south precinct of the extent of a mile square, called by the Indians, Quaboag-pond; but now more generally denominated Podunk pond, from a tract of meadow adjoining, which the Indians called Podunk. The aforementioned river advances directly to the very bank of this Pond: then turns almost at right angles, and runs parallel with the edge about twenty rods, leaving a narrow beach or ridge; then diverges so as to form a small island, upon which small trees, alders and bushes are growing; then bends its course and opens a channel into the pond at the north east, running nearly through the middle of the pond, and finding an outlet at the westerly edge. Close to the side of the pond where the river enters, is a large bridge, there being a county road along the beach of this pond for more than half a mile; and travellers pass about twenty rods on a narrow ridge between the river and pond, which, though very moderately sloping on the side next the pond, is perpendicular on the side of the river, and is generally overflowed in the spring and fall, to the hazard, and sometimes suspension of travelling. This beach had once a row of pretty large pines and swamp white oaks growing upon it. But the floods, agitated by the winds, have so washed away the soil, that the most of them are dead and blown down, and the beach is gradually wearing away.

On the south of this pond, and at about a quarter of a mile's distance, is another pond, of not more than half the amplitude of the former, and known by the name of the South pond. This communicates with, and empties its redundant waters into the larger pond, by a creek or brook, except in the time of a freshet, when the waters flow so much faster

faster into the great pond as to reverse the current of the brook, and replenish the lesser.

There is another considerable pond in the west precinct, from which quantities of iron ore are annually collected. This pond is supplied by several brooks and has one large outlet into the river about twenty or thirty rods in length. These ponds and rivers, and the other smaller streams by which the land is intersected, are plentifully supplied with pike or pickarel, perch, and divers other kinds of fish.

The timber is principally chesnut, white oak, red oak, and some walnut. The swamps and swails yield maple, black birch, ash, and some hemlock.

In a considerable part of the low lands, the clay lies near the surface. There is much clay adjoining the south pond, and clay forms the bed of the river. No mines have as yet been discovered, though trials at a considerable expense have been made. There is some iron ore, a bed of yellow ochre nearly exhausted, and large quantities both of mud and stone that yield copperas, and contain a strong vitriolic quality. Many of the wells both on high and low grounds have what is called hard water.

The rivers, ponds, and meadows occasion at some seasons heavy fogs, which in some instances have produced putrid fevers, &c. But by what I have observed, the inhabitants of this town are as healthy as those of others, and those who live on the low lands, as those who live on the high. Some circumstances relative to two persons who died in the year 1782, are pretty remarkable. A woman in her sixty-second year, was, if I remember right, the fifth child of her father, who, though above ninety, followed this his daughter to the grave above four miles, riding erect and steady on a lively horse. He died not long since, in the vicinity of Hanover in New-Hampshire, aged upwards of an hundred. His name was Green ; he lived in this town but a few years, and I cannot recollect where he was born. The other also was a female, the widow Elizabeth Olds, who died in her ninety-second year ; and her posterity, was as follows : ten children, seventy-three grand children, two hundred and one great grand children, and two of the fifth generation, two of her grand daughters being grandmothers. Total two hundred and eighty six. Deceased six children, seventeen grand children, thirty-one great grand children. Total fifty-four, which deducted from two hundred and eighty-six, leaves two hundred and thirty-two, who were living at the time of her death. In 1788, died Mr. Cyprian Rice in the ninety-eighth year of his age, and in a few months after died Mr. Elisha Rice in the ninety-ninth year of his age. The posterity of these brothers was not numerous. They were born in Marlborough. There is now living in this town, one Thomas Ainsworth, who supposes he is the last surviving soldier in the famous Lovell's fight.

It is so long since the Aboriginals quitted these grounds, that their monuments are almost effaced. We once in a while find a point of an arrow, or some stone that bears the marks of Indian labour and dexterity. And there is still to be distinguished the spot where they had a fort, and a cemetery where they buried their dead.

Though

Though many worthy characters have had their birth or residence in this town, yet I do not recollect any who have made a distinguished figure in the literary world. None of my predecessors or cotemporaries in the ministry have published any of their sermons, except the Rev. Mr. Forbes who is now at Cape-Ann, several of whose occasional discourses were printed while he was minister in the second precinct. A taste for literary improvements, and exertions for the more useful education of children and youth, have revived within a few years, and several young gentlemen, natives of this town, have received a public education, and are principally in the profession or study of the law. Several gentlemen of learning, taste, and benevolence among us, are endeavouring to promote and encourage improvements, and a Social Library is beginning to exist in the first precinct. The inhabitants of Brookfield are principally farmers, though there is a proportion of mechanics, traders, and professional gentlemen. And the general appearance of the farms, buildings, roads, and manners of the inhabitants, makes a favourable impression, and denotes a good degree of cultivation, taste, and improvement.

Births in the third precinct of Brookfield, in 1789.

Males 19. Females 15. Total 34.

Deaths. Males 4. Females 2. Total 6; which died of the following ages, diseases and dates.

1. A male, aged 98, of old age, } March.
2. Ditto, 25, pleurisy, terminating in a dropsy, }
3. Ditto, new born infant. April.
4. Female, 28, consumption, May.
5. Male, 66, iliac passion, mortification of the bowels, September.
6. Female, 62, consumption, December.

Births in ditto in the year 1790.

Males 14. Females 12. Total 26.

Deaths. Males 9. Females 10. Total 19.

1. A male, aged 8 months, salt rheum, } February.
2. Female, 27 years, consumption, }
3. Male, 16 months, meazles, }
4. do. 10 years, fits, } March.
5. Female, 86, cancer, }
6. do. 25, consumption, } April.
7. do. 90, old age, }
8. do. 37, consumption, }
9. Male, 18 months, dysentery, }
10. do. 26 years, consumption, } August.
11. do. 2 years and 5 mon. dysentery, }
12. Female, new born, }
13. Male, 2 years and 6 mon. dysentery, } September.
14. do. 39, consumption, }

15. do.

15. do. 17 months, worms,
16. Female, 18 ys. palpitation of the heart,
17. do. 53, jaundice and bleeding,
18. do. 87, old age,
19. do. 84, do.

} December.

Births in the third precinct of Brookfield, in 1791.

Males 15. Females 10. Total 25.

Deaths. Males 9. Females 7. Total 16.

1. Female, aged 31, iliac passion, — January.
2. do. 60, putrid fever,
3. Male infant, fits,
4. Male, 50, consumption,
5. do. 65, fits,

} May.

6. Female infant, — June.
7. Female, 40, fits,
8. do. 18 months, dysentery,

} July.

9. do. 16 months, do.
10. Male, 11 months, do.
11. do. infant, fits,

} August.

12. do. 15 months, dysentery, — September.
13. do. 27 years, fits,
14. do. infant,

} October.

15. 16. } Twins, { Male, Female, } Infants, — November.

A Letter from Roger Williams *to* Major Mason.

Providence 22 June, 1670, *(Ut Vulgo.)*

Major Mason,

My honoured deare and antient friend. My due respects and earnest desires to God for your eternall peace, &c.

I CRAVE your leave and patience to present you with some few considerations, occasioned by the late transactions between your colony and ours. The last yeare you were pleased, in one of your lines to me, to tell me that you longed to see my face once more, before you died: I embraced your love, though I feared my old lame bones, and yours, had arrested travelling in this world, and therefore I was and am ready to lay hold on all occasions of writing, as I do at present.

The occasion I confesse is sorrowfull, because I see yourselves, with others, embarqued in a resolution to invade and despoil your poor countrimen, in a wildernes, and your antient friends of our temporal and soul liberties.

It is sorrowful also, because mine eye beholds a black and dolefull train of grievous and I feare bloudie consequences, at the heele of this business, both to you and us. The Lord is righteous in all our afflictions,

tions, that is a maxime : The Lord is gracious to all oppressed, that is another : He is most gracious to the soule that cries and waits on him : that's silver tried in the fire seven times.

Sir, I am not out of hopes but that while your aged eyes and mine are yet in their orbes, and not yet sunck doune into their holes of rottennes, we shall leave our friends and countrimen, our children and relations, and this land in peace behind us. To this end, Sir, please you with a calme and steadie and a christian hand, to hold the ballance, and to weigh these few considerations in much love and due respect presented.

First, when I was unkindly and unchristianly, as I believe, driven from my house and land and wife and children (in the midst of New-England winter, now about 35 years past) at Salem, that ever honoured Governour Mr. Winthrop privately wrote to me to steer my course to the Nahigonset-Bay and Indians for many high and heavenly and publike ends, incouraging me from the freenes of the place from any English claims or pattents. I took his prudent motion as an hint and voice from God and waving all other thoughts and motions, I steered my course from Salem (though in winter snow which I feel yet) unto these parts, wherein I may say *Peniel*, that is, I have seene the face of God.

2. I first pitch't and begun to build and plant at Secunk, now Rehoboth, but I received a letter from my antient friend Mr. Winslow, then Governour of Plymmouth, professing his oune and others love and respect to me, yet lovingly advising me, since I was fallen into the edge of their bounds and they were loth to displease the Bay, to remove but to the other side of the water, and then he said I had the country free before me, and might be as free as themselves, and wee should be loving neighbour's togeather. These were the joynt understandings of these two eminently wise and christian Governours and others, in their day, togeather with their councell and advice as to the freedome and vacancie of this place, which in this respect and many other Providences of the most holy and only wise, I called *Providence*.

3. Sometime after Plymmouth great Sachim (Ousamaquin*) upon occasion affirming that Providence was his land and therefore Plymmouth's land, and some resenting it, the then prudent and godly Governour Mr. Bradford and others of his godly councell answered, that if after due examination it should be found true what the barbarian said, yet having, to my loss of a harvest that yeare, been now (though by their gentle advice) as good as banished from Plymmouth as from the Massachusetts; and I had quietly and patiently departed from them, at their motion, to the place where now I was, I should not be molested and tost up and down againe, while they had breath in their bodies; and surely betweene those my friends of the Bay and Plymmouth, I was sorely tost for one fourteen weekes, in a bitter winter season, not knowing what bread or bed did meane; beside the yearly losse of no small matter in my trading with English and natives, being debarred from

* *Commonly called Massassoit.*

from Boston, the chiefe mart and port of New England. God knows that many thousand pounds cannot repay the very temporary losses I have sustained. It lies upon the Massachusetts and me, yea and other colonies joining with them to examine, with feare and trembling before the eyes of flaming fire, the true cause of all my sorrows and sufferings. It pleased the Father of spirits to touch many hearts, dear to him, with some relentings; amongst which that great and pious soule Mr. Winslow melted, and kindly visited me at Providence, and put a piece of gold into the hands of my wife for our supply.

4. When the next yeare after my banishment, the Lord drew the bow of the Pequot warr against the country, in which, Sir, the Lord made yourselfe, with others, a blessed instrument of peace to all New England, I had my share of service to the whole land in that Pequot busines, inferiour to very few that acted, for,

1. Upon letters received from the Governour and Councill at Boston, requesting me to use my utmost and speediest endeavours to breake and hinder the league laboured for by the Pequots against Monhegans and Pequots against the English (excusing the not sending of companie and supplies by the hast of the business) the Lord helped me immediately to put my life into my hand, and, scarce acquainting my wife, to ship myself all alone in a poore canow, and to cut through a stormie wind with great seas, every minute in hazard of life, to the Sachem's house.

2. Three dayes and nights my busines forced me to lodge and mix with the bloudie Pequot ambassadours, whose hands and arms, methought, reaked with the bloud of my countrimen, murther'd and massacred by them on Connecticut river, and from whome I could not but nightly looke for their bloudie knives at my owne throate also.

3. When God wond'rously preserved me, and help't me to break to pieces the Pequot's negociation and designe, and to make and promote and finish, by many travells and charges, the English league with the Nahiggonsiks and Monhiggins against the Pequots, and that the English forces march't up to the Nahiggonsik countrey, against the Pequots, I gladly entertain'd at my house in Providence, the general Stoughton and his officers, and used my utmost care that all his officers and souldiers should be well accommodated with us.

4. I marched up with them to the Nahiggonsik Sachems, and brought my countrimen and the barbarians, sachems and captains, to a mutuall confidence and complacence each in other.

5. Though I was ready to have march't further, yet upon agreement that I should keepe at Providence as an agent betweene the Bay and the armie, I returned and was interpreter and intelligencer, constantly receiving and sending letters to the Governour and Councell at Boston, &c. in which work I judge it no impertinent digression to recite (out of the many scores of letters at times from Mr. Winthrop) this one pious and heavenly prophesie touching all New England of that gallant man, viz. "If the Lord turne away his face from our sins, and blesse our endeavours and yours at this turne against our bloudie enemie,

mie, we and our children shall long enjoy peace in this our wildernesse condition." And himself and some other of the councell motioned and it was debated whether or no I had not merited, not only to be recalled from banishment, but also to be honored with some remarke of favour. It is known who hindred, who never promoted the libertie of other mens consciences. These things and ten times more I could relate, to shew that I am not a stranger to the Pequot wars and lands, and possibly not far from the merit of a foot of land in either country, which I have not.

5 *Consid.* Upon frequent exceptions against Providence men, that we had no authoritie for civill government, I went purposely to England, and upon my report and petition, the Parliament granted us a charter of government for these parts, so judged vacant on all hands. And upon this the country about us was more friendly, and wrote to us and treated us as an authorised colony; only the differences of our consciences much obstructed. The bounds of this our first charter I (having ocular knowledge of persons, places, and transactions) did honestly and conscientiously, as in the holy presence of God, draw up from Pawcatuck river, which I then believed and still doe is free from all English claims and conquests. For although there were some Pequots on this side the river, who by reason of some Sachims mariages with some on this side, lived in a kinde of newtralitie with both sides: Yet upon the breaking out of the war, they relinquished their land to the possession of their enemies the Nayhiggonsiks and Nayantiks, and their land never came into the condition of the lands on the other side, which the English by conquest challenged: So that I must still affirm, as in God's holy presence, I tenderly waved to touch a foot of land in which I knew the Pequot wars were maintained and were properly Pequot, being a gallant country. And from Pawcatuck river hitherward, being but a patch of ground, full of troublesome inhabitants, I did, as I judged inoffencively, draw our poore and inconsiderable line.

'Tis true when at Portsmouth on Rhode Island, some of ours in a general assembly motioned their planting on this side Pawcatuck: I hearing that some of the Massachusetts reckoned this land theirs by conquest, disuaded from the motion untill the matter should be amicably debated and composed: For though I questioned not our right, &c. yet I feared it would be inexpedient and offensive and procreative of these heats and fires, to the dishonouring of the King's Majestie, and the dishonouring and blaspheaming of God and of religion in the eyes of the English and barbarians about us.

6. Some time after the Pequot war and our charter from the Parliament, the government of Massachusetts wrote to myselfe (then chief officer in this colony) of their receaving of a pattent from the Parliament for these vacant lands, as an addition to the Massachusetts, &c. and thereupon requiring me to exercise no more authoritie, &c. for, they wrote, their charter was granted some few weeks before ours. I returned what I believed righteous and waighty to the hands of my ture friend, Mr. Winthrop, the first mover of my coming into these

parts

parts, and to that answer of mine I never received the least reply ; only it is certain that at Mr. Gorton's complaint against the Massachusetts, the Lord High Admiral, President, said openly, in a full meeting of the commissioners, that he knew no other charter for these parts than what Mr. Williams had obtained, and he was sure that charter, which the Massachusetts Englishmen pretended, had never past the table.

7. Upon our humble addresse, by our agent Mr. Clark to his Majesty, and his gracious promise of renewing our former charter ; Mr. Winthrop, upon some mistake, had intrench'd upon our line, and not only so, but, as is said, upon the lines of other charters allso : upon Mr. Clark's complaint, your grant was called in again, and it had never been returned, but upon a report that the agents, Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Clarke, were agreed by mediation of friends, and it is true they came to a solemn agreement under hands and seals, which agreement was never violated on our part.

8. But the Kings Majestie sending his commissioners, among other his royall purposes, to reconcile the differences of, and to settle the bounds betweene the colonies, yourselves know how the King himself therefore hath given a decision to this controversie. Accordingly the Kings Majesties aforesaid commissioners at Rode——(where, as a commissioner for this colony, I transacted with them, as did also commissioners from Plymmouth) they composed a controversie betweene Plymmouth and us, and settled the bounds betweene us, in which we rest.

9. However you satisfie yourselves with the Pequot conquest ; with the sealing of your charter some few weeks before ours ; with the complaints of particular men to your Colony, yet upon a due and serious examination of matter, in the sight of God, you will find the business at bottom to be,

First, a depraved appetite after the great vanities, dreams, and shadows of this vanishing life, great portions of land, land in this wilderness, as if men were in as great necessitie and danger for want of great portions of land, as poore, hungry, thirsty seamen have after a sick and stormie, a long and starving passage. This is one of the gods of New England which the living and Most High eternal will destroy and famish.

2. An unneighbourly and unchristian intrusion upon us, as being the weaker, contrary to your laws, as well as ours, concerning purchasing of lands without the consent of the General Court. This I told Major Atherton at his first going up to the Nahiggonsik about this busines : I refused all their proffers of land and refused to interpret for them to the Sachems.

3. From these violations and intrusions, arise the complaint of many privatiers, not dealing as they would be dealt with, according to the law of nature, the law of the prophets, and Christ Jesus, complayning against others, in a design, when they themselves are delinquents and wrong-doers. I could aggravate this many ways with scripture rhetorick

rick and similitudes, but I see neede of anodynes (as physitians speak) and not of irritations. Only this I must crave leave to say, that it looks like a prodigie or monster, that countrymen among salvages in a wilderness ; that professors of God and one Mediatour, of an eternal life, and that this is like a dream, should not be content with those vast and large tracts which all the other colonies have (like platters and tables full of dainties) but pull and snatch away their poor neighbours bit or crust : and a crust it is, and a drie hard one too, because of the natives continuall troubles, trials, and vexations.

10. Alas, Sir, in calme midnight thoughts, what are these leaves and flowers, and smoke, and shadows, and dreams of earthly nothings, about which we poore fools and children, as David saith, disquiet ourselves in vain ? Alas, what is all the scuffling of this world for but, *come will you smoke it ?* What are all the contentions and wars of this world about, generally, but for greater dishes and bowls of porridge, of which, if we believe God's spirit in scripture, Esau and Jacob were types ? Esau will part with the heavenly birthright for his supping, after his hunting, for god belly : And Jacob will part with his porridge for an eternal inheritance : O Lord, give me to make Jacob's and Marie's choice, which shall never be taken from me.

11. How much sweeter is the councell of the son of God, to mind first the matters of his kingdom : To take no care for to-morrow : To pluck out, cut off, and fling away right eyes, hands, and feete, rather than to be cast whole into hell fire : To consider the ravens and the lillies whom an heavenly father so clothes and feedes : And the Councell of his servant Paul, to roll our cares, for this life allso, upon the most high Lord, steward of his people, the eternal God : To be content with food and raiment : To mind not our own but every man the things of another ; yea and to suffer wrong and part with what, we judge, is right, yea our lives, and, as poor women martyrs have said, as many as there be hairs upon our heads for the name of God and the son of God his sake. This is humanitie, yea this is christianitie : The rest is but formalitie and picture, courteous idolitrie and Jewish and Popish blasphemie against the christian religion, the Father of spirits and his son the Lord Jesus. Besides, Sir, the matter with us is not about these children's toys of land, meadows, cattell, government, &c. But here all over this colonie, a great number of weake and distressed soules scattered are flying hither from Old and New England, the Most High and only wise hath in his infinite wisdom provided this country and this corner as a shelter for the poor and persecuted, according to their several perswasions. And thus that heavenly man Mr. Hains, Governour of Connecticut, though he pronounced the sentence of my long banishment against me at Cambridge, then Newtown, yet said unto me in his own house at Hartford, being then in some difference with the Bay, " I think Mr. Williams, I must now confesse to you, that the most wise God hath provided and cut out this part of his world for a refuge and receptacle for all sorts of consciences. I am now under a cloud, and my brother Hooker, with the bay, as you have been, we have removed from them thus far, and yet they are not satisfied."

Thus

Thus, Sir, the King's Majestie, though his fathers and his owne conscience favoured Lord Bishops, which their father and grandfather King James, whome I have spoke with, sore against his will, allso did, yet all the world may see by his Majestie's declarations and engagements before his returne, and his declarations and Parliament speeches since, and many suitable actings, how the Father of Spirits hath mightily imprest and touch't his royall spirit, though the Bishops much disturbed him, with deep inclination of favor and gentlenes to different consciences and apprehensions as to the invisible King and way of his Worship. Hence he hath vouchsafed his royall promise under his hand and broad seal, that no person in this Colony shall be molested or questioned for the matters of his conscience to God, so he be loyall and keep the civil peace. Sir, we must part with lands and lives before we part with such a jewell. I judge you may yield some land and the government of it to us, and we for peace sake the like to you, as being but subjects to one King, &c. and I think the King's Majestie would thank us for many reasons: But to part with this jewell, we may as soone doe it as the Jewes with the favor of Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes. Yourselves pretend libertie of conscience, but alas, it is but selfe, the great God selfe, only to your selves. The King's Majestie wincks at Barbadoes, where Jews and all sorts of Christian and Antichristian perswasions are free, but our graunt, some few weekes after yours sealed, though granted as soon if not before yours, is crowned with the King's extaordinary favour to this Colony, as being a banished one, in which his Majestie declared himself that he would experiment, whether civil government could consist with such libertie of conscience. This his Majestie's graunt was startled at by his Majestie's high officers of state, who were to view it, in course, before the sealing, but fearing the lyon's roaring, they couch't, against their wills, in obedience to his Majestie's pleasure.

Some of yours, as I heard lately, told tales to the Archbishop of Canterbury, viz. that we are a prophane people, and do not keep the Sabbath, but some doe plough, &c. But (1) you told him not how we suffer freely all other perswasions, yea, the common prayer, which yourselves will not suffer. If you say you will, you confesse you must suffer more, as we doe.

2. You know this is but a colour to your design; for, first, you know that all England itself (after the formalitie and superstition of morning and evening prayer) play away their Sabbath, 2d. you know yourselves doe not keep the Sabbath, that is the 7th day, &c.

3. You know that the famous Calvin and thousands more held it but ceremonial and figurative, from Colossians 2 &c. and vanished: and that the day of worship was alterable at the churche's pleasure; thus allso all the Romanists confesse, saying viz. that there is no expresse Scripture 1st, for infant's baptisms; nor 2d, for abolishing the 7th day, and instituting of the 8th day worship, but that it is at the churche's pleasure.

4. You know that generally all this whole colony observe the first day ; only here and there one out of conscience, another out of covetousness make no conscience of it.

5. You know the greatest part of the world make no conscience of a 7th day ; the next part of the world, Turks, Jews, and Christians, keepe three different dayes, Friday, S. urday, Sunday, for their Sabbath and day of worship, and every one maintaines his owne by the longest sword.

6. I have offered and doe by these presents to discusse by disputation writing, or printing, among other points of differences, these three positions ; first, that forced worship stincks in God's nostrils ; 2d, that it denies Christ Jesus yet to be come, and makes the church yet national, figurative, and ceremonial ; 3d, that in these flames about religion, as his Majestie, his father, and grandfather have yielded, there is no other prudent, christian way of preserving peace in the world, but by permission of differing consciences. Accordingly I do now offer to dispute these points and other points of difference, if you please, at Hartford, Boston, and Plymmouth. For the manner of the dispute and the discussion, if you think fit, one whole day each month, in summer, at each place, by course. I am ready, if the Lord permit and, as I humbly hope, assist me.

It is said that you intend not to invade our spirituall or civill liberties, but only (under the advantage of first sealing your charter) to right the privatiers that petition to you. It is said allso that if you had but Mishquomacuk and Nahiggonsik lands quietly yielded, you would stop at Cowwesit, &c. O Sir, what doe these thoughts preach, but that private cabbins rule all, whatever become of the ship of common safety and religion, which is so much pretended in New England. Sir, I have heard further, and by some that say they know, that something deeper than all which hath been mentioned lies in the three colonies' breasts and consultations. I judge it not fit to commit such matters to the trust of paper, &c. but only beseech the Father of Spirits to guide our poor bewildered spirits for his name and mercy sake.

15. Whereas our case seems to be the case of Paul appealing to Cæsar against the plots of his religious, zealous adversaries, I heare you pass not of our petitions and appeals to his Majestie ; for partly you think the King will not owne a prophane people that doe not keepe the Sabbath : Partly you think the King an incompetent judge, but you will force him to law allso to confirm your first born Esaw, though Jacob had him by the heels, and in God's holy time must carrie the birthright and inheritance. I judge your surmise is a dangerous mistake, for pattents, grants, and charters, and such like royal favours are not laws of England, and acts of Parliament, nor matters of proprietie and *meum* and *tuum* between the King and his subjects, which, as the times have been, have been sometimes triable in Inferiour Courts ; but such kind of graunts have been like high offices in England, of high honour, and ten yea twenty thousand pounds gain per annum, yet revocable or curtable upon pleasure, according to the King's better information, or upon his

his Majesty's sight, or misbehaviour, ingratefullness, or designes fraudulently plotted, private, and distinct from his.

16. Sir, I lament that such designs should be carried on at such a time, while we are strip't and whip't and are still under (the whole country) the dreadful rods of God, in our wheat, hay, corne, cattell, shipping, trading, bodies, and lives : When on the other side of the water all sorts of consciences (yours and ours) are frying in the Bishops' pan and furnace : When the French and Romish Jesuits, the firebrands of the world for their god belly sake, are kindling at our back in this country their hellish fiers, with all the natives of this country, especially with the Mauquawogs and Monhiggins, against us, of which I know and have daily informacion.

17. If any please to say, is there no medicine for this maladie : Must the nakedness of New England, like some notorious strumpet, be prostituted to the blaspheming eyes of all nations ? Must we be put to plead before his Majestie, and consequently the Lord Bishop, our common enemies ? &c. I answer, the Father of mercies and God of all consolations hath graciously discovered to me, as I believe, a remedie, which, if taken, will quiet all minds, yours and ours, will keep yours and ours in quiet possession and enjoyment of their lands, which you all have so dearly bought and purchased in this barbarous country, and so long possessed among these wild savages ; will preserve you both in the liberties and honors of your charters and governments, without the least impeachment of yealding one to another ; with a strong curbe also to those wild barbarians and all the barbarians of this countrey, without troubling of compromizers and arbitrators between you ; without any delay or long and chargeable and grievous addresse to our King's Majesty, whose gentle and serene soule must needs be afflicted to be troubled again with us. If you please to aske me what my prescription is, I will not put you off to christian moderation or christian humilitie, or christian prudence, or christian love, or christian selfdenyall, or christian contention or patience : For I designe a civill, a humane, and political medicine, which if the God of heaven please to blesse, you will find it effectual to all the ends I have proposed : Only I must crave your pardon, both parties of you, if I judge it not fit to discover it at present. I know you are both of you hot ; I fear myself also. If both desire, in a loving and calm spirit, to enjoy your rights, I promise you, with God's help, to help you to them in a fair and sweet and easie way :—My receit will not please you all. If it should so please God to frowne upon us that you should not like it, I can but humbly mourne, and say with the Prophet, that which must perish, must perish. And as to myself, in endeavouring after yor temporall and spirituall peace, I humbly desire to say, if I perish, I perish—It is but a shadow vanished, a bubble broke, a dreame finish't ; eternitie will pay for all.

Sir, I am your old and true friend and servant,

R. W.

To my honoured and ancient friend Mr. Thomas Prince, Governour of Plymmouth Colony, there present ; and by his honoured hand this copie, sent to Connecticut whome it most concerneth, I humbly present to the General Court of Plymouth, when next assembled.

Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman upon his return from Niagara, dated August 8, 1792.

I AM just returned from Niagara, about 560 miles west of Boston. I went first to Albany, from thence to Schenectada, about sixteen miles; this had been a very considerable place of trade, but is now falling to decay: It was supported by the Indian traders; but this business is so arrested by traders far in the country, that very little of it reaches so far down: it stands upon the Mohawk river, about 9 miles above the Falls, called the Cohoes; but this I take to be the Indian name for Falls: Its chief business is to receive the merchandize from Albany, and put it into batteaux, to go up the river, and forward to Albany such produce of the back country as is sent to a market. After leaving Schenectada, I travelled over a most beautiful country of eighty miles to Fort Schuyler, where I forded the Mohawk: This extent was the scene of British and Savage cruelty, during the late war, and they did not cease, while any thing remained to destroy. What a contrast now! every house and barn rebuilt, the pastures crowded with cattle, sheep, &c. and the lap of Ceres full. Most of the land on each side the Mohawk river, is a rich flat, highly cultivated with every species of grain, the land on each side the flats, rising in agreeable slopes; this, added to the view of a fine river passing through the whole, gives the beholder the most pleasing sensations imaginable.

I passed next through Whitestown. It would appear to you, my friend, on hearing the relation of events in the western country, that the whole was fable; and if you were placed in Whitestown, or Clinton, ten miles west from Fort Schuyler, and see the progress of improvement, you would believe it enchanted ground. You would there view an extensive well built town, surrounded by highly cultivated fields, which spot in the year 1783 was the "haunt of tribes" and the hiding place of wolves, now a flourishing happy situation, containing about six thousand people—Clinton stands a little south of Whitestown, and is a very large thriving town. After passing Clinton, there are no inhabitants upon the road, until you reach Oneida, an Indian town, the first of the Six Nations; it contains about five hundred and fifty inhabitants; here I slept, and found the natives very friendly. The next day I went on to Onandaga, leaving the Oneida lake on the right, and the Onandaga lake on the left, each a few miles distant. I slept at Onandaga, at the house of a Mr. ——, who is employed in boiling down the waters of the salt springs, which are about 7 miles north of his house, for supplying the country with salt—he told me that he made about fifty bushels per week, which he sold at five shillings per bushel, but that any quantity may be made, and at a less price; these springs are in the State reservation, and are a wonderful benefit to the country, every part of which is so united by lakes and rivers as to render the supply of this bulky and necessary article very easy. Independent of our own settlements,

we

we can supply the British in the whole of Upper Canada. Thirty-five miles from this place I struck the Cayuaga Lake. The road is tolerable for a new country; the land excellent, and very heavy timbered. There are but three houses upon this road. This lake is from about thirty-five to forty miles long, about two miles wide, and abounds with salmon, bass, catfish, eels, and many other kinds of fish. This lake empties itself into what is called Three Rivers, joining the waters of the Oneida Lake, and then proceeds by Oswego into Ontario. On each side the Cayuaga Lake is a ferry house and good attendance given.

Twelve miles west of the Cayuaga I struck the Canada Saga lake—no inhabitant upon this road—this lake is the handsomest piece of water I ever beheld; its length and breadth nearly that of Cayuaga, into which it empties. Upon a pretty slope, on the new part of this lake, stands a town, called Geneva; it has a fine effect from the opposite shore, but disappoints you when you arrive at it. It consists of about twenty log houses, three or four frame buildings, and as many idle persons as can live in them. Eighteen miles lower, on the same side of this lake stands the Friend's Settlement, founded by Jemima Wilkinson; there are eighty families in it, each has a fine farm, and are quiet, moral, industrious people. There is a road from the Friend's Settlement nearly completed, across the country, to Genesee river, forty-five miles. I went from Geneva to Canadaqua, sixteen miles, crossing the outlet of Canadaqua lake, just as I entered the town. This is a settlement made by Mr. Phelps, and promises to be a very flourishing one; there are now about thirty houses situated on a pleasant slope from the lake, and the adjacent farms are very thriving. The Indians are settled on all the reservations made by this state, and are to be met with at every settlement of whites, in quest of rum!

From Canadaqua I travelled about twenty-six miles through a fine country, with many settlements forming; this brought me to Genesee river. On this river a great many farms are laying out; sixty-five miles from its mouth is a town marked out by the name of Williamsburg, and will in all probability be a place of much trade; in the present situation of things it is remote, when considered in a commercial point of view; but should the fort of Oswego be given up, and the lock navigation be completed, there will not be a carrying place between New-York and Williamsburg. The present carrying places are as follow, viz. Albany to Schenectada, sixteen miles—the Little Falls, on the Mohawk river, two miles—from the head of the Mohawk to Wood creek, one mile—Oswego Falls, two miles—Genesee falls, two miles. Thus you see there is only twenty-three miles to cut and lock, in order to carry commerce by water, through an extent of country, capable of maintaining several millions of people. The famous Genesee flats lie on the borders of Genesee river; they are about twenty miles in length, and about four miles wide; the soil is remarkably rich, quite clear of trees, and producing grass near ten feet high. I estimate these flats to be well worth 200,000*l.* as they now lie. They are mostly the property of the Indians. Taking a view of

of this country altogether, I do not know such an extent of ground so good. Cultivation is easy, and the land is grateful. The progress of settlement is so rapid, that you and myself may very probably see the day when we can apply these lines to the Genesee country,

> "Here happy millions their own lands possess,
> No tyrant awes them, nor no lords oppress."

Many times did I break out in an enthusiastic frenzy, anticipating the probable situation of this wilderness twenty years hence. All that reason can ask, may be obtained by the industrious hand; the only danger to be feared is, that luxuries will flow too cheap.

After I had reached the Genesee river, curiosity led me on to Niagara, ninety miles—not one house or white man the whole way. The only direction I had was an Indian path, which sometimes was doubtful. The first day I rode fifty miles, through swarms of musquetoes, gnats, &c. beyond all description. At eight o'clock in the evening I reached an Indian town, called Tonnoraunto—it contains many hundreds of the savages, who live in very tolerable houses, which they make of timber and cover with bark. By signs I made them understand me, and for a little money they cut me limbs and bushes sufficient to erect a booth, under which I slept very quietly, on the grass. The next day I pursued my journey, nine miles of which lay through a very deep swamp; with some difficulty I got through, and about sun-down arrived at the fort of Niagara: Here the centinel inquired from whence we came; upon his being told, he called the sergeant of the day, who escorted us to the captain of the guard, he asked our names, (a Mr. ———, of———, was with me) and said he supposed we came upon our private business, &c.—he sent us to the commandant who entered our names, and offered us a pass to go over to the British side, which we accepted. Quite fatigued we were happy to find a tavern, and something to eat; a few hours sleep brought me again to myself. This fort is now garrisoned by the 5th regiment, commanded formerly by Earl Piercey, and had the honour of dancing yankee doodle on the plains of Cambridge, 19th April, 1775. The commander of the fort is a Col. Smith. The day after our arrival we crossed the river Erie to the town of Niagara where probably the British fort will be built, when the present one is given up. We met Col. B. This is the man who did so much execution in the late war with the Indians, upon the Mohawk river, Schohary and Cherry Valley. We found him holding a council with a body of the chiefs who were at Philadelphia in April last, informing him what they had done there. A Mr. Johnson, some relation of the famous Sir John Johnson, interpreter to the Indians was also present; and I have no doubt remaining but they effaced every favourable impression made on their minds by presents from Congress. I see enough to convince me of the absurdity of our endeavours to hold the savages by presents, while the British are situated at Detroit, Niagara, &c. They have all their clothing, cooking utensils, ammunition, &c. served almost as regularly as the troops in garrison; if they want provisions, they get it free.

Those

Those tribes called the Six Nations we are at peace with, and take much pains to cultivate a good understanding, but we deceive ourselves. The old men, the women, and the children remain at home inactive, while all the young warriors join the fighting powers against us—this is all they could do, if we were at open war with them. An Indian becomes a miserable being, when deprived of his hunting ground, and surrounded with cellars of rum or whisky. The whole Six Nations live on grounds, called the State Reservations, and are intermediate spaces settled on both sides by white people ; this has a tendency to drive off the game, and if by chance they kill a bear, or a deer, his skin goes at once for rum ; in this way they are become poor enervated creatures. They cannot keep together a great while, and I expect they will quit all this part of the country, and retire over the lakes Ontario and Erie. Their whole number is about 6000, of which 1000 are warriors—how contemptible compared with their former greatness ! The leading men of these Six Nations, or what they call Chiefs, were on the road with me going to Buffaloe Creek, to hold a council ; their object I was informed was to use their influence with the hostile tribes to make a peace. This will have no effect ! Power is the influence with Indians ; this alone will give us peace. I see some of the Indians who fought the battle at the Miami ; and by an interpreter received a very tolerable account of the action ; they were of opinion that our troops did not do their duty.

Col. B. told me that the only way to make a peace with the Indians was to apply to Lord Dorchester, or the commander in chief at Quebec, and let him appoint some of the Commanders of the garrisons, say Detroit, Niagara, &c. to meet on the part of the British, to draw a line that shall be deemed right and reasonable between the Americans and Indians, and have the treaty guaranteed to the Indians by the British. I spurned at the idea, and told Col. Butler, that it was my wish, whenever America became so contemptible, that the whole country might be annihilated.

I visited the great curiosity, the falls, and must refer you to Mr. Ellicott's account of them in the Columbian Magazine for June, 1790.

I cannot help being of opinion that Indians, (or what are called Redmen) never were intended to live in a state of civil society. There never was, I believe, an instance of an Indian forsaking his habits and savage manners, any more than a bear his ferocity.

The Rev. Mr. Kirkland, who acts as missionary among the Oneiadas, has taken all the pains that man can take, but his whole flock are Indians still, and like the bear which you can muffle and lead out to dance to the sound of musick, becomes again a bear when his muffler is removed and the musick ceases. The Indians will attend public worship and sing extremely well, following Mr. Kirkland's notes ; but whenever the service is over, they wrap themselves in their blankets, and either stand like cattle on the sunny side of a house, or lie before a fire.

This

This is their mode of passing life : even the bold energy of their forefathers, which was conspicuous in the chace, is unstrung in their descendants, and instead of sliding to the grave " like a shock of corn it its full ear," they become ripe for it in youth, and often find it by the most disgraceful means.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

ERRATA.

Page 74. line 6. read *most important*. P. 76. l. 20. del. *I*. P. 79. l. 8. r. 1754. P. 83. l. 31. for *case* r. *ease*. P. 130. l. 12. r. *colonus*. P. 132. l. 21. r. *lethiferis*. P. 193. l. 1. r. *Wooanaskochu*. P. 233. l. 5. from bot. for *described* r. *descried*. P. 251. l. 7. for 1616. r. 1716. P. 256. l. 5. for *inhabitants* r. *habitations*.

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OF THE

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CIRCULAR LETTER,

OF THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

Respectfully addressed to every Gentleman of Science in the Continent and Islands of America.

SIR,

A SOCIETY has lately been instituted in this State, called the HISTORICAL SOCIETY; the professed design of which is, to collect, preserve, and communicate, materials for a complete history of this country, and accounts of all valuable efforts of human ingenuity and industry, from the beginning of its settlement. In pursuance of this plan, they have already amassed a large quantity of books, pamphlets, and manuscripts; and are still in search of more: A catalogue of which will be printed for the information of the publick.

They have also encouraged the publication of a monthly pamphlet in which is given the result of their inquiries, into the natural, political, and ecclesiastical history of this country. It is requested that you would contribute to its value and importance, by attention to the articles annexed. The Society beg leave to depend on your obliging answer to these heads of inquiry, when leisure and opportunity will permit.

Your letters addressed, free of expense, to the subscriber, will be gratefully received, and duly noticed in the Society's publications; and you will have the satisfaction of contributing to the general stock of knowledge, with which they hope to entertain the publick.

In the name, and by order of the Society,

JEREMY BELKNAP, *Corresponding Secretary.*

Boston in Massachusetts,
November 1, 1791.

Articles on which the Society request information.

1. The time when your town or city was incorporated; its Indian name; when the settlement began; whether it was interrupted, and by what means; to what Colony or County it was first annexed; and if there have been any alterations, what they are, and when made.

several years, during the winter months, at the request of the inhabitants, he resided in Plymouth, and was the principal officer in the garrison, at that place. Capt. Standish was a man of great bravery and enterprise. For many years, he commanded the military force of the colony. In 1652, when the Court thought it necessary to choose a council of war, Capt. Standish was elected a member. Until his death, he was one of the assistants (who were commonly seven) in the government. He was born in Lancashire in England, and was heir apparent to a great estate. He went into Holland, as a soldier, and there became acquainted with Rev. Mr. Robinson, from whose church were several of the most eminent characters, who first settled at Plymouth. Capt. Standish died in 1656, at an advanced age.

In 1632, the brethren at Duxborough, belonging to the church of Plymouth, were dismissed agreeably to their desire, on account of the inconvenience of attending at Plymouth. Soon after, they formed themselves into a separate, regular church.

NAME.] In the records, for thirty or forty years after the incorporation of the town, it was written Duxburrow. The probable etymology is Dux and borough, or burrow, as it was then written. It being a grant to the Captain or Leader, it was called his borough.*

SITUATION, EXTENT, AND BOUNDARIES.] From Boston, to the centre of the town, are thirty-eight miles. From Plymouth the shire town, by the most publick road, are eight miles. The direction, from Boston, is S. E. and by S. The south-east part of the town is N. by W. from Plymouth.

When the town was incorporated, it included, beyond its present limits, Pembroke,† the greatest part of Marshfield, part of Kingston, and part of Bridgewater. The extent of the town now is, from west to east, six miles, from south to north, four miles.

It is bounded on the east, by a bay, three miles wide ; which is separated from the Atlantic by a narrow beach, extending, from the south-east part of Marshfield, parallel to the town, and as far southerly. A bay also, across which to Plymouth are three miles, bounds the south part of the town. On the south-west, it is bounded by the industrious and flourishing town of Kingston. Pembroke bounds the western, and Marshfield, the northern part of the town.

SOIL AND PRODUCE.] In general, the soil is warm, sandy, and barren. There are, however, many tracts of land, of fifty or sixty acres, whose soil is rich and good, and particularly, the nook of land, in the south-east part of the town, consisting of two hundred or three hundred acres, which is little inferior to any part of the county.

The cultivation of Indian corn is principally attended to : The soil

* Many towns in Plymouth Colony are called after places in England, from which the first settlers came. Though there is a town of this name in England, it is said, that no persons, who first came to Plymouth, were from that place.

† The Indian name was Mattakeeset, or Namasakeeset.

is very friendly to it. Rye is also very considerably and successfully cultivated. Beside these, are raised wheat, barley, oats, and flax ; but not in proportionable quantities, nor with equal success.

The principal reason, why more of the land has not been cultivated, undoubtedly, is the barrenness of the soil. Within the last fifty years, many of the inhabitants have been induced to make settlements in other parts of the country, where their labours are more liberally rewarded. It is very probable, however, that more land would be cultivated, were not the situation so convenient for navigation, which most people prefer to the more laborious life of the farmer. For the last fifty years, not more than two hundred acres, perhaps, have been converted into pasturage or tillage.

Woods.] Somewhat more than half the town is woodland, though there have been settlements here, one hundred and sixty years. Oak, pitch, and white pine, are most common.* Beside these, there are maple, birch, ash, cedar, and walnut.

Hills.] The town is neither remarkably hilly nor level. The most extensive plain, consisting of two hundred or three hundred acres, is in the west part of the town, adjoining the post road from Boston to Plymouth. The highest hill is in the south-east part of the town. It rises, immediately, on the south and west, from the bay, which lies between this town and Plymouth. The summit is about four hundred feet from the water : perpendicularly, one hundred and seventy or one hundred and eighty feet. It is called the Captain's hill, or mount, as it makes a part of the farm, which was Capt. Standish's, one of the first settlers in the town. This hill commands an extensive, variegated and delightful prospect. Beyond a bay, about three miles wide, to the south, lies Plymouth, and to the south-west, Kingston. To the west and north-west, beyond three miles of cultivated land, in the town, the country appears to be covered with wood. Far to the north-west, about twenty-five miles, on a strait line, are seen the blue hills, in Milton and Stoughton, rising high above the surrounding country. To the east, the eye is attracted by the Atlantic's wide extended plain. Turning to the south-east, we have a view of Barnstable Bay, washing the western shore of Cape Cod. Beside the beach, which lies to the east, three miles from the town, the prospect is diversified by two pleasant islands within the harbour, and the Gurnet ;† and enlivened by the passing of vessels, within and without the harbour.

* Capt. Samuel Alden, who died twelve years since, recollected the first white pine in the town. Now, the eighth part, perhaps, of the wood-land is covered with trees of this growth.

† Clarke's Island, consisting of about one hundred acres of excellent land ; and Sauquish, which was joined to the Gurnet, by a narrow piece of sand : For several years, the water has made its way across, and insulated it. The Gurnet is an eminence, at the southern extremity of the beach, on which is a light house, built by the State.

Ponds.] A little south of the centre of the town, is Island-creek Pond: so called, on account of its being the fountain of a brook, which near to the bay, as it passes a small island, is known by the name of Island-Creek. The pond is one mile and a half from the salt-water. It is half a mile wide; one and a half in length. The red and sea perch, shiners, pout, and sometimes pickerel, are found in it. Half a mile, north west from this, lies a smaller pond, about one mile in circumference. No streams run into it; neither is there any communication of water, upon the surface of the earth, from it to the larger pond. It is always very nearly the same height.

Air.] The air is the same, as in other maritime towns in this State. Undoubted facts prove that it is friendly to health and longevity.† The extremes of heat and cold, are about the same as at Boston and Cambridge, $2\frac{1}{2}$ degrees below $0°$: $92\frac{1}{2}$ above, at the extremes, by Fahrenheit's Thermometer.

It has often, and justly, been observed, that settlements near the salt water, are healthy situations. The only reason which can be given, is, that the atmosphere is greatly charged with saline air. It should seem, then, that the idea of an east wind being unhealthy, cannot be true. At Duxborough—and this is generally true, of other towns in the State, situated by the salt water—during the months of April, May, and June,‡ (the season, in which the east winds, so unpleasant to our

† Many instances might be mentioned. About two years since, a woman died in the town, aged one hundred and three. Generally, each year affords an instance of the death of a person past ninety. There are now living in the town sixty-three persons, (twenty-one males and forty-two females) who are more than seventy years old: Twenty (eight males and twelve females) past eighty; two males within a few months of ninety: One male and five females past ninety. The proportion of those past seventy to the whole number of inhabitants is one in twenty-three. It is not meant to suggest, that the adjoining towns are not equally healthy situations.

The very advanced age, which several persons of one particular family attained, whose descendants now live in Duxborough, is worthy of notice John Alden, who came to Plymouth in 1620, was one of the signers of the compact established immediately upon the arrival of the first settlers, and who, for many years, was chosen an assistant in the government of Plymouth, lived to be eighty-eight years old. David Alden, his son, who lived in Duxborough, attained the age of seventy-three. Captain Samuel Alden, son of David, and grandson of John Alden, lived to the one hundred and sixty-first year, from the settlement of Plymouth, and died at Duxborough, in 1780, aged ninety-three. He had a sister, who attained nearly the same age.

‡ In 1778, in the months of April, May, June, July and October, about three hundred persons had the small-pox by innoculation, under the care of Dr. Winslow of Marshfield, on the islands, in the harbour, and not one of them died of the disorder.

feelings, prevail) it has never been observed, that the inhabitants are more exposed to diseases, of any kind : Nor does it appear, that these winds are ever introductory to any.

NUMBER OF INHABITANTS.] The inhabitants are 1460. They were nearly as numerous fifty years ago. The difference, perhaps, is fifty or sixty. It is not probable, that the number of inhabitants will ever be greatly increased. They will, probably, continue to emigrate, as for many years past, and the number will be about the same, as at present.

MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE.] More than one third of the men, who are of an age, fit for labouring life, are engaged in navigation. Twenty vessels, the greater part from sixty to ninety tons, are owned in this town. Several of them are employed in coasting between this and the southern States in the Union. Some make more distant voyages : But the greater number are employed in the cod fishery. They generally secure a comfortable subsistence. About half the inhabitants live by husbandry. Some are employed in the mechanick arts. Shipbuilding is the most profitable. There are persons of this trade, in the town, who are acknowledged to be as ingenious, as any in the State. Other occupations, which are common in the State, are followed. There is a proportionable number of cabinet-makers, carpenters, smiths, and shoe-makers.

RELIGION.] There is only one religious society in the town. This is Congregational. It may be observed, without an exception, there are no sectaries in the place. The reason, undoubtedly, is, that the clergy have been men of learning and catholicism. For the last forty years, particularly, the town has been blessed with religious instructers, who have been too well acquainted with the Christian system, and too honest, to teach the doctrines of fallible men, or to insist on subjects of "doubtful disputation."

The first settlers lived in the southern part of the town, which lies by the bay between this place and Plymouth. The soil here is better than in most other parts of the town. But probably they choose this situation, because it is the nearest to Plymouth. The first church stood near the water. It was a very small building. The second building for publick worship, was a mile farther north. The situation is pleasant ; but not central. It stood about one hundred years. The present church is a very handsome building ; it was erected in 1784. It is equally distant from the southern and northern boundaries of the town.

Rev. Ralph Partridge was the first minister. He was settled as early as the incorporation of the town ; and continued in the ministry, in this place, until his death, in 1658. He had been a minister in the church of England ; but "being hunted," as he expressed it, "like a partridge upon the mountains, at last, he resolved to get out of their reach, and take his flight to New-England." He was a member of the venerable synod at Cambridge, in 1648. It was the design of this synod to agree upon a mode of church discipline. Three ministers (Rev. Mr. Partridge was one of them) were chosen to draw up, separately, a mode of church government. From the performances of these

gentlemen, the platform of church government and discipline was composed. Mr. Partridge discovered the spirit of primitive christianity. He suffered much on account of the poverty of his flock, but he did not forsake them. Rev. Mr. Holmes succeeded Mr. Partridge. To Mr. Holmes, Rev. Ichabod Wiswall succeeded. He was the pastor of the church in this place about thirty years: He died at Duxborough. Mr. Wiswall was a native of this country. Mr. Partridge and Mr. Holmes came from England. Mr. Wiswall was two or three years at Harvard college. But he was not graduated. Poverty or sickness must have prevented; not any thing that was unfavourable to his abilities or virtue; for he gave undoubted evidence afterwards, that he possessed both. He was in England, in 1691, an agent for the Colony of Plymouth. While he was in England, he wrote a poem which was occasioned by the appearance of a comet, and which was published in London. Rev. John Robinson, his successor, was settled in 1700. He continued in the ministry in this place nearly forty years. After Mr. Robinson, was Rev. Samuel Veazie: He was the minister about eight years. Rev. Charles Turner succeeded Mr. Veazie; he was in the ministry in the town seventeen years. Rev. Zedekiah Sanger was settled in 1776. In 1785, his pastoral relation was dissolved. His imperfect state of health obliged him to request it. Mr. Turner, and Mr. Sanger were much respected and beloved by the people of their charge. They still live in their affectionate remembrance. Rev. John Allyn is the present minister. He was ordained in 1788.†

It should not pass unnoticed, that the inhabitants of this town have always discovered the same spirit, which influenced their ancestors in settling this country; and have ever proved themselves the worthy descendants of those resolute and determined advocates of civil and religious freedom. They opposed, unanimously, the oppressive measures of Great Britain, in the late unnatural war: They have been equally opposed to religious tyranny; and to the absurd systems and unmeaning ceremonies, which fallible and designing men have instituted to enslave the human mind.

† Mr. Allyn is the eighth minister ordained in Duxborough, since the incorporation of the town in 1637. Excepting Mr. Partridge and Mr. Holmes, they were educated at Cambridge. Mr. Robinson was graduated in 1695: Mr. Veazie, in 1736: Mr. Turner, in 1752: Mr. Sanger, in 1771: Mr. Allyn, in 1785.

To his much Honoured and Respected friend, Major ATHERTON, *at his House in Dorchester, these present.*

Much Honoured and beloved in the Lord.

THOUGH our poor Indians are much molested in most places, in their proceedings in way of civility, yet the Lord hath put it into your hearts, to suffer us to proceed quietly at Ponkipog, for which I bless God, and am thankful to your self and all the good people of Dorchester. And now that our proceedings may be the more comfortable and peaceable; my request is, that you would please to further these two motions. First, that you would please to make an order in your town *secrety*,* and record it in your town records, that you approve and allow the Indians of Ponkipog, there to sit down, and make a town, and to enjoy such accommodations, as may be competent to maintain God's ordinances among them another day. My second request is, that you would appoint fitting men, who may, in a fit season, bound and lay out the same, and record that also, and thus commending you to the Lord, I rest,

your's to serve in the
service of Jesus Christ.
JOHN ELIOT.

Roxbury, this 4th of the 4th, 57:

Whereas, there was a plantation given, by the town of Dorchester, unto the Indians at Ponkipog, it was voted, at a general town meeting, the seventh of December, 1657, that the Indians, shall not alienate or sell their plantation, or any part thereof, unto any English, upon the loss or forfeiture, of the plantation.

The same day, it was voted, that the Honoured Major Atherton, Lieutenant Clap, Ensign Foster, and William Sumner, are desired and impowered to lay out the Indian Plantation, at Ponkipog, not exceeding six thousand acres of land.

True copy from Dorchester Records,
Attest, NOAH CLAP, Town Clerk.

* Perhaps, the Clerk, that put Mr. Eliot's letter on the town records, made a mistake, and put the word *secrety* instead of *certify*.

An Epitaph written by Mr. WILLIAM POLE *of* Dorchester, *who kept school in the town a number of years, and was a Clerk of the town several years, in order to be put on his Tomb when dead.*

Ho! Passenger it's worth thy pains to stay,
And take a dead man's lesson by the way,
I was what now thou art, and thou shalt be
What I am now, what odds b'twixt me and thee.
Now go thy way, but stay take one word more,
Thy stuff, for aught thou know'st stands next the door.
Death is the door, the door of heaven or hell,
Be warn'd, be arm'd, believe, repent, farewell.

An Inscription on the Grave Stone of the ingenious Mathematician and Printer, Mr. JOHN FOSTER, *who died Sept. 9th* 1681, *aged thirty-three years.*

Astra colis vivens moriens, super æthera Foster
Scande precor, cælum metiri disce supremum,
Metior atque meum est, emit mihi dives Iesus
Nec teneor quicquam nisi grates solvere.

The Rev. Mr. RICHARD MATHER'S *Epitaph.*

D. O. M: Sacer.
Richardus hic dormit Matherus
(Sed nec totus nec mora diuturna)
Lætatus genuisse pares.
Incertum est utrum Doctior an melior,
Anima & Gloria non queunt humari.

Divinely rich, and learned Richard Mather,
Sons like him, prophets great, rejoic'd this father;
Short time his sleeping dust here's cover'd down:
Not his ascended spirit or renown.

V. D. M. in Ang. 16 Annos. In Dorc. N. A. 34. An.
Ob. Apr. 22d. 1669, ætatis suæ 73.

In Epitaph engraven upon the tomb of Lieutenant Governour STOUGHTON, *an inhabitant of* Dorchester.

Gulielmus Stoughtonus armiger,
Provinciæ Massachutensis in Nova Anglia Legatus,
deinde Gubernator;
Nec-non Curiæ in eadem Provincia Superioris
Justiciarius Capitalis,
Hic jacet.
Vir Conjugii Nescius,
Religione Sanctus,
Virtute Clarus,
Doctrina Celebris,
Ingenio Acutus,
Sanguine & Animo puriter Illustris,
Æquitatis Amator,
Legum Propugnator,
Collegii Stoughtoniani Fundator,
Literarum & Literatorum Fautor celeberrimus,
Impietatis & Vitii Hostis acerrimus.
Hunc Rhetores amant facundum,
Hunc Scriptores norunt elegantem,
Hunc Philosophi quærunt sapientem,
Hunc Doctores laudant Theologum,

Hunc Pii Venerantur Austerum.
Hunc Omnes Mirantur ; Omnibus ignotum,
Omnibus licet notum.
Quid plura Viator ? Quem perdidimus
STOUGHTONUM ?
Heu !
Satis dixi, urgent Lachrymæ,
Sileo.
Vixit annos septuaginta,
Septimo die Julii Anno Salutis 1701
Cecidit.
Heu ! Heu ! Qualis Luctus ?

Copy of a Letter from the Rev. COTTON MATHER *to Dr.* JOHN WOODWARD ; *probably the Secretary of the* Royal Society *in* London.

A TIDE *and* STORM *of uncommon circumstances.*

SIR,

THE reading of a storm is not so bad as the feeling of it ; I shall therefore think it no trespass on civility to entertain you with a short relation of a storm and tide, wherein these parts of the world saw what no man alive remembers to have seen before, and suffered incomputable damages. It was on February 24th, 1723, when our American philosophers observed an uncommon concurrence of all those causes which an high tide were to be expected from. The moon was then at the change, and both sun and moon together on the meridian. The moon was in her perigee, and the sun was near to his having past it, but a little before. Both the sun and moon were near the Equinoctial, and so fell in with the annual and the diurnal motion of the terraqueous globe. There was a great fall of snow and rain, the temper of the air was cool and moist, and such as contributed unto a mighty descent of vapours. A cloudy atmosphere might also help something to swell and raise the waters. Finally, the wind was high, and blew hard and long, first from the southward, and it threw the southern sea in a vast quantity to the northern shores : Then veering eastwardly, it brought the eastern seas also upon them. And then still veering to the northward, it brought them all with even more accumulations upon us. They raised the tide unto an height which had never been seen in the memory of man among us. The tide was very high in the night, but on the day following, it being the Lord's day, at noon, it rose two feet higher than ever had been known unto the country, and the city of Boston particularly suffered from its incredible mischiefs

and losses. It rose two or three feet above the famous long wharf, and flowed over the other wharves and streets to so surprising an height, that we could sail in boats from the Southern Battery, to the rise of ground in King's-street, and from thence to the rise of the ground ascending towards the north meeting-house. It filled all the cellars, and filled the floors of the lower rooms in the houses and ware houses in town. The damage was inexpressible in the country. On the inside of Cape Cod, the tide rose four feet, and without, it rose ten or a dozen feet higher than ever was known. At Rhode-Island and Piscataqua they fared as we did in Boston. At Hampton the sea broke over its natural banks for many miles, and continued running over for many hours. Almost all over the country the artificial banks of the sea were broken down. The marshes were overflown, and overwhelmed; mighty stacks of hay, some removed, some destroyed, many acres of marsh ruined, being either torn up through the rage of the water, or covered with the sands from the road. This is the sum of the story, if there be nothing in it more worthy to be remembered than waters that pass away; (or any thing like the memorable November storm that filled the English world with horror, twenty years ago, and whereof a large book was written,) yet it may lead a person of your sagacity to some considerable speculations; and more particularly, though I have mentioned what our small philosophers here may dream for the causes of such occurrences, yet you will also consider how far the subterraneous heats and steams below the bottom of the ocean, rising thence and passing through it, and causing the deep to boil as a pot, may farther contribute unto them. However as for a tempest so for a letter, about one you may think the shorter the better, it shall therefore now be over. I will add no more and you shall be sensible of nothing more but a swelling tide of esteem and affection for you, in the breast of Sir, your hearty friend and servant. C. M.

September 24*th* 1724.

Copy of a Letter from the Hon. John Winthrop, *Esq. of* New-London, *to the Rev. Dr.* Mather, *of* Boston.

New-London, Sept. 12, 1717.

SIR,

BEING from home the last post day, when your letter arrived here, I am now to thank you for it, and to make answer to what you demand of me. The observations I made of the prodigious storms of snow, in the doleful winter past, are many. But I shall mention but two at this time, and they are these. That the snow spangles which fell on the earth, appeared in large sexangular forms. *Seu nivem sex radiatem; et stellas has niveas observavi prout astrologi vulgo adspectum depingunt sextilem.* The other is, that, among the small flock of sheep, that I daily fold in this distant part of the wilderness, (for I am a poor shepherd) to secure them from the wild rapacious quadrupeds of the forest; after the unusual and unheard of snows, the aforesaid animals from the upland parts of the country, were, in great numbers forced down to the sea side among us, for subsistence, where

they nested, kennelled and burroughed in the thick swamps of these ample pastures, nightly visiting the pens and yards for their necessity, &c. And the ewes big with young being often terrified and surprised, more especially with the foxes, during the deep snows ; it had such impression on them, that the biggest part of the lambs they brought forth in the spring, are of Monsieur Reynard's complexion and colour, when their dams were all either white or black. The storm continued so long and severe, that multitudes of all sorts of creatures perished in the snow drifts. We lost at the island and farms, above eleven hundred sheep, besides some cattle and horses, interred in the snow. And it was very strange that twenty-eight days after the storm, the tenants at Fisher's Island, pulling out the ruins of one hundred sheep out of one snow bank in a valley, (where the snow had drifted over them sixteen feet) found two of them alive in the drift, which had lain on them all that time, and kept themselves alive by eating the wool off the others, that lay dead by them : As soon as they were taken out of the drift they shed their own fleeces and are now alive and fat ; and I saw them at the island the last week, and they are at your service.

The storm had its effect also on the ocean : The sea was in a mighty ferment, and after it was over, vast heaps of the enclosed shells came ashore, in places where there never had been any of the sort before. Neptune with his trident, also, drove in great schools of porpoises, so that the harbour and river seemed to be full of them ; but none of these came on shore, but kept a play day among the disturbed waves. As for the golden fleece—the hider and his partner intended to settle in your town after they had made a few more wreck voyages, and have come back undiscovered like trading men, as I was told by my author. And as to my informer, he was always plotting and contriving how to accomplish your business, without discovering it to any more ; but he was so needy that I believe he had never so much money together to carry him down, and keep him there any time for the purpose ; and a few weeks before he died, he was proposing to me for a new trial and discovery of the thing. Sir, what I know about it I have truly, faithfully, and ingeniously communicated to you, and hope, by some means or other, you may in time be the better for it. I thank you for your publications, I have mentioned to my honest neighbour Timothy the reprinting them, without mentioning your name in the matter, encouraging him to the work, by the quick vent of so large a number of the first impression.

I have given a dose of your febrifugium to one of the town, which I hope, has cured him of a malignant fever, and it is an excellent remedy *ob dolorem lienis*. I am indebted for your mentioning my name inter F. R. S.* at Gresham ; I am an obscure person, less than the poorest of your servants, and not fit to stand before princes, but am contented to lie hid among the retired philosophers.

I am &c. JOHN WINTHROP.

To the Rev. Doctor COTTON MATHER.

* *This appointment afterwards took place.*

THE first appearance of the Aurora Borealis was very astonishing to our ancestors, both in England and America. It was first seen in England in 1716, *and in New-England in* 1719. *An account of the former was written by the Rev. Thomas Prince who was then in England. An account of the latter was published here by an anonymous author. They are both now newly presented to the publick.*

Mr. PRINCE'S *Account of the* Northern Lights, *when first seen in England*, 1716.

THERE seemed to be a great stream of smoky Light rising in the N. E. reaching from near the earth, ascending and waving like the light of a great house or bon-fire in a dark evening, about half a mile off, which we therefore thought it at first to be : But soon altered our minds when we saw it increasing in breadth, length, and brightness, and pushing forwards, retreating and advancing in the shape of a broad sword, and like the shooting vibrations of a very high blaze, until it extended to the point over our heads. As it increased in bigness, so did it likewise in the swiftness and fury of its motion, and grew by degrees into a bluish, red and fiery colour almost like to that of the flame of brimstone. Both the colour and figure continually changed, I know not how, till at length, on a sudden, it brake forth into the appearance of a raging and mighty torrent of bloody waters, that at first looked like the sudden giving way of a dam, and the sea bearing all irresistibly before it : Whereupon all that part of the heavens over us turned of an inconceivably bright rainbow colour, and immediately run into an admirable, inexpressible confusion of an infinite variety of motions that were amazingly quick and terrible to behold.

I know not how to give you an idea of this part of the appearance ; unless you may conceive something of it by the various and most violent motions that are in a great body of waters, when an higher stream happens to descend and impetuously rush into another. Sometimes they ran into circular forms, sometimes into ovals, sometimes the circles and ovals were variously comprest on their sides by their approaching nearer to one another, or the greater interflux of the nameless and unknown matter. Sometimes they ran winding within, and hastily pursuing one another in the manner of whirlpools ; and sometimes they ran round and crossed like an 8, and in numberless other different figures ; that something resembled the various, quick, and confused rambles of flies in the midst of a room, or of spiders on the surface of a pond ; or the perplexing contortions and turnings of a great heap of living eels just covered with water in the bottom of a boat ; or as the little foldings and ridges at the tops and bottoms of the fingers ; or to mention no more comparisons, like the figures it is probable you have seen of *Cartesius's vortices.*

All this while, the brightness, bloodiness, and fieriness of the colours before mentioned, together with the swiftness of the motions, increased, insomuch as we could hardly trace them with our eyes ; till at length

almost all the whole heavens appeared as if they were set on a flame, which wrought and glimmered with flashes in a most dreadful and undescribable manner. It seemed to threaten us with an immediate descent and deluge of fire, filled the streets with loud and doleful outcries and lamentations, and frighted a great many people into their houses: And we all began to think whether the Son of God was next to make his glorious and terrible appearance, or the conflagration of the world was now begun. For the elements seemed just as if they were melting with fervent heat, and the ætherial vault to be burning over us like the fierce agitations of the blaze in a furnace, or at the top of a fiery oven: and the glimmering light looked as if it proceeded from a more glorious body behind that was approaching nearer and about to make its sudden appearance to our eyes.

While we expected and wondered what would be the next alteration and dreaded the consequence; all on a sudden the flaming body above us brake into innumerable spears of light, that at first darted every way and across one another, but in a little while they conformed to the same point of motion and played in a regular and astonishing manner. At first it seemed as if the very frame of the world was a dissolving: But afterwards one would have thought that there was a furious battle of invisible spirits, that the powers and principalities of the air had broke out into a fierce contention, and that transforming themselves into angels of light, they were converted into seraphick flames and figures that are said to resemble their natures.

These distinct and various lights were in the shape of swords, and their several bodies did not appear entirely at the same time, but seemed to begin at one end and shoot a prodigious way to a sharp point in a moment, like one continued blaze of a flying fire-brand. As they continually appeared and streamed, so they continually vanished like the lucid path of a rocket, while others were incessantly making their appearance in different places round about. The motion of them all was now pointed upwards, and reached some a greater and some a lesser extent: But none above more than from about eight or ten degrees of the horizon to about six or eight from the zenith. For the most part they flashed unequally: But sometimes they seemed to begin, shoot, and blaze all together, and make the earth almost as light as day. And then their appearance was like a thousand great swords or blazing stars, shooting upwards from all sides of the hemisphere, but leaving where their points ended a vacant space in the centre of about ten or twelve degrees diameter, and sometimes of a roundish and sometimes of various multangular figures, directly over our heads. For there seemed to be a remarkable part of the heavens above us which they all violently pushed at, but could never enter.

Thus they continued their exercise for above a quarter of an hour, but decreased by degrees both in number, quickness, and brightness, till they left the heavens as they were before, and indeed all the time of this amazing appearance, almost, as clear I think as ever I saw them It was the more unaccountable, and wonderful, that there was no palpable

cloud hung over us : But we saw the stars shining very plainly all the while in the intervals of the spears, and in the very places where they were, as soon as ever they vanished ; unless when the brightness of the apparition was so excessive as to drown their light.

After the scene was over, which was a little before eight o'clock, there was every now and then a single flash or streak or two of light, as before, in divers parts of the clear firmament, and some of these retained their appearance for above the length of a minute, which none of the other did ever reach near unto : But as the light of these was always considerably fainter, so they proportionably continued longer before they entirely vanished.

I then walked with a gentleman out of the town, and went up on a rising ground, whence we saw a thick and lightsome cloud directly in the north, and very near the horizon, if not adjoining to it, that appeared exactly as if the full moon was behind it, which was not to rise till after midnight, and that we supposed to be the source and mine-head of all this surprising train and fire-work of nature. Every now and then we saw beams of light issuing from it, somewhat like, but brighter than those we often see from the sun through the crevices of a dark and broken cloud, that made it to resemble the royal artillery of pikes, spears, and swords, and other armour, that are commonly placed under the king's picture. And as the cloud arose, the streams increased and flashed towards us, and we thought the aerial armies were going to rally and make another onset : But they retreated again, as the cloud passed on by the borders of the horizon to the west, and slowly moved to a greater distance from us.

By the brightness of the fiery pillars and the strange illumination of the air remaining, I came home a-foot about 10 o'clock, when the ground and heavens were every whit I think as light as immediately after sunset. I sat up and watched till three in the morning, when I could discern nothing more of them : But they continued very visible till between one and two ; when the heavens began to be overspread with clouds, and the moon arose, which put a gradual end to this real and most incomprehensible vision.

Thus have I given you a bare and I am pretty sure an exact historical relation of things as I saw them. I have repeated it to several who were spectators with me, who entirely agree to my description of the manner, appearance, and process of this wonderful prodigy. I might easily make a great many philosophical and moral reflections on the things I have written and others I saw : But for several reasons, which you see I have not room for, I desire to be excused at present.

A Letter to a certain Gentleman, desiring a particular account may be given of a wonderful METEOR, *that appeared in* New-England, *on December 11th, 1719, in the evening.*

SIR,

I UNDERSTAND by a friend of mine, you desire my thoughts of the late appearance in the heavens, which was amazing to the people in many parts of the country. I will therefore endeavour to answer your desire; and that 1. By giving an account of it, according as I observed it, and according to what I can learn from others. And then, by telling you what may in all probability be looked upon to be the natural cause thereof. And I hope (though I believe I shall differ from some) I shall say nothing that shall be inconsistent either with Divinity or Philosophy.

I. For the account of it, &c. take in the following words:

Dec. 11, 1719. This evening, about 8 o'clock, there arose a bright and red light in the E.N.E. like the light which arises from an house when on fire (as I am told by several credible persons who saw it, when it first arose) which soon spread itself through the heavens from east to west, reaching about 43 or 44 degrees in height, and was unequally broad: It streamed with white flashes or streams of light down to the horizon (as most tell me) very bright and strong. When I first saw it, which was when it had extended itself over the horizon from E. to W. it was brightest in the middle, which was from me N.W. and I could resemble it to nothing but the light of some fire. I could plainly see streams of light redder than ordinary, and there seemed to me to be an undulating motion of the whole light; so thin was this light, as that I could see the stars very plainly through it. Below this stream or glade of light, there lay in the horizon some thick clouds (which a few hours after arose and covered the heavens) bright on the tops or edges. It lasted somewhat more than an hour, though the height of its red colour continued but a few minutes. About eleven, the same night, the same appearance was visible again; but the clouds hindered its being so accurately observed as I could wish for. Its appearance was now somewhat dreadful; sometimes it looked of a flame, sometimes a blood red colour; and the whole N. E. horizon was very light, and looked as though the moon had been near her rising. The dreadfulness, as well as strangeness of this appearance, made me think of Mr. WATTS's description of the Day of Judgment in English sapphick:

When the fierce North Wind with his airy forces
Rears up the Baltick to a foaming fury,
And the red lightning with a storm of hail comes
Rushing amain down.

And of these lines in Flatman:

When from the dungeon of the grave
The meagre throng themselves shall heave,
Shake off their linen chains, and gaze
With wonder when the world shall blaze.

About an hour or two before break of day the next morning, it was seen again, as I am informed ; and those who saw it, say it was then the most terrible. I saw it but twice, for the heavens being so overcast discouraged me from sitting up longer than my usual time.

This Meteor was seen in many places : To those S. from us, it appeared lower in the horizon, and therefore to the more southern places must be wholly invisible. Thus I have given you the best account I am able of this Meteor ; which though very unusual here, yet in northern countries more frequent, and seems to me to be what our modern philosophers call Aurora Borealis. Now, Sir, as for the next thing, which is my thoughts on this Meteor, you shall have them in the following words :

II. It is well known to all (though but a little read in philosophy) that there is abundance of nitro-sulphureous particles exhaled or forced out of the earth continually, but most of all in summer-days ; which is the reason why we have thunder more then, than in the winter. Now for two or three days before this appearance, we had hot weather for the time of year, and very hot indeed the day immediately preceding, as hot as we commonly have in September, and the air was so warm, as that I can almost call it sultry hot : Now I believe there was a very great quantity of such particles exhaled or forced out of the earth in this hot weather, and this evening were fired ; which because fire in such inflammable matter moves very quick, was the cause of the quick motion of this light from the east to the west, though not contrary to the wind, yet across it ; for the wind was then north. You will now ask me how it came to pass, that there were such exhalations more now than at another time. To which I answer, I believe they were occasioned by some subterraneous heat.* That there are subterraneous fires is received by all philosophers, and demonstrable from those igneous eruptions that are in many places ; which fires are the causes of dreadful earthquakes which have sometimes occasioned the rise of mountains, and of land even out of the water itself.† And even in watry countries (now ours is a well watered country) there are pits and wells out of which arise such sulphurous steams, as that if you hold a candle over them, they will immediately flame, (much of the nature I suppose they are of spirits of wine camphorated) insomuch that whole houses have been consumed hereby. [See the late excellent Treatise, called the Religious Philosopher, vol. 2.] And possibly there may be such in our country, which perhaps may occasion the sudden alteration of weather we are so subject to.

* Dr. *Wallis* ascribes the ascent of vapours to subterraneous heats. *Phil. Trans. Abr. p.* 123

† See Dr. *Hooke*'s Discourse of earthquakes, and Mr. *Ray*'s 3 Physico-Theo. Discourses.

To all this I add, that, though in the summer time we have more hot weather, and so more vapours are without doubt exhaled; yet whenever the weather is what we call sultry hot, we commonly have much thunder and lightning, or a good deal of rain; and so the matter which occasions such Meteors, is consumed in thunder and lightning, or is mixed with the particles of water, and so descends to the earth again; and I am confirmed in this opinion, in that (as the Chymists say) from rain water may be distilled a burning spirit.

Now if you ask me, Why this Meteor appeared in the N. E. and so to the N. W.? I answer, The exhalations were driven there by the S. W. winds the day before; and ascending above, even to the upper regions of the air, were not touched by the N. W. winds which blew the day preceding the evening on which this Meteor appeared.

There remains a difficulty or two more yet to be solved, *viz.* How it came to be fired? and why it appeared more than once?

To the first, I say, it may be fired, by what the philosophers of old called the *Antiperistasis* of the air, *i. e.* This inflammable matter meeting with something of a contrary nature to it, was by the contest between them put into a flame; for experience shows, that if we take nitre, brimstone, and quick lime, mix them in an egg-shell, as soon as they touch the water they will fly out in an actual flame, and such is the nature of an acid and an alkali, as that the contest between them will heat the plate or vessel in which you endeavour to satiate them, as I have several times experienced; now according to philosophy, where there is heat there is fire. Or if it was not thus, as has been already explained, I do not see why some fiery vapour or other might not be driven out of the earth or sea, and so in its ascent meet with and give fire to this combustible matter.

As to its appearing more than once, the reason is the same as is given for the repetition of the flashes of lightning.

As for the redness of its colour, I take it to be nothing but the more thick or gross particles that might be mixed with this inflammable matter: And as for the white streams of light, they were made by the more fine spirituous particles; and that this is very probable, may be argued from the quickness of their motion, as well as their issuing down to the horizon, opposite to the place from whence the Meteor first arose (as most tell me they did, and I am apt, from the nature of the thing, to believe it was so.)

And this I shall take to be the true solution of this wonderful appearance, till somebody will give me, or I can find, a better.

As to prognostications from it, I utterly abhor and detest them all, and look upon these to be but the effect of ignorance and fancy; for I have not so learned philosophy or divinity, as to be dismayed at the signs of heaven; this would be to act the part of an heathen not of a christian philosopher. See *Jer.* x. 2. And here I would intreat you to take me right, for I don't mean that this sight was not surprising to me, for I have said it was before, but I only mean that no man should fright himself by supposing that dreadful things will follow, such as

famine, sword, or sickness; nor would I be understood to imagine, that there will not be fearful sights in the heavens before the great and terrible day of the Lord.

Thus, good Sir, I have, as well as I could, given you an account of that unusual Meteor, together with my thoughts upon it. If it is acceptable to you, I shall heartily rejoice, and allow you to expose it as you please, only concealing my name; hoping what I have said may serve in some measure to illustrate the works of nature, which all they who have pleasure therein will inquire into, that so they may be excited to love, honour, and adore the God thereof; to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

E Musaeo meo 15 Dec. I am, Sir,
Anno, 1719.

Your very humble servant,

An Account of a recent discovery *of* seven Islands *in the South Pacific Ocean, by* Joseph Ingraham, *Citizen of Boston, and Commander of the brigantine* Hope, *of seventy Tons burthen; of, and from this Port, bound to the N. W. Coast of America. By permission of the Owners, copied from the Journal of said* Ingraham, *and communicated to the Publick, by the* Historical Society.

AFTER passing Cape Horn, on the 26th of January, 1791, Capt. Ingraham saw the islands of St. Ambrose and Felix, on the 9th of March—and on the 14th of April, touched at *Port Madre de Dios* in the island of *Dominica*, one of the cluster called the *Marquesas*, lying in lat. 9° 53′ S. Having procured such refreshments as the place afforded, he sailed thence, on the 18th of April; and here the extract from his Journal begins.

"*April* 19. [a day ever memorable to Americans.] We steered N. N. W. from the island of Dominica, and at 4, P. M. saw *two islands* under our lee; one bore N. W. by N. from us, and N. N. W. distant 35 leagues from the N. W. end of Dominica; the other bore W. of us. This sight was unexpected, as I knew we had seen and passed all the group called the Marquesas. On this I examined Capt. Cook's chart of the world, his voyages, Quiros's voyage, who was with the Spanish Admiral, that discovered the Marquesas in 1595, M. Bougainville's account of circumnavigators and lands discovered by them, all my charts and globes of modern date; but could find no account of but five islands in the group, called Marquesas de Mendoça, or any land laid down where these islands we then saw were. Of course I had reason to conclude ourselves the first discoverers. On which I named the first Washington's *island*, in honour to the illustrious President of the United States of America. The other I called Adams's

island after the Vice-President. At 5 o' clock *two* more islands were seen, one of which was between Washington's and Adams's island; this I called FEDERAL *island*. The other was a small island which bore about S. from Adams's, this I named LINCOLN'S *island*, in honour to General Lincoln. The situation of these four islands is as follows:

	Latitude S.	Longitude W. of London.
Washington's	8° 52′	140° 19′
Adams's	9° 20′	140° 54′
Lincoln's	9° 24′	140° 54′
Federal	8° 55′	140° 50′

All four may be seen at once when sailing towards them from the East. I stood for Washington's all night. At six the next morning,

April 20. We were abreast of the E. end of it; and by 10 we were under its N. W. side. A canoe in which were three men came towards us; when they were within about 300 yards of us, they laid still a while as it were to view us; frequently calling out *hootah*, which is, *land*, or, *on shore*, in the language of the Sandwich islands, and I judged theirs was the same. After many gestures and signs of friendship, we prevailed on them to come near enough to receive a few *cents* and nails. They talked to us a great deal but to little purpose, as all we understood was an invitation to go ashore; but as I saw no place proper to anchor in, I bore away more to the W. and they paddled in shore again, giving us a song, as at the Marquesas. These people resembled those we had left, except one young man, who had his hair stained white at the ends, as is common at the Sandwich islands. The canoe was curved at each extremity, both being alike and resembling the stern of those at the Marquesas.*

It was my intention to have anchored at this island and taken possession; but I could find no place on its lee side proper for a vessel to anchor, unless in case of great necessity. I therefore called my officers and seamen together, and acquainted them, that I had every reason to believe the island we were then under, and the three seen the night before, were never seen by any civilized nation except ourselves; thereto witness, that I claimed them as a new discovery, and belonging to the United States of America. On which we all gave three cheers and confirmed the name of WASHINGTON'S *island*. After this we

* These are thus described in another part of the journal "The bottom of their canoes is dug out of a single log, and the sides are sewed on with line made of coco nut fibres. At the head and stern they have a small piece of board fixed perpendicularly, which repels the water and prevents it entering the canoe as she goes ahead. The stern is considerably higher than the head, being a curve terminating in a point. The prow is flat and horizontal, so that the water continually washes over it. The single canoes have outriggers, the double ones are lashed together. Their sails are made of mats in a triangular form; but neither canoes nor sails possess that neatness which marks the superior genius of the Sandwich Islanders."

bore away for another island, which we saw bearing, W. by N. distant 10 leagues.

Washington's island is about ten leagues in circuit ; of a moderate height, diversified with hills and vallies, and well wooded ; the whole having a vastly pleasant appearance. It is accessible for boats in many places ; but, as I before observed, there appeared no good anchorage. As to the number of inhabitants, I cannot say, as we saw only two canoes ; the one beforementioned, and one, which by the help of a glass I saw two men launch ; but they concealed themselves again and did not venture off to us. Houses we saw none ; though no doubt these were concealed below the trees, as at Port Madre de Dios. Federal island and Adams's island appeared about the same extent and height as Washington's, from what I could judge by the distance we passed them.

At six in the evening we were within two leagues of the island which we discovered and bore away for at noon. It was much higher than Washington's ; but appeared about the same extent. The N. E. part is much broken and divided ; its summits terminating in ridges and peaks, of a pyramidical form ; the whole bearing a *volcanick* appearance. Night approaching, I could not examine this island particularly, although I much wished to have done it. To have remained for no other purpose might perhaps be deemed inconsistent by the gentleman of the concern ; hence I hawled my wind to the northward. This island I named FRANKLIN'S *island*, in memory of Doctor Benjamin Franklin. I cannot pretend to describe this island very particularly, for the reasons beforementioned. It appeared however well wooded, and was inhabited ; for as soon as we had hawled off, the natives made fires, as it were to entice us to remain.

The latitude of Franklin's island is 8° 45′ S. its longitude 140° 49′ W. Its centre bears W. by N. 10 leagues from Washington's.

From this island we steered N. till six o' clock the next morning.

April 21, when we saw *two* more islands bearing W. N. W. distant 8 leagues. We bore down for them. One I named HANCOCK'S *island* in honour to the governour of Massachusetts ; the other KNOX'S *island*, after General Knox. I hawled towards Hancock's island ; but finding no anchorage, bore away under Knox's. We passed several fine bays, in which was good shelter from the trade wind ; but the bottom I judged was bad, from the surrounding rocky shores. One of the bays seemed, as to shelter, convenience of landing, &c. equal to Port Madre de Dios ; but its shores indicated a bad bottom. Hence every ship or vessel on such voyages, that sails in unknown seas, and that necessity obliges to anchor among rocks, would do well to be provided with a chain of 25 or 30 fathom ; which would enable them to anchor any where, without the risque of losing their anchor or endangering the ship.

In the best bay abovementioned, which I named BR[illegible]TLE'S *bay*, we saw one house, on the brow of a hill, above a fine g[illegible]ve of cocoa-nut trees ; but we saw no person stirring. One house we had passed

before and gazed in vain for inhabitants. OPYE† said they were afraid, as at *Atooi*, when they first saw a vessel. He said they hawled all their canoes up and kept close till a few seeing the near approach of the vessel, had courage to venture off, and returned with beads, trinkets, &c. when many, allured by their good fortune, launched to visit the strangers, biassed by curiosity and the hope of gain.

From the houses we saw, I am led not to doubt that Knox's island is inhabited. The approach of night prevented any further examination, and I bore away to the westward. The wind came off the land in frequent heavy gusts and squalls, which rendered it dangerous plying under it all night; besides, under land in tropical climates the wind generally shifts in the night, from the natural trade wind, and blows from the W. which was, as we were situated, directly on shore. To remain under such a risque would therefore have been imprudent.

Knox's island is about 6 or 7 leagues in circuit; it appears fertile and pleasant to the eye, on all sides; but more particularly on the W. and N. W. sides, which are well wooded, and have many fine groves of coco-nut trees. Hancock's island is about 5 leagues in circuit. It appears to have no harbour or place of shelter for ships; but is accessible in many places for boats. It has a good verdure, with both trees and bushes.

Hancock's island lies in lat. 8° 3′ S. Long. 141° 14′ W.
Knox's island in 8° 5′ 141° 18′

As to the positions of these seven islands which we have discovered and given names to, I presume they cannot be far from the truth. Federal island, which we saw late in the afternoon, is most liable to a small mistake, as I had no opportunity to work its distance by angle; yet being pretty sure of the situation of Washington's and Adams's, Federal island cannot be missed, as it lies between them; and as I before observed, all may be seen at once, coming from the E.

From what M. Bougainville says,‡ it is pretty evident these islands were not seen by the Spaniards in 1595, when they discovered the Marquesas. They pretend only to four islands in this group, nor ever saw any more. Capt. Cook, who visited the Marquesas in 1774, discovered a small round island, which bears about N. N. E. from the E. end of Dominica, and which he named HOOD's *island*. This

† A native of one of the Sandwich islands, who had been at New-York and Boston, and was returning home in the HOPE, after an absence of twenty months. "I was much surprised (says Capt. Ingraham) to find that Opye could not understand the natives of the Marquesas; but still more to find he could converse but very indifferently with the people of his own country. Nay, on our first arrival, I could apparently talk better with them than Opye; for he, by blending the American language with his own, formed a kind of jargon unintelligible to every one but himself; but it soon wore off, and his mother tongue became natural."

‡ Introduction to the Engl h edition by Dr. FORSTER, page 21.

may be plainly seen in running from the E. and steering to sail between San Pedro and Dominica. Indeed we saw the four, discovered by the Spaniards, all at one view.

As I could not, from the most diligent search find the least account of these Islands, I conceive there could be no impropriety or presumption in naming them, and claiming the discovery as my own. Should it be hereafter *proved* that islands in the same situation have been seen before, I renounce my claim with as little ceremony as I assumed it.

It seems from M. Bougainville's account of the several voyages performed round the globe and the discoveries made, that none ever sailed nearer these islands than the Spaniards, who discovered the Marquesas; their next discovery on the same voyage was the island *San Bernardo* which is 24° W. from which, I judge they steered S. W. or W. S. W. from Port Madre de Dios. Capt. Cook, in 1774, steered S. W. and the group which I discovered, at least the first four lies N. W. from that port. I shall now take my leave of these islands, leaving it to be determined by future investigation, who first discovered them.

April. 22. Course N. Knox's island in sight distant 14 leagues. The variation, by amplitude was 4° 30′ E. Latitude observed at noon 7° 34′ S.

The foregoing account is faithfully extracted from the journal of Capt. Joseph Ingraham, in his own hand writing, by

JEREMY BELKNAP, *Corresponding Secretary of the Historical Society.*

☞ Since the above extract was made, the College Librarian, Mr. HARRIS, has consulted all the *books of maps and voyages* in the library, particularly *Dalrymple*'s and *Cook*'s, and cannot find any islands laid down between the Marquesas and the Equator. Several other maps and voyages have been searched; among which is HARRISON'S *new Atlas*, printed in 1791; but nothing appears from any of them to militate with the claim of our citizen, to the first discovery of these *seven islands;* to which the publick voice will in justice to him, in future give the denomination of INGRAHAM'S *Islands.*

Extract of a Letter from N. TRACY, *Esq. Jan.* 21, 1793, *to a Member of the* Historical Society.

"YOU say, in finishing the life of Daniel Gookin that his family is extinct: This is a mistake, he was my mother's great-grandfather. This Daniel Gookin had a son Nathaniel, who was ordained minister at Cambridge. He died at twenty-two years of age, but left a son Nathaniel, who was afterwards minister in Hampton, and was my mother's father. He left a son Nathaniel, who was a minister in North-Hill parish, (Hampton,) and many other children, two of whom are now living in Portland. A cousin of mine, Capt. Daniel Gookin, served in our army the last war, with a good reputation. And a captain's commission was given to him, when we were about raising a new army in 1786 or 1787."

Original Orders of Gen. BURGOYNE *to Col.* BAUM, *with a brief description of the battle of* Bennington, &c.

THE capture of Baum's detachment in the year 1777, at Bennington, was a memorable event, and led to the total overthrow of the main army under the command of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne. The orders given by that officer to Colonel Baum, serve to exhibit, in a striking point of view, the folly of depending in a time of general political convulsion, upon the opinion and advice of the few, who by the rights of favouritism, have the ear of the ruling power.

General Lincoln had an honourable, active and important share, in the decisive battle on the heights of Bemis. He had the honour of sharing in the submission of the captured army, who but a few days before considered their march from Canada to New-York, as having no impediments, excepting what should arise from the badness of the roads. That gentleman having deposited in the Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the original orders delivered, and signed by General Burgoyne to Colonel Baum, a copy is given to our readers, in the publication of this month.

INSTRUCTIONS *to Lieutenant-Colonel* BAUM.

"THE object of your expedition is to try the affections of the country, to disconcert the councils of the enemy, to mount the Reidesel's dragoons, to complete Peters's corps, and to obtain large supplies of cattle, horses, and carriages. The several corps, of which the enclosed is a list, are to be under your command.

"The troops must take no tents, and what little baggage is carried by officers, must be on their own bat-horses.

"You are to proceed from Batten Kill, to Aslinton, and take post there, till the detachment of provincials under the command of Capt. Sherwood, shall join you from the southward.

"You are then to proceed to Manchester, where you will again take post, so as to secure the pass of the mountains on the road from Manchester to Rockingham; from thence you will detach the Indians, and light troops to the northward, towards Otter Creek. On their return, and also receiving intelligence that no enemy is in force upon the Connecticut river, you will proceed by the road over the mountains to Rockingham, where you will take post. This will be the most distant post on the expedition, and must be proceeded upon with caution, as you will have the defile of the mountains behind you, which might make a retreat difficult. You must therefore endeavour to be well informed of the force of the enemy's militia in the neighbouring country. Should you find it may with prudence be effected, you are to remain there, while the Indians and light troops are detached up the river, and you are afterwards to descend the river, to Brattlebury, and from that place, by the quickest march, you are to return by the great road to Albany.

"During your whole progress, your detachments are to have orders to bring in to you, all horses fit to mount the dragoons, under your command; to serve as bat horses to the troops, together with as many saddles and bridles as can be found. The number of horses requisite, besides those necessary for mounting the regiment of dragoons, ought to be thirteen hundred. If you can bring more for the use of the army, it will be so much the better. Your parties are likewise to bring in waggons and other convenient carriages, with as many draft oxen as will be necessary to draw them; and all cattle fit for slaughter (milch cows excepted) which are to be left for the use of the inhabitants. Regular receipts, in the form hereto subjoined, are to be given in all places where any of the above mentioned articles are taken, to such persons as have remained in their habitations, and otherwise complied with the terms of General Burgoyne's Manifesto: But no receipt to be given to such as are known to be acting in the service of the Rebels. As you will have with you persons who are perfectly acquainted with the abilities of the country, it may perhaps be adviseable to tax the several districts, with the portions of the several articles, and limit the hours of delivery; and should you find it necessary to move before the delivery can be made, hostages of the most respectable people should be taken, to secure their following you the ensuing day. All possible measures to be used to prevent plundering. As it is probable that Capt. Sherwood, who is already detached to the southward, and will join you at Arlington, will drive a considerable quantity of horses and cattle in to you, you will therefore send in this cattle to the army, with a proper detachment from Peters's corps, to cover them, in order to disincumber yourself; but you must always keep the regiment of dragoons compact. The dragoons themselves must ride and take care of the horses of the regiment. Those horses which are destined for the army must be tied together by strings of ten each, in order that one man may lead ten horses. You will give the unarmed men of Peters's corps to conduct them, and inhabitants whom you can trust. You must always take

your camps in good position, but at the same time where there is pasture, and you must have a chain of sentinels, around your horses and cattle when grazing. Colonel Skeene will be with you as much as possible, in order to assist you with his advice, to help you to distinguish the good subjects from the bad, to procure you the best intelligence of the enemy, and to choose those people who are to bring me the accounts of your progress and success.

"When you find it necessary to halt for a day or two, you must always entrench the camp of the regiment of dragoons, in order never to risque an attack or affront from the enemy.

"As you will return with the regiment of dragoons mounted, you must always have a detachment of Capt. Frazer's or Peters's corps, in front of the column, and the same in the rear, in order to prevent your falling into an ambuscade, when you march through the woods.

"You will use all possible means to make the country believe, that the troops under your command are the advanced corps of the army, and that it is intended to pass the Connecticut on the road to Boston.

"You will likewise insinuate that the main army from Albany, is to be joined at Springfield by a corps of troops from Rhode-Island. It is highly probable that the corps under Mr. Warner, now supposed to be at Manchester, will retreat before you, but should they, contrary to expectation, be able to collect in great force, and post themselves advantageously, it is left to your discretion to attack them or not, always bearing in mind, that your corps is too valuable to let any considerable loss be hazarded on this occasion.

"Should any corps be moved from Mr. Arnold's main army, in order to intercept your retreat, you are to take as strong a post as the country will afford, and send the quickest intelligence to me, and you may depend on my making such a movement as shall put the enemy between two fires, or otherwise effectually sustain you.

"It is imagined that the whole of this expedition may be effected in about a fortnight, but every movement of it must depend upon your success in obtaining such supply of provisions as will enable you to subsist for your return to the army, in case you get no more, and should not the army be able to reach Albany before your expedition shall be completed, I will find means to give you notice of it, and give your rout another direction.

"All persons acting in committees, or any officers under the directions of the Congress, either civil or military, are to be made prisoners.

"I heartily wish you success, and have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

J. BURGOYNE, *Lieutenant-General.*"

"*Head Quarters, August 9th,* 1777."

UNDER these orders Colonel Baum proceeded with all the caution which was inculcated, until he had arrived at Bennington. When he had entered the territory of Vermont, the people were impressed with all the apprehensions, which are experienced by the inhabitants of an invaded country. They beheld from their high lands the unresisted approaches of an apparently invincible army ; which seemed to hold their lives at its pleasure, and their property at its disposal. Until the detachment arrived at Bennington, the place where they were destined to be offered on the altar of Liberty, they met with very little resistance. The supplies which they gathered were not very flattering, and the aids given them by the inhabitants were very far from being encouraging. They were alike deceived by friends and enemies, but the deceptions equally leading to their ruin, issued from very different motives in each party.

General Schuyler was on the Hudson with the American army, waiting the slow approaches of the main British army, under the command of General Burgoyne, while his numbers would by no means admit of his sending a detachment to oppose the ravages of Baum's party. But the people in New-Hampshire appeared to be at once inspired by that spirit of intrepid resolution, which flows from a sense of duty, and the feelings of freemen, whose rights are invaded. The command of this body was given to Brigadier-General Stark, in whose skill and courage they had full confidence.

This body was disconnected with the army under General Schuyler, and his opinion of them is well expressed in *his letter to Congress*, which procured an order for their dispersing themselves : But before these orders had arrived, Stark and his fellow volunteers had rendered themselves dear to their country, by turning the fate of a desperate contest in favour of liberty. As the happy event of this attempt is so well known, we will step aside and sketch a brief character of the hero, whose unshaken firmness, successfull skill, and personal bravery, did so much to ensure it.

John Stark had an early opportunity to turn his attention to the calls of war. He was born in that part of New-Hampshire, which was subjected to the invasions of the Savages.‡ The first impressions received on his mind, were those of alarm, and the necessity of warlike defence. In the year 1752, when he was a boy, he was taken captive by the Indians, adopted as one of their children, and remained for some time with them.

In the wars, which happened before the reduction of Quebec, he distinguished himself as a brave intrepid partisan. Roused by the sound of publick danger, he led a regiment of his fellow citizens to the field of Cambridge, in the year 1775. When General Howe landed on the north side of Charles-river, to attack the American forces, Colonel Stark placed his regiment on the left of the American redoubt, and received the enemy with his usual coolness and address.

‡ He was born in Londonderry, and was used to hunting in his youth.

Twice they gave way to *his* well directed musquetry, and finally marched *up the river*, and gained the eminence contended for, by a rout where they did not meet with so forcible an opposition. He was useful in the American army after this period, and was present at the battle of Trenton, in the year 1776, when the Hessians were captured by General Washington.

By some new arrangements in the American army, Colonel Stark found it convenient to retire. He was a man of great plainness of manners, and severity of conversation. Having retired to his place in Derryfield, like Cincinnatus he tilled his ground, until the alarm of Burgoyne's approach, urged him to lay by the plow-share and the pruning-hook, and once more to take up the sword and the spear. How widely different is the character of the man, who girds on his armour, to relieve the distresses of his country, to save innocent citizens from the ravages of an insulting enemy, from that of the man, who thirsting for conquest and sanguinary glory, leads on his banditti to rapine and plunder.

When Colonel Stark had arrived at the State of Vermont, his character at once collected the scattered militia, and inspired the people with confidence. His dispositions were prudent and cautious ; while wisdom and firmness dictated the necessary and effective measures.

The enemy had to pass a defile between two mountains, while the American leader threw up a breast work at the southern extreme of it ; he marched two bodies round to cut off their retreat. Baum marched with his usual confidence. He was ensured of success by the orders he possessed, and the weight and prowess of Reidesel's dragoons and Peters's corps. He found from the noise of two small cannon, which was all the train of artillery belonging to the troops who opposed him, that he had something unexpectedly serious in his front. The pride militaire and the obedience which Germans always pay to their orders, prompted him to advance. The violent assault of Reidesel's dragoons was soon repelled, nor did the weight and courage of Peters's corps prove efficient. The last claim of an invading enemy is a retreat, but this was denied him ; and having his troops disarmed and made prisoners, was his apology for not obeying the orders of his General.

The bat horses were useful in bringing the sick officers to the place of their confinement, where they obtained in a peaceable manner the forage and provision, which they had been disappointed of, whilst they were attempting to obtain them by force.

One drum of Peters's corps and one complete suit of arms of Reidesel's dragoons, were the trophies presented by General Stark to the State of Massachusetts ; and they are now kept in the Senate Chamber.

Mankind are in the pursuit after happiness, and in the chace they multiply the miseries, and increase the misfortunes of each other. He who desolates an unoffending country, to gain laurels, ought to be hated and despised by the human race. But the true joy, and well grounded satisfaction of Stark and his volunteer band, can be much better conceived than expressed. As he returned to his own soil, to lay

by the weapons of war, and to assume those of husbandry; he saw his scattered fellow citizens also returning to the mansions from whence danger had expelled them. The sweet voice of security was inviting them home, the harvest stood in smiles to welcome their sickles, and kindred hearts were no longer torn by a dreadful anxiety for friends dispersed to unknown borders.

A Letter from the Rev. JOHN HUBBARD, *giving an Account of the Town of* NORTHFIELD.

Northfield, Sept. 1, 1792.

IN the year 1672 the Township was granted to Messrs. Pinchon, Peirsons and their associates, the Indian name *Squawkeague*, laid out on both sides of Connecticut river, six miles in breadth, and twelve in length.

In the year 1673 settlers came on, planted down near one to the other, built small huts, covered them with thatch, near the centre made one for publick worship, and employed one Elder Janes as their preacher; also ran a stockade and fort around a number of what they called houses, to which they might repair, in case they were attacked by the enemy. These first settlers were a set of religious congregational people, emigrated from Northampton, Hadley, Hatfield, &c.

Probably in about five or six years, an Indian war broke out, a large army came suddenly upon them, killed some in their houses, others as they were coming out of the meadows; the rest of this distressed people, men, women and children, fled to their fort, unable to sally out and repel the enemy, in the utmost distress and no present relief could be afforded them. The Indians in the mean time kept around them, killed their cattle, destroyed their grain, burnt up the houses that were without the fort and laid all waste; the dead bodies of their neighbours were unburied. The people full of fear, lest the Indians would break into their fort. A number of days and nights were they in this distressed condition. In the mean time one of their brave men got out of the fort in the night and ran to Hadley near thirty miles.

A certain Captain Beane, with his company, and a number of teams were ordered to go and bring off the distressed people. But when they had got within two miles of the settlement, were way-laid, killed, and almost all the company and the teams; the few that survived this bloody carnage, fled back to Hadley, then Captain Treat, with a larger body of men, and more teams were ordered out, and fetched off the distressed inhabitants.

Thus long did these poor people continue in fear and jeopardy every hour. At length they arrived to the place abovementioned. The Indians soon returned and destroyed their fort and every thing that remained. All was now desolate and waste, and continued so for about five or six years—the war ending.

In 1685, settlers came on again, continued ten or twelve years, built mills, and some convenient houses, and carried on their husbandry to a

good degree and introduced mechanicks, the settlement flourished, however had not arrived to such ability as to settle a minister, though they began to hire some preaching. But alas! another Indian war breaking out, the people were drove within their forts, which they had erected. Government afforded them some protection, notwithstanding the Indians pressed hard upon them, killed some and took others captive, and the hearts of the rest of the people were dismayed and discouraged, and in council, determined it was best to return to the lower towns, this they did, late in the Fall or beginning of Winter, when the Indians had withdrawn. The next Spring the Indians came on, burnt up a second time, laid the settlement waste: This brings us to the year 1700 or more, a little before Deerfield was destroyed.

In the year 1713 the proprietors petitioned the General Court to grant them a committee to ascertain and fix the boundaries of their home lots, meadow lots, &c. The committee were, the Hon. John Stoddard of Northampton, Eleazer Porter of Hadley, Henry Dwight of Hatfield, Esqrs. Settlers came on very much together, rebuilt their mills, houses, and soon proceeded to set up a house for publick worship, and were now incorporated into a town by the the name of Northfield, as it was the northernmost town in the county of Hampshire and colony of the Massachusetts, on Connecticut river.

About the year 1718—were gathered into a distinct church, invited and settled Mr. Benjamin Doolittle, of Wallingford, in Connecticut, who continued in the ministry about thirty years, died 1748, aged fifty-four years: He began with the people in their third settlement, when not more than thirty-five families; lived to see them increase almost to a hundred, and to a good degree of opulence and wealth, though oft worried with distressing wars, it being very much a frontier.

It was in Mr. Doolittle's day that the Province line was ran, between New-Hampshire and Massachusetts, which cut off one third part or more, and is now Hinsdale.

In the year 1750, the people invited and settled Mr. John Hubbard, of Hatfield, who has continued in the ministry more than forty years. We are not more than a hundred and twenty families at this present time.

The air is salubrious, and the soil tolerably fertile. No Indians, nor any of their monuments. Northfield is southward of the centre of the settlements on Connecticut river. The people are all furnished with bibles and other good books, in their houses, but no social library; there has been much talk about setting up one, I hope it may be effected. Generally a grammar and other good schools in town; people are well spirited towards the instruction of their children, though never sent forth many scholars into the world.

The most of the people pursue husbandry; it is an excellent township for raising of wheat and other kinds of grain. It has a sufficient number of tradesmen of all sorts. Commerce has flourished, and is now again reviving. It has a number of good buildings, an elegant house for the worship of God: Of late a curious still-house set up for

the making of gin ; but this, I fear, will be of no publick utility. That which, above all the rest comfortable and praiseworthy is, that as a people, we are to appearance, pretty well united in faith, worship, and christian discipline ; no sectaries.

If this historical account will be any way useful to you, it will give satisfaction to Your humble servant,

JOHN HUBBARD.

Letter from JOHN COLMAN, *Esq. in* London *to his brother, the Rev.* Dr. COLMAN *of* Boston, *giving an account of the hearing before the Lords of the Privy Council, on the complaint of Gov.* SHUTE, *against the House of Representatives of the Province of Massachusetts Bay.*

London, May 18th, 1724.

DEAR SIR,

MY last went by Mr. John Allin, since which the King's Attorney and Solicitor-General have once heard Mr. Cook in answer to the memorial. They sat between three and four hours, and are gone through three articles ; the first was the matter of the woods, but when the charge was heard, I observed Mr. Cook did not pretend to say, as he used to do in New England, that the King had no right, but said that what they had done was in order to secure the King's right ; but Mr. Cook was soon answered by Sir Lawrence Carter, who was counsel for the Governour, and by Mr. Bendish, by producing the vote of the Assembly, which saith, that those logs being cut into lengths, which rendered them unfit for his Majesty's use—the King had no right to them, and accordingly they ordered them to be sold for the use of the Province, and it was further argued that they were actually sold to Mr. Plasteed of Piscataqua : Mr. Cook had two eminent counsellors, Mr. Reaves and Mr. Talbot, and two others, all bright gentlemen, who said as much as could be said in defence of the country, and managed the matter extremely well, but with the greatest modesty, it being a tender point, in which the prerogative was pretended to be invaded : The Attorney-General and Solicitor-General seem to me, to be but young men, to be advanced to such high stations, but if they are young in years, they are old in knowledge, and I saw soon discerned where the matter pinched, and though they said but little, yet said enough to satisfy me, that their report will be on the side of the Governour. The next article was, negativing the Speaker ; it was argued by Mr. Talbot and in behalf of the country that they had not denied the Governour's right in that point, and endeavoured to prove it, by saying they chose another ; but the Governour answered it was another Assembly that chose Dr. Clark, and that the Assembly who chose Mr. Cook, sat five days, and would not choose another, and then he dissolved them ; and further to prove that the General Assembly approved and justified what was done, he produced the message the General Assembly sent him, when he had

sent down his approbation of Dr. Clark, viz. that they did not send him the message whom they had chose for his approbation, but for his information; when that was read, I observed Mr. Cook's counsel looked down, the Attorney and Solicitor coloured, and one gentleman, I remember, called it a saucy answer. I confess, though I always condemned the Assembly for choosing Dr. Cook, because they could not but foresee it would be laying a bone of contention in the way between the Governour and Assembly, yet when they had chose him, I always justified their standing by that choice, for if it be in the power of a Governour to negative one speaker, he may proceed in the same method *ad infinitum*, and so in effect say, we shall have no Assembly, and overset the constitution at once; this will go (I believe) also in favour of the Governour, for I find they are very tender of the prerogative: the third article, was the ordering of the solemnising a fast; a great deal of talk there was on this head, and many minutes produced to prove the Assembly had moved in that matter formerly, but Sir Lawrence alleged, that the prerogative was invaded in that point notoriously; for when the Governour disputed the matter with the Assembly, they told him, as appeared by their votes, that unless that House appointed it, as well as the Governour and upper House, the people were not punishable by law if they broke in upon the day, by travelling, working, &c. Thus far they are gone, and are adjourned to Friday, the 29th inst.

I could not forbear reflecting on the state of my country; that they do not know their own happiness: They may, if they please, be the quietest, happiest people under the sun; but they will destroy themselves. I suppose by this time there is a ship load of tar gone, and next goes a load of turpentine, and then another of pitch, and so on. I hear the Governour saith, he will try who shall be Governour, he or Mr. Cook, and that he will see New England again, let it cost what it will: Nay, a gentleman here told me, he heard him swear it, which he wondered at, for he had never heard him swear an oath before in his life. He saith, now he sees his honour is concerned, he will not be out done by Mr. Cook.

My Lord Barrington came in, in the midst of the debates: As it happened, the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General sat facing the door, I stood just behind, between their chairs; the Attorney and Solicitor saw him as soon as his head appeared, rose up immediately, which surprised me, not knowing my Lord, to see the whole court rise up and pay such great respect: The Attorney motioned to my Lord to come to the table, where an elbow chair was in an instant brought, and he sat down in it, the only easy chair which was in the room: I mention this only to shew the difference Dr. Cook finds; it would (thought I at that time) better suit the Doctor's high spirit to be treated with the respect my Lord was, than to stand behind his counsellors, making a lame defence to the articles exhibited against his country, through his means.

Since the hearing, I happened to have some little talk with Dr. Cook upon the Exchange, and find he and I differ very much in our thoughts about matters; he thinks all will be well on the country's

side, and I suppose will write accordingly ; but I find nobody else of his opinion : He said one thing to me, which pleased me, viz. that since his coming here, and seeing how the governments, who are more immediately under the crown are used, he hath a greater value for our charter privileges than ever he had ; to which I answered, that I thought our neighbours at New York, alone, were enough to convince us of the worth of our charter, and that I was of opinion, rather than lose it, they could not buy it at too dear a rate.

Mr. Sanderson did not appear with his brother Agent : I inquired the meaning of it, and was answered, that the Lords of Trade bid him choose which he would be, viz. their Clerk, or New England's Agent, for both he should not be. The under secretary to their Lordships was there, but none of their clerks. I remember, I have heard Sanderson called Secretary to the Board of Trade (in New England) but I see he is not so much as under secretary, only one of the clerks. Mr. Hollis, Neal, Harris, and others, New England's friends, say, that finally, if the charter be saved, it must be by the country's sending over messengers to the King, to solicit therefor in another manner ; and when the country comes to be in temper, and see their own interest, these gentlemen say they will take such healing measures : But Doctor Cook thinks there is no danger of the charter. I will endeavour to be present at next hearing, and then shall write you what passes.

I am now, through the favour of heaven, at the fifth day of June, and can inform you, that yesterday, Dr. Cook was heard a second time in answer to the memorial, it was five in the afternoon, before the Solicitor came, and then the hearing began. But they went through but one article, viz. About the adjournment of the Assembly to Cambridge ; and a Mr. Talbot, who was Counsel for the Province, said what he could in justification of the Assembly, though I think all he said was very little to the purpose. But what shall we say, be a man's thoughts never so ingenious and bright, he cannot with all his rhetorick, make black white ; a bad cause will admit but of a poor defence ; and so Sir Lawrence Carter and another gentleman, who was of counsel for the Governour, hinted, and said, that Mr. Talbot, they humbly conceived, had said nothing to the purpose : But, indeed, Mr. Dummer told me, he heard Mr. Talbot tell Dr. Cook, just before the hearing began, that the Assembly had infringed on the prerogative in that matter, but he would make the best he could of it : In short, I am fully of opinion, that the Governour will make good every article of the memorial. The further hearing is to be the 11th inst. when I hope to hear the arguments on the remaining articles : Were I in Dr. Cook's place, it would fret me to see myself so out done by a man I had called so many fools and blockheads, as he hath called the Governour ; I believe by this time he may begin to see with other eyes. The Governour desired me to give his service to you, and tell you, he had nothing to write, worth communicating to you at present ; when he had, you should hear from him. He at all times expresses a great concern for the good people of New England ; but saith, he is driven to what he doth,

and fears the perverse spirit of some among you, will put it out of the power of him, or any body else, to serve you ; and it is the opinion of all thinking men I talk with, that unless the country take more healing measures, and very speedily too, the country will lose all their privileges.

The Quaker's complaint hath been heard, and the persons who were imprisoned, are ordered to be set at liberty ; I hear, that at the hearing, the Attorney-General reflected on the country very sharply, and said, that was not the only instance in which they had assumed to themselves unwarrantable powers. I am really concerned, when I think seriously on these things, (having children, who must in all likelihood, spend their days there) that through the illnature and stubbornness of a few men, the country will lose so many valuable privileges, as no people else under the British Crown enjoy.

My service to Mr. Belcher, Mr. Cooper, and others, who may ask after me, especially to all relatives.

I am yours, &c.

JOHN COLMAN.

THOUGH the death of King CHARLES *I. be not properly a part of the American history ; yet as some persons who were concerned in that event took refuge in this country, and by the humanity of our forefathers were sheltered from the impolitick and malicious prosecution of* CHARLES *II. it becomes the duty of American Historians to collect and preserve every circumstance which may elucidate their characters.*

One of our ablest advocates for civil and religious liberty [Dr. Mayhew] *in a discourse professedly written against "the saintship and martyrdom of King* CHARLES," *has said that "it was not properly speaking the parliament, but the* army *which put him to death ; and it ought to be freely acknowledged, that most of their proceedings to get this matter effected, and particularly* the Court *by which the King was at last tried and condemned, was little better than a mere* mockery of justice."

The Regicides who fled to New England were Whalley, Goffe *and* Dixwell. *Of these, the last lies buried in New-Haven under a stone inscribed J. D. Esq. and some of his posterity are now living in Boston. A proposal has lately been made* to erect a monument on that ground in New-Haven, to the memory of these men. Before any determination is made in a matter of this kind, it is proper that the subject should be considered in every point of view ; and that all which can throw any light on their characters and conduct should be produced. For this reason the following paper lately handed in to the Historical Society, bearing every mark of authenticity, is given to the publick.*

* See the American Museum, for November, 1792.

A True and Humble Representation of JOHN DOWNES, *Esq. touching the death of the late King, so far as he may be concerned therein.*

FINDING myself involved by several votes and orders of this present Parliament, and also in the execution of the same, with those who plotted and designed the late King's death, and with others who were his judges ; I think myself bound, in duty and thankfulness unto God, and by all obligations to myself, family, posterity, and relations, to set forth a true narrative of all things concerning myself, and all my actings in that sad business ; and I shall not make lies a refuge, because I have hope in the God of truth.

During that long time of fourteen years, I served in the last Parliament, I was never of any junto or cabal ; indeed I did ever professedly decline it ; I never knew of any business, (except perhaps by hearsay) relating to those sad distractions, between the King and Parliament, until they came to be opened in the House ; I never knew of the intention of bringing the King to Westminster, till he was brought ; much less did I know that the end of his bringing was to take away his life ; I never knew of that intention, except what my own fears might suggest unto me, until the Bill was brought into the House to erect a High Court of Justice (as it was called) for his trial ; and therefore I was much perplexed and astonished when it was read. When the Bill was committed, I was not of the Committee, though it was numerous, nor was I ever at that Committee, though it sat very publickly in the Speaker's lodgings : When the Committee had order to bring in names for Judges, my name was not put in till after the amendments were reported, and upon a second commitment ; and then upon an unhappy occasion, passing through the Speaker's chambers, when the Committee was not sitting, I saw two or three Members, whose names I well remember, were in consultation at the table, and as I passed by them, one of them said, this gentleman's name is not inserted, and called to me, and said, Sir, you must make one in this great business ; I flatly gave my denial, and said, I could not serve them in it ; it was replied, that with my good favour, I must take my share : After the Bill was passed, and the Judges summoned to meet in the Painted Chamber, by express order of the House, all were enjoined to attend : And thus, through weakness and fear, I was insnared.

I shall forbear to mention many passages betwixt myself and other members, at several times, when I met with them, because I fear to be over tedious, though they would much make for my clearing ; and therefore I do now humbly come to relate my own demeanour the last day the King appeared at the Court.

When the Court was set, and the King brought, the President told him, that he had been charged with treason, perjury, murther, and other high crimes, committed against the people of this nation, and that he had refused to give an answer to the charge, demurring to the jurisdiction of the Court ; that he had been told, the Court was satisfied of their own jurisdiction, and that he was not to be the Judge of it ; and that

he had had several days given him for consideration ; and that this was the last day the Court would demand of him, whether he would answer to the charge or not ; if not, the Court would take the whole charge, *Pro Confesso*, and would proceed to judgment ; or words to this effect. The King, with such undaunted composedness and wisdom, as I never beheld in man, made answer to this effect : That he could not acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Court ; he acknowledged they had power enough indeed, but where is your authority ? Yet, said he, because I see you are ready to give a sentence, and that such a sentence may sooner be repented of, than revoked ; and that the peace of the nation may so much depend upon it, I think fit to let you know, that I desire to speak with my Parliament, for I have something to offer unto them which will be satisfactory to you all, and will be for the present settlement of the nation. The President regarded not these gracious expressions, but told him, he could take no notice of any thing he said, save only to demand once again, whether he would answer to his charge or not.

Then the King, not in passion, but with the greatest earnestness of affection, desired the Court, that they would once more consider of it ; for, said he, you may live to repent of such a sentence ; and therefore desired they would withdraw but for half an hour ; or, said he, if that be too much trouble for you, I will withdraw, and passionately moved his body.

The President was not affected with all this, but commanded the clerk to read the sentence ; God knows I lie not, my heart was ready to burst within me ; and as it fell out, sitting on the next seat to Cromwel, he perceived some discomposure in me, and turned to me and said, what ails thee, art thou mad, canst thou not sit still, and be quiet ? I answered, quiet ? No, Sir, I cannot be quiet ; and then I presently stood up, and with an audible voice, said, My Lord President, I am not satisfied to give my consent to this sentence, but have reasons to offer to you against it ; and therefore I desire the Court may adjourn to hear me. Then the President stood up and said, nay, if any member of the Court be unsatisfied, then the Court must adjourn, and accordingly did adjourn into the inner Court of Wards.

When the Court was set there, all but members and some officers being turned out, I was called by Cromwel, to give an account, why I had put this trouble and disturbance upon the Court ? I answered, and so near as possibly I can, after so great an elapse of time, I will set down my very syllabical expressions : My Lord President, I should have been very glad, that his Majesty would have condescended to these expressions long before this time ; I say, I should have been glad of it, both for his own sake and for ours ; but, Sir, to me they are not too late, but welcome now ; for, Sir, God knows I desire not the King's death, but his life ; all that I thirst after, is the settlement of the nation in peace : His Majesty now doth offer it, and in order to it desires to speak with his Parliament ; should you give sentence of

death upon him, before you have acquainted the Parliament with his offers, in my humble opinion, your case will be much altered, and you will do the greatest action upon the greatest disadvantage imaginable, and I know not how ever you will be able to answer it.

Cromwel in some scornful wrath stood up and answered me, so near as I can remember in these words, My Lord President, you see what weighty reasons this gentleman hath produced, that should move him to put this trouble upon you; surely this gentleman doth not know, he hath to deal with the hardest hearted man upon the earth; however, Sir, it is not the single opinion of one peevish tenacious man, that must sway the Court, or deter them from their duty in so great a business; and I wish his conscience doth not tell him, what ever he pretends of dissatisfaction, that he only would save his *old master;* therefore, Sir, I pray you lose no more time, but return to the Court and do your duty.

Not one soul would second me nor speak one word, yet I knew divers by name; Sir John Bourcher, Mr. Dixwel, Mr. Love, Mr. Waite, and some others were *much unsatisfied, yet durst not speak;* but on the contrary divers members took their turns with me in private discourse; Cromwel himself whispered me in the ear, and said, by this and Mr. Fries business he was satisfied, I aimed at nothing but making a mutiny in the army, and cutting of throats; another told me the generations to come would have cause to curse my actings; and another, which sunk deepest of all, told me that if I were in my wits I would never have done this, seeing I was before, as indeed I was acquainted, that the King to save his life, would make these offers, but *it would be as much as my life were worth to make any disturbance;* and besides, said he, it is not in the power of man, nor of this Parliament to save his life, for *the whole army are resolved, that if there be but any check or demur in giving judgment, they will immediately fall upon him and hew him to pieces, and the House itself will not be out of danger.*

To those whose height would permit me to speak and make replies, I told them, to me it was evident, the Parliament expected some such offers from the King, why else did they make that order, that upon any emergency which could not be thought of, that the Court should immediately acquaint the House therewith: And there was such an order entered and to be seen in the books, if he,* who in appearance ordered all matters, hath not *torn that order out, as I have heard he hath done all the rest of the proceedings;* and inferred, what greater emergencies could be, than that the King demurred to the jurisdiction of the Court, and yet desired to speak with the Parliament, and offered to do that which would be satisfaction to all, especially seeing, as was pretended that his denying to do such things, was the ground which forced such a proceeding with him. And so without any more

* Cromwel.

debate they returned to the Court, and I left them and went into the Speaker's chamber, and there with tears eased my heart. The effect and substance of this narration is true, and so near as I can remember the very words and circumstances, and it was so notorious and publick, that I hope God will stir up some worthy persons, though I have been careless not doing the same in design to attest the truth of the chief parts hereof; but for any thing else relating to that business, I utterly deny and protest against it, nor did I ever give them one meeting more, but wholly from that time deserted them, though I was often summoned to meet them in the Painted Chamber; and I hope persons of so great wisdom and goodness, will suffer compassions to rise within them, and will look back unto those times wherein it was criminal for a man but to whisper a word of respect to his Majesty; and my very subsistence was by an office upon which I had laid out almost my whole estate; and as this relation shews, I am but a weak imprudent man, yet I did what I could, I did my best, I could do no more; I was single, I was alone, only I ought not to have been there at all; I acknowledge myself to have highly offended and need pardon, and do humbly and professedly lay hold on his sacred Majesty's gracious pardon; and humbly implore the high and honourable Parliament's pardon also. I did not only forbear, but abhorred to buy one pennyworth of the King's goods, or one foot of his lands, though it is known I had as much or more opportunity than any other man, and perhaps more temptations to have allured me than most other men had; I have neither taken advantage nor grown rich, nor have had remuneration or allowances for any Parliamentary services or employments, as many others had, though it is well known what burthens have been laid upon me: The truth of this will be found, when books and treasuries shall be searched into; I may truly say, I have wore out myself, lost my office, robbed my relations, and now am ruined; and my estate when searched into, will not be found as perhaps may be supposed; I have a poor wife big with child, and eight children besides, and most of them very small, who already are forced to live upon charity, all my estate being seized on; I was the only member in the House that was prevailed with, to deliver Mr. Love's wife's petition for saving of his life, and so managed it, that the House divided upon the question, and lost it but by three voices, and I did not a little contribute to the saving of the lives of Mr. Jackson, and Mr. Jenkins, Ministers, who were in Mr. Love's condition; I have not been cruel to any, and I hope God will incline the hearts of his sacred Majesty, and the High Court of Parliament to be merciful to me and mine.

A Letter from King PHILIP *to Governour* PRINCE.

Copied from the original, which belongs to Mr. White of Plymouth; the words are spelt as in the original letter.

KING Philip desire to let you understand that he could not come to the Court, for Tom, his interpreter, has a pain in his back, that he could not travil so far, and Philip sister is very sik.

Philip would intreat that favor of you, and aney of the majestrats, if aney English or Engians speak about aney land, he preay you to give them no ansewer at all. This last sumer he maid that promis with you, that he would not sell no land in 7 years time, ior that he would have no English trouble him before that time, he has not forgot that you promis him.

He will come a sune as posible he can to speak with you, and so I rest, your verey loveing friend, Philip, dwelling at mount hope nek.

To the much honered
Governer, Mr. Thomas Prince,
dewlling at Plimoth.

[*There is no date to the letter, it was probably written about* 1660 *or* 70.]

AN HISTORICAL JOURNAL

OF THE

AMERICAN WAR.

The following Journal contains a brief detail of the principal events which occasioned the Revolution in America, and which took place during the War, which ended in its Independence. The facts were collected by a gentleman of information and judgment, and it is hoped that our readers will derive pleasure and improvement from its perusal.

INTRODUCTION.

AFTER the peace of 1763 had taken place, between England and France, the counsels of Mr. Pitt (afterwards Earl of Chatham) being rejected; Lord Bute and his coadjutor were introduced into the British Administration, under the auspices of King George the third. A new system of Colonial Government was contemplated, and a plan for raising a revenue in America was brought forward, by George Grenville, (commonly called *Lord* George Grenville) then at the head of the British Finances. It was reported to Parliament, and had their approbation, and an Act was passed for this purpose, in 1765, called the "Stamp Act," by which no instruments were valid in law, unless written on stamped papers, on which a duty was laid. It received the royal assent, and was sent over to the Colonies, to be put in execution by stamp officers appointed in each Colony.

The Colonists disallowed the right of Parliament to impose taxes upon them without their consent, and while they continued unrepresented in Parliament; taxation and representation in their view being inseparably connected in the British Constitution.

To enforce the operation of their unconstitutional Acts, Parliament ordered a naval and military force to rendezvous at *Boston*, in Massachusetts Bay. General Gage, who had succeeded to the government of it, detached some of the troops into the country, to seize provincial stores. This detachment commenced hostilities at Lexington, in that Province, which afterwards spread through the United Colonies; and issued in the dismemberment of thirteen of them from the Crown of Great Britain.

N. B. A PARTICULAR narration of the publick transactions at the rise of the troubles in America, and the commencement of hostilities in the (then province now) *Commonwealth of Massachusetts*, is contained in a manuscript, entitled " Memoirs of the revolution of Massachusetts Bay," in a series of letters, which, on suitable encouragement, will probably be published in a separate volume. The occurrences, therefore, in the *Massachusetts* are only noted at their respective dates in the following Journal. And a detail is here given of the principal events in the other States of the Union.

AN HISTORICAL JOURNAL

OF THE

AMERICAN WAR.

1765. THE *first* publick opposition to acts of Parliament in Boston was on this day.

Aug. 14. In the morning some pageantry was discovered to be suspended on liberty tree (so called) at the south part of the town. A promiscuous multitude assembled at the close of the day, cut down the pageantry, and carried it through the streets of the town ; demolished a small edifice, and damaged the gardens of Andrew Oliver, Esq. (then Secretary of the Province) who had accepted the office of a Stamp Master. The effigies were then consumed in a bonfire on Fort Hill.

1766. This day Parliament repeal the Stamp Act, and pass the Declaratory Act, in which they assert, " *They have a right to bind the Colonies in all cases whatsoever.*" The despotism discovered in this act alarmed all the Colonies, who afterwards united for their common defence.

Mar. 18.

1767. Parliament passed an act imposing a duty to be paid by the Colonists, on paper, glass, painters' colours, and teas imported into the Colonies.

Novem. William Burch and Henry Hulton, Esqrs. two of the five Commissioners of the Customs, arrived at Boston. They are appointed to reside in the capital of Massachusetts Bay, to receive and distribute the revenue.

1768. The Massachusetts *Circular Letter* to the sister Colonies stating their grievances, and requesting them to harmonize with them in decent and probable measures to obtain redress, which gave umbrage to the British administration, bears this date.

Feb. 11.

June 10. The *first* seizure made by the Commissioners of the Customs was in Boston ; being a wine vessel belonging to John Hancock, Esq. then an eminent merchant in the town. The circumstances that attended this seizure occasioned much commotion and disorder for a short time.

Aug. 4. Governour Bernard dissolved the Massachusetts General Court, being the punishment *Lord Hillsborough* instructed him to inflict, if they would not rescind the Circular Letter.

August. The Boston merchants agree not to import any more British goods, till the Revenue Act is repealed.

1768. This day met at Boston a convention of delegates from the various towns in the Massachusetts Bay, to deliberate on *Sept.* 22. constitutional measures to obtain relief from their grievances.

Sept. 28. Arrived at Boston, from Halifax, the 14th and 29th, and part of the 59th British regiments, escorted by seven armed vessels, designed, *at least*, to awe the provincials into a compliance with acts of Parliament, however unconstitutional they might be. These troops were quartered in the town of Boston, contrary to the remonstrances of the council, and the wishes of the citizens.

Nov. 10. Arrived at Boston, from Ireland, part of the 64th and 65th regiments, under the Colonels Mackey and Pomeroy.

1769. The House of Lords, having in their resolves censured the proceedings of Boston, the Town forwarded a petition to *May.* the King in their vindication.

Massachusetts *New* Assembly met in Boston, by precepts from Gov. Bernard, *ten* months after he had dissolved the Old Assembly; it being the annual election day agreeably to their charter.

Aug. 1. Sir Francis Bernard is recalled, and leaves his government of Massachusetts Bay to the administration of Lieutenant Governour Hutchinson.

1770. The time limited by the Boston merchants, for non-importation, having expired; they renew and extend their non-importation agreement, till the Revenue Acts are repealed.

On the evening of this *memorable day*, the massacre in *March* 5. Boston was perpetrated in King-street by a party of the 29th regiment, then under the orders of Captain Thomas Preston; five of the inhabitants were killed outright and mortally wounded—three or four more were wounded. This caused the citizens decently, though firmly and resolutely, to insist on the troops being removed from town, to the Castle, and they accomplished it.

The use of India teas entirely laid aside in Boston. Par-*April.* liament had taken off the duties on paper, glass, and painters' colours, but retained the duty on tea, to support the claim of supremacy.

May. This month died in England, *Dennis de Berdt*, Esq. Massachusetts Provincial Agent. He was succeeded in that office by Dr. Benjamin Franklin.

Agreeably to a vote of the town of Boston, Capt. Scott sailed from thence this month for London, with the cargo of goods he had brought from thence, contrary to the non-importation agreement; to give evidence, on the other side the water, of the sincerity of said agreement.

May 30. This day the election of Counsellors for the Province of Massachusetts Bay, *was held at Cambridge*, conformably to

Governour Hutchinson's orders, but contrary to their charter, and the sense of the whole Province. The patriotick party celebrated the day in Boston. An ox was roasted on the common, and given to the populace. 1770.

Lieutenant Governour Hutchinson, by virtue of instructions, delivered Castle William, in Boston harbour, to Colonel Dalrymple, to be garrisoned by British troops. *Sept.* 10.

The Earl of Dunmore arrived at New-York, being appointed Governour of that Colony. The Scottish interest, at this time, was great in England. *Oct.* 15.

The trial of Captain Thomas Preston, for the massacre on the 5th of March last, came on at the Superior Court of Judicature, held in Boston. He is brought in *not guilty*, and discharged. *Oct.* 23.

The eight soldiers, who were indicted also for the massacre, had their trial begun this day. It lasted seven days, when *two* only were found guilty of man-slaughter: These were slightly branded, and *all* of them liberated. These trials were the subject of much animadversion. *Nov.* 27.

Lieutenant Governour Hutchinson receives a Commission to be Governour and Commander in chief of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay. He refuses the Provincial salary, and receives it out of the American Revenue Chest, being made independent of the people, and is paid by the Crown. Esteemed by the people a dangerous innovation. 1771. *May* 11.

Admiral Montague succeeds Commodore Gambier as Commander in chief of the Naval Armament, at Boston. *August.*

The King's armed schooner Gaspee having been troublesome to the trade of Rhode-Island, they burnt her. 1772. *June* 9.

Colonel Dalrymple with the 14th regiment quitted their barracks at Castle William; being ordered to Barbadoes, from thence to proceed on an expedition against the poor Caraibs at St. Vincents. *July* 22.

The Massachusetts General Court petition the King, to remove Governour Hutchinson, and Lieutenant Governour Andrew Oliver, from their respective offices in the Province. 1773. *June* 23.

A Committee of Correspondence was chosen in Boston. *This is the foundation of the Union of the American States.* *Nov.* 22.

On the evening of this day, *three cargoes of teas*, the property of the East-India Company in London, were thrown into the docks in Boston, and destroyed by a number of persons disguised like the Indian natives. Neither the Governour, nor Commissioners, would grant liberty to send it back. *Dec.* 16.

The Cruiser sloop of war, Capt. Howe, arrived at Boston this month, bringing a commission under the Great Seal of England, appointing Joseph Wanton of Rhode-Island, Daniel Horsemanden, Chief Justice of New-York, Frederick *Decem.*

1774. Smith, Chief Justice of New-Jersey, Peter Oliver, Chief Justice of Massachusetts Bay, and Robert Auchmuty, Judge of Admiralty, to make inquiry into the affair of burning the Gaspee at Rhode-Island. Admiral Montague was directed to hoist his flag at Newport, during the sitting of the court of inquiry. This indicated a rigorous procedure. The Commissioners accordingly met at Newport, made inquiry, and adjourned They met again, and dissolved their meeting. It produced nothing but expense.

January. The petition from Massachusetts General Court, to remove Governour Hutchinson from the Government, was dismissed by King and Council, but he was notwithstanding superseded soon after.

May 14. Major General *Thomas Gage* arrived this day at Boston, with a commission to be Governour of said Province, in room of Thomas Hutchinson, Esq. and commander in chief of his Majesty's forces in North America.

Governour Hutchinson took his departure for England.

An act of Parliament, called the "*Boston Port Bill*," to shut up the Port, as a punishment for destroying the teas in December last, was under consideration of the town at the time of General Gage's arrival; and many spirited resolves were passed at the town meetings.

June. The *new* Governour was instructed to hold the General Court at Salem. They accordingly met there this month. At the close of the session, they chose five delegates to meet such as should be chosen by the other Colonies, to convene at Philadelphia, and take into consideration the alarming state of all the Colonies, &c. This was the basis of the *Continental Congress.*

General Gage receives an act of Parliament, which alters the constitution of Massachusetts Bay, as it stood under the charter of William and Mary.

Aug. 8. Thomas Oliver appointed to succeed Andrew Oliver, Esq. deceased, as Lieutenant Governour of Massachusetts Bay; his commission was read this day.

Sept. 5. The *first Continental Congress* convened at Philadelphia, consisting of delegates from the twelve United Colonies, viz. New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina.*

They passed sundry resolves, declaring their rights. They agreed on a joint petition to King George III. for redress of their grievances. They wrote letters to the people of Great Britain, "on the subject of the controversy between them; to the inhabitants of the Colonies," and to the inhabitants of

* Georgia united with the twelve Colonies afterwards.

the Province of Quebec ; and formed an association for the purposes of non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation, for continuing the total disuse of India teas, to encourage frugality, promote agriculture, arts, and manufactures, discountenance extravagance, &c. &c. 1775.

Lord Chatham zealously espoused the cause of the Colonies : And in the most explicit manner delivered his sentiments in the House of Lords. He moved for an address to his Majesty, " To remove the troops from Boston, as necessarily preparative to the restoration of peace." *Jan.* 20.

" I wish not, my Lords (said the noble Earl) to lose a day in this urgent pressing crisis. One hour now lost in allaying the ferment in America may produce years of calamity. I contend not for indulgence, but *justice* to America. I shall ever contend that the Americans justly owe obedience to the Legislature of Great Britain, *in a limited degree.* They owe us obedience to our ordinary trade and navigation, but let the line be skilfully drawn between the subjects of these ordinances, and their private *internal* property.† Let the sacredness of their property remain inviolate. *Let it be taxable only by their own consent, given in their provincial assemblies,* else it will cease to be property.

" The victory can never be obtained by exertions. Our force would be most disproportionably exerted against a brave, generous, and united people, with arms in their hands, and courage in their hearts. Three millions of people, the genuine descendants of a valiant and pious ancestry, driven to those deserts by the narrow maxims of superstitious tyranny, cannot be conquered. And is the spirit of tyrannous persecution never to be repealed ? Are the brave sons of those brave forefathers to inherit their sufferings, as they have inherited their virtues ?

" The Bostonians have been condemned unheard *(alluding to the Boston Port Bill, as a punishment for destroying the East-India Company's teas.)* The indiscriminating hand of vengeance has lumped together innocent and guilty, with all the formalities of hostilities ; and reduced to beggary and indigence thirty thousand inhabitants.

" The glorious spirit of whigism animates three millions in America, who prefer poverty with liberty to gilded chains and sordid affluence ; and who will die in defence of their rights as men, as free men. Every motive of justice and of policy, of dignity and of prudence, urges you to allay the ferment in America, by a removal of your troops from Boston, by a repeal of your Acts of Parliament, and by demonstrations of an amicable disposition towards your Colonies.

† Internal taxes is the bone of contention.—FRANKLIN.

1775. On the other hand, every danger and every hazard impend, to deter you from perseverance in your present *ruinous* measures. Foreign War hanging over your head by a single thread; France and Spain watching your conduct, and waiting for the maturity of your errors with a vigilant eye to America, and the temper of our Colonists," &c. &c.* In this manner spake this great, this honest Statesman; but his voice was not attended to: And they persevered in what his Lordship calls, with great propriety, their *ruinous measures*.

Lord North's *conciliatory plan*, so called, was received at Philadelphia this month. It proposed "that the several Assemblies on the Continent should tax themselves, in such proportions, and under such limitations, as were therein expressed, agreeably to a Resolve of the house of Commons, of the 20th February. But before the Assemblies could meet to take it into consideration, the British troops had commenced hostilities; the plan was to be laid, by the several Governours then in being, before the Assembly of each Colony. The first for this purpose that met was at Philadelphia; but this was not till the month of May, which prevented any good effects or plans, the Colonial Assemblies might have adopted, in consequence of Lord North's proposal. For prior to the meeting of the Assembly, viz. On

March.

April 19. Hostilities were commenced by a detachment of the British troops, ordered from Boston by Governour, General Gage, who having advanced to Lexington, about 12 miles, from the capital, on seeing a company of militia parading there, fired on them *while dispersing*, killed eight of them, and wounded many others. They then proceeded to Concord, to destroy some provincial military stores; but being opposed by the country militia, they returned to Boston with much difficulty, and not without the loss of 273 killed, wounded, and missing. At this time the American war commenced, and the country militia invested the town of Boston, where the British troops were quartered.

This month Governour Legge of Halifax passed an act to prohibit the exportation of gun powder, arms, ammunition, and salt petre coastways, fearing they might fall into the hands of the United Colonies.

The Bostonians deliver up their fire arms by agreement with the Governour, as a condition of their removing into the country. The Governour fails in some part of the agreement, to the injury of the Bostonians.

May.

Boston now became the King's garrison.

* See Lord Chatham's Speech in the House of Lords, printed in the publick newspapers.

A plan being adopted by the Continental Congress to secure the Canadians to the Continental interest; and thereby defeat a scheme said to be proposed by the Governour of Canada, General Carlton, to employ the Canadians and Indians to make inroads on the frontier settlements of New England; in pursuance of the Continental design, expeditions into what is called the Northern Department, were undertaken, under sanction of Congress. 1775.

Upon a proposal made to Colonel Ethan Allen of Bennington, he raised the *Green Mountain* Boys (those are so called who settled at *Vermont* on the New-Hampshire grants.)

He surprised the garrison of *Ticonderoga* and took it this day, with a quantity of cannon and stores, without loss of a man. *May* 10.

Crown Point was taken the same day by Colonel Seth Warner.

The Massachusetts *Provincial Congress* renounce General Gage as their Governour, and disclaim paying obedience to his acts or proclamations. His jurisdiction now is confined within the walls of the capital only.

The Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, arrive at Boston from England, to carry on the war Great Britain had began in the Colonies. *May* 25.

General Gage issues a proclamation, declaring the Massachusetts Bay to be in a state of Rebellion. *June* 12.

Bunker Hill battle was fought this day against the Provincials by General Howe, with about three thousand troops from Boston—*Charlestown is burnt*—*General Warren slain* on the side of the Provincials—The British gain the hill, with the loss of eighteen hundred and fifty-one* killed and wounded; among which were eighty five officers: This was to the British a dear bought victory.—They erect a fortress on the hill. *June* 17.

General George Washington arrived this day at the Provincial camp in Cambridge; having been appointed, by the unanimous voice of the Continental Congress, generalissimo of all the troops raised, or to be raised, for the defence of the United Colonies, and took command of the country militia investing the town of Boston. *July* 2.

* Seven hundred and forty-six, killed; eleven hundred and five wounded.

1775.

In CONGRESS, July 6, 1775.

A DECLARATION by the Representatives of the United Colonies of North America, setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms.

IF it were possible for men who exercise their reason, to believe, that the divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in, and an unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodness and wisdom, as the objects of a legal domination, never righteously resistible, however severe and oppressive: The inhabitants of these Colonies might at least require from the Parliament of Great Britain, some evidence that this dreadful authority over them has been granted to that body. But a reverence for our great Creator's principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense, must convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to preserve the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end.

The legislature of Great Britain, however, stimulated by an inordinate passion for a power not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very Constitution of that kingdom, and desperate of success in any mode of contest, where regard should be had to truth, law, or right, have at length, deserting these, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitick purpose of enslaving these Colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from reason to arms. Yet, however blinded that assembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, so to slight justice, and the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound, by obligations of respect to the rest of the world, to make known the justice of our cause.

Our forefathers, inhabitants of the island of Great Britain, left their native land, to seek on these shores, residence for civil and religious freedom. At the expense of their blood; at the hazard of their fortunes; without the least charge to the country from whence they removed; by increasing labour, and an unconquerable spirit, they effected settlements in the distant and inhospitable wilds of America, then filled with numerous and warlike nations of barbarians. Societies or governments vested with perfect legislatures were formed under charters from the Crown, and an harmonious intercourse was established between the Colonies, and the kingdom from which they derived their origin. The mutual benefits of this Union became, in a short time, so extraordinary as to excite astonishment.

It is universally confessed that the amazing increase of the wealth, strength, and navigation of the realm arose from this source, and the minister who so wisely and successfully directed the measures of Great Britain in the late war, publickly declared, that these Colonies enabled her to triumph over her enemies. Towards the conclusion of that war, it pleased our sovereign to make a change in his councils. 1775.

From that fatal moment, the affairs of the British empire began to fall into confusion ; and gradually sliding from the summit of glorious prosperity to which they had been advanced by the virtues and abilities of one man, are at length distracted by the convulsions that now shake it to its deepest foundations. The new ministry, finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet still contending, took up the unfortunate idea of granting them a hasty peace, and of then subduing her faithful friends.

These devoted Colonies were judged to be in such a state as to present victories without bloodshed, and all the easy emoluments of statutable plunder. The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and respectful behaviour from the beginning of Colonization, their dutiful, zealous, and useful services during the war, though so recently and amply acknowledged by his Majesty, by the late King, and by Parliament, could not save them from the meditated innovations.

Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project, and assuming a new power over them, have, in the course of eleven years, given such decisive specimens of the spirit and consequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt concerning the effects of acquiescence under it. They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property ; statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of courts of Admiralty and Vice Admiralty beyond their ancient limits ; for depriving us of the accustomed and inestimable privilege of trial by jury, in cases affecting both life and property ; for suspending the Legislature of one of the Colonies ; for interdicting all commerce to the capital of another ; and for altering fundamentally the form of government established by charter, and secured by acts of its own Legislature, solemnly confirmed by the crown, for exempting the "murderers" of colonists from legal trial, and in effect from punishment ; for erecting in a neighbouring province acquired by the joint arms of Great Britain and America, a despotism dangerous to our very existence ; and for quartering soldiers upon the colonists in time of profound peace. It has also been resolved in Parliament, that colonists charged with committing certain offences shall be transported to England to be tried.

1775. But why should we enumerate our injuries in detail. By one statute it is declared, that Parliament can "of right make laws to bind us *in all cases whatsoever*." What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power? Not a single man of those who assume it is chosen by us, or is subject to our control or influence; but on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws, and an *American* revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens as they increase ours. We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We, for ten years, incessantly and ineffectually besought the throne as supplicants. We reasoned, we remonstrated with Parliament in the most mild and decent language.

Administration, sensible that we should regard these oppressive measures as freemen ought to do, sent over fleets and armies to enforce them. The indignation of the Americans was roused, it is true; but it was the indignation of a virtuous, loyal, and affectionate people. A Congress of Delegates from the United Colonies was assembled at Philadelphia, the fifth day of September. We resolved again to offer our humble and dutiful petition to the King, and also addressed our fellow subjects of Great Britain. We have pursued every temperate, every respectful measure. We have even proceeded to break off our commercial intercourse with our fellow subjects, as the last peaceable admonition, that our attachment to no nation upon earth should supplant our attachment to liberty. This we flattered ourselves was the ultimate step of the controversy. But subsequent events have shewn how vain was this hope of finding moderation in our enemies.

Several threatening expressions against the Colonies were inserted in his Majesty's speech; our petition, though we were told it was a decent one, and that his Majesty had been pleased to receive it graciously, and to promise to lay it before his Parliament, was huddled into both Houses among a bundle of American papers, and there neglected. The Lords and Commons in their address in the month of February said, that "a rebellion at that time actually existed, within the Province of Massachusetts Bay; and that those concerned in it had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements entered into by his Majesty's subjects in several of the other Colonies; and therefore they besought his Majesty that he would take the most effectual measures, to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the Supreme Legislature."

Soon after the commercial intercourse of whole colonies with foreign countries and with each other, was cut off by

an act of Parliament—by another, several of them were entirely prohibited from the fisheries in the seas near their coast, on which they always depended for their subsistence; and large reinforcements of ships and troops were immediately sent over to General Gage. 1775.

Fruitless were all the entreaties, arguments, and eloquence of an illustrious band of the most distinguished Peers and Commoners, who nobly and strenuously asserted the justice of our cause, to stay, or even to mitigate, the heedless fury with which these accumulated and unexampled outrages were hurried on. Equally fruitless was the interference of the cities of London, of Bristol, and of many other respectable towns in our favour. Parliament adopted an insidious manœuvre calculated to divide us; to establish a perpetual auction of taxations, where colony should bid against colony, all of them uninformed what ransom would redeem their lives, and thus to extort from us at the point of the bayonet, the unknown sums that would be sufficient to gratify, if possible to gratify, ministerial rapacity, with the inconsiderable indulgence left to us of raising, in our own mode, the prescribed tribute. What terms more rigid and humiliating could have been dictated by remorseless victors to conquered enemies? In our circumstances, to accept them would be to deserve them.

Soon after the intelligence of these proceedings arrived on the continent, General *Gage*, who, in the course of the last year, had taken possession of the town of Boston in Massachusetts Bay, and still occupied it as a garrison, on the *19th day of April*, sent out from that place a large detachment of his army, who made an unprovoked assault on the inhabitants of the said province at the town of *Lexington*, as appears by the affidavits of a great number of persons; some of whom were officers and soldiers of that detachment, murdered eight of the inhabitants, and wounded many others. From thence the troops proceeded, in warlike array, to the town of *Concord*, where they set upon another party of the inhabitants of the same province, killing several and wounding more, until compelled to retreat by the country people, suddenly assembled to repel this cruel aggression.

Hostilities, thus commenced by the British troops, have been since prosecuted by them without regard to faith or reputation. The inhabitants of *Boston*, being confined within that town by the General, their Governour, and having, in order to procure their dismission, entered into a treaty with him, it was stipulated that the said inhabitants, having deposited their arms with their own magistrates, should have liberty to depart, taking with them their other effects. They accordingly delivered up their arms: But in open violation

1775. of honour, in defiance of the obligation of treaties, which even savage nations esteem sacred, the Governour ordered the arms deposited as aforesaid, that they might be preserved for their owners, to be secured by a body of soldiers, detained the greatest part of the inhabitants in town, and compelled the few, who were permitted to retire, to leave their most valuable effects behind. By this perfidy wives are separated from their husbands, children from their parents, the aged and the sick from their relations and friends who wish to attend and comfort them, and those who have been used to live in plenty are reduced to deplorable distress.

The General, further emulating his ministerial masters, by a proclamation bearing date the 12th day of June, after venting the grossest falsehoods and calumnies against the good people of these colonies, proceeds to "declare them all, either by name or description, to be rebels and traitors, to supersede the course of the common law, and, instead thereof, to publish and order the use and exercise of the law martial."

His troops have butchered our countrymen, have wantonly burnt Charlestown, besides a considerable number of houses in other places—our ships and vessels are seized, the necessary supplies of provisions are intercepted, and he is exerting his utmost power to spread destruction and devastation around him.

We have received certain intelligence, that General Carlton, the Governour of Canada, is instigating the people of that Province, and the Indians, to fall on us: And we have but too much reason to apprehend that schemes have been formed to excite domestick enemies against us. In fine, a part of these Colonies now feel, and all of them are sure of feeling, as far as the vengeance of administration can inflict them, the complicated calamities of fire, sword, and famine. We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice—We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honour, justice, and humanity, forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us.

We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness, which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

Our cause is just. Our union is perfect. Our internal resources are great; and if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of the divine favour towards us; that Providence

would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy, 1775.
until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in military operations, and possessed of the means of defending ourselves. With hearts fortified with these animating reflections, we most solemnly, before God and the world, declare, that exerting the utmost energy of those powers, which our beneficent Creator hath graciously bestowed upon us, the arms we have been by our enemies compelled to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties ; being with one mind resolved to die freemen rather than to live slaves.

Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to be restored. Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure, or induced us to excite any other nation to war against them. We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain, and establishing independent States. We fight not for glory or for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without an imputation, or even a suspicion of offence. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death.

In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birth-right, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violations of it, for the protection of our property acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms : We shall lay them down, when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before.

With an humble confidence in the mercies of the supreme and impartial Judge and Ruler of the universe, we most devoutly implore his divine goodness, to protect us happily through this great conflict—to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation on reasonable terms, and thereby to relieve the empire from the calamities of civil war.

By recommendation of the Continental Congress, this *July* 20.
day was observed as a *publick fast* throughout the United Colonies ; being the *first general* or continental fast ever kept on one and the same day, since the Colonies were settled—they were now all in a like predicament, and alike needed the direction and assistance of heaven.

Early in the fall, the small army in the northern department, under Gen. Schuyler and Montgomery, were ordered

1775. by Congress to advance into Canada. Col. Ethan Allen, with Major Brown, were despatched through the wood to inform the Canadians, that their design was only against the English garrison, and not the country, their religion, or liberties.

August. Paper bills are now issued, and become the currency of the United Colonies. Congress having voted, "That a sum, not exceeding one million of Spanish milled dollars, be emitted by them in bills of credit, for the defence of America; that the twelve* confederated Colonies be pledged for their redemption; the number and denominations of the bills to be as follows, viz. 49000 bills each from one dollar to eight dollars. 11800 of twenty dollars each. They further resolved, that one million of dollars in bills of thirty dollars each be also emitted. Each Colony to provide ways and means to sink its proportion of the bills, and that the several Colonies and Provincial Assemblies levy taxes on their respective Colonies, for the purpose of sinking the continental bills.

Gold and silver now disappeared, and paper bills only circulated. Congress hath given us the situation of the Colonies with respect to money at this period; they say "we had very little money of our own, to raise, pay, and support an army—we were without regular governments, to levy and collect taxes—we could borrow none of any nation in the world—we had no other resource but the natural value and worth of our fertile country. On the credit of this Bank, bills were emitted, and the faith of the continent pledged for their redemption."

Sept. General Gage prepared to embark for England—and the command of the British troops in America devolved upon Sir William Howe.

Sept. 18. Fort Chamblee, in the northern department, surrendered to Major Brown.

Oct. 7. Saturday evening, the Rose, Glasgow, and Swan man of war with several armed tenders and transports, in all about thirteen sail, arrived in *Bristol* harbour from Newport, and formed a line before the town. A barge was soon sent on shore, requiring four magistrates or principal men to repair on board the Rose. The inhabitants did not think proper to comply with this requisition, but offered to treat with any person who might be sent on or near the shore, promising that no insult should be offered them, and requesting that the matter might be put off till the next morning. This answer was returned, and in less than an hour a heavy cannonading began from the ships and tenders. The inhabitants, not being apprehensive of such sudden and unprovoked cruelty,

* Georgia had not yet united with the other Colonies.

were thrown into much confusion. The night was dark and rainy. Upwards of sixty persons lay languishing on beds of sickness, who were removed into the streets; and with the women and children formed a scene that can be more easily imagined than described. Such of them as had strength escaped, while others were conveyed to places of safety in carriages. The firing continued above an hour, during which time more than 120 cannon and some carcasses were discharged against the town, and a tender which lay near the bridge at the north end, kept up a constant fire upon the people that were going out. One of the inhabitants, after hailing the Men of War, was taken on board, and on inquiring the reason of such hostile proceedings, was informed, that Captain Wallace demanded of the town of Bristol 100 sheep and 50 head of cattle, but consented finally to be satisfied with 40 sheep only; upon the delivery of which he promised to desist from all further hostilities against them; but if the inhabitants refused to comply, he would lay the town in ashes. The demand was laid before the committee of inspection; who considering the raging sickness, and other peculiar circumstances of the town, ordered 40 sheep to be delivered; which was accordingly done. Wallace afterwards despatched a barge, and plundered them of hogs, poultry, butter, cheese, &c. The church, meeting-house, court-house, and several dwellings and out-houses at Bristol, were damaged. A ball entered Mr. Finney's distill-house, and let out two hogsheads of rum; but, providentially, during the whole of this brutal transaction, none of the inhabitants were killed or wounded. 1775.

About 3 o'clock, on Sunday, the fleet left Bristol harbour, and lay some time between Poposquash and Hog Island. At the last mentioned place, they landed and cut up a quantity of corn. On Monday morning, as the fleet was attempting to pass by Bristol ferry, the Rose and a Tender run aground on the West Muscle-bed, Rhode-Island side, and were from thence fired on by a number of minute-men. The ships and tenders fired on each side, and several balls went through the ferry house at Bristol.

In the afternoon the Rose and Tender floated, and proceeded with the others down the river. On Tuesday they took from Hope and Rose island 20 or 30 rams, and fired a number of shot at Connecticut ferry and other places on the river. Wednesday the fleet returned to Newport.

In a few hours after the firing began at Bristol, a large body of minute men and militia were collected there from the neighbouring towns.*

* See the Providence Gazette, printed by John Carter, Saturday, October 14, 1775.

1775. To the foregoing account is subjoined the following:

"The Rev. *John Burt*, minister of the Congregational church at Bristol, was found dead in a field near his house on Sunday morning, which he had left the evening before, soon after the Men of War began to fire on the town. He was far advanced in years, had been unwell some days before, and it is supposed died in a fit. He was a gentleman of exemplary piety, eminent in his pofession, of a truly benevolent disposition, and a warm assertor of the liberties of his country."

Oct. 16. *Falmouth*, in Casco-bay, Massachusetts, was burnt by Captain Mowatt, under the orders of Admiral S. Greaves at Boston.

The chief command of the continental forces in the northern department was given to Major General Montgomery; and

Nov. 2. He invested St. John's, and took it.

Colonel Ethan Allen, being sent a second time to reconnoitre that country, fell into the hands of the British on his attempt with Colonel Brown to reduce Montreal. A spy (as he relates) discovered to the enemy the weakness of his party, and being attacked by about 500 Regulars, Canadians, and Indians, he became a prisoner to Colonel Prescott, who ordered him on board a frigate, and to be loaded with irons, &c.

Montreal was soon after taken by General Montgomery, with the Governour, Prescott.

The second petition of Congress was committed to the care of his Excellency Richard Penn, Esq. of the proprietary government of Pennsylvania, then leaving his government for England. On the motions of Lords Richmond and Shelburne, it was laid before the House of Lords the seventh of this month, November. Governour Penn was examined before them respecting the state and disposition of the Colonies, who gave it as his opinion, "that the majority of them were not for independency;" the wishes of Congress expressed in their first petition, were only for peace, liberty, and safety. "We wish not (say the petitioners) a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grants of any new rights. We present this petition only for redress of grievances, and relief from fears and jealousies, occasioned by the system of statutes and regulations adopted (since the close of the late war, 1763) for raising a revenue in America—extending the power of courts of Vice Admiralty—trying persons in Great Britain for offences alleged to be committed in America; affecting the Province of Massachusetts Bay; altering the government there; and extending the limits of Quebec. On the abolition of which system, the harmony between

Great Britain and the Colonies, so necessary for the happiness of both, and so ardently desired by the latter, and usual intercourse will be immediately restored. 1775.

The petition concludes in the most humble and loyal terms —but no redress could be obtained, whilst they controverted the assumed right of Parliament to bind them in all cases whatsoever."

About this time Colonel Benedict Arnold arrived at Point Levi, in Canada, with a party of about 900 men out of 1200, the number destined by General Washington to serve in that quarter. *Nov.* 11.

They went from the camp at Cambridge, and embarked at Kennebeck, with design to proceed through the country to Canada ; but the fatigue being great, and not a sufficiency of provision for the whole detachment, 300 of them had leave to return. Those who proceeded endured great hardship, having travelled through a large extent of country, represented as having never been before trodden by any foot but that of Indians and wild beasts, at a rigorous season of the year, where they endured all the miseries of cold and hunger. The French Canadians received them with great cheerfulness, and supplied them.

The Governour of Canada having information of their arrival, and expecting an attack on the capital from the augmented force of General Montgomery, he obtained the assurances of the merchants of Quebec, the militia officers, and masters of the ships there, that they would assist in defending the city. He ordered the gates to be shut, and necessary preparations to be made to repel the force that might be employed against them—it turned out as the Governour expected, and the capital was attacked.

On the evening of this day, an unsuccessful attempt was made to gain possession of Quebec. *Dec.* 31.

General Montgomery's design was to carry the town by escalade. While he was waiting the opportunity of a snow storm to carry his design into execution, several of his men deserted to the enemy, who discovered his plan, and occasioned him to alter it ; (which, but for the intelligence the deserters had given, might perhaps have proved successful.) The General, at the head of the New-York troops, advanced against the lower town ; but being obliged to take a circuit, the signal for an attack was given, and the garrison alarmed before he reached the place. However, he passed the first barrier, and was just going to attempt the second, when by the first fire from the enemy he was *unfortunately killed*,* together with his Aid-de-Camp, Captain John Mac Pherson,

* December 31, 1775, aged 38.

1775. Captain Cheeseman, and two or three more. This so dispirited the men, that Colonel Campbell, on whom the command devolved, found himself under the disagreeable necessity of drawing them off. Colonel Arnold, with 350 of those
Dec. 31. brave troops that penetrated Canada under his command, and Captain Lamb's company of artillery, passed to St. Roques, and carried a small battery of two guns; but in the attack Arnold had his leg splintered, and was obliged to be carried off; but at length, after having sustained the force of the whole garrison for three hours, the Continentals were obliged to yield to numbers. Three hundred of them were made prisoners, and about sixty killed and wounded. This is the substance of an account of this expedition that was published.

The publick papers furnish the following account of General Montgomery. "He was a Captain of grenadiers in the 17th regiment of British troops, of which General Monckton was Colonel. He served the last war in the expeditions in the West-Indies, and America, and returned with his regiment to England. In 1772, he quitted his regiment, though in a fair way of preferment. Whilst in America, he imbibed an affection for this country—he had, while in the King's service, declared his disapprobation of the sentiments of the ministry, and viewed America as the rising seat of arts and freedom. He lived about 100 miles behind New-York. Expressing his readiness, if Great Britain continued her oppressions, to draw his sword in defence of freedom. Upon application to him, he did not hesitate, but immediately engaged in the cause, and, as we have seen, lost his life bravely in it."

After the failure of this expedition a series of misfortunes ensued; and attended the operations in the northern department for a time, and the British regained possession of the places that had been taken from them.

Decem. Captain Manly, in a Continental cruizer, captures a valuable ordnance vessel, having on board a great variety of military implements, besides mortars, bombs, &c. This acquisition facilitated the operations of the Continental troops against the garrison of Boston.

The *Earl of Dunmore*, Governour of New-York, was removed to the Government of Virginia, where he levied war with that Colony. He set up the royal standard there, and invited to it white and black, of every character and condition; those who did not repair to it were deemed rebels, and treated as such.

Decem. A battle took place at Gwynn's Island, in which the Virginians prevailed, and obliged his Lordship to take shelter on board a man of war on that station—in revenge for which,

Norfolk was destroyed by three of the King's ships, the Lizard, Otter, and another. An officer on board the Otter, in a letter published, *exults* in the destruction of it, and discovers sentiments derogatory to the character of a man of bravery and humanity. The loss computed to be sustained, is £200,000 sterling. Norfolk was said to have contained about six thousand inhabitants—an English paper says, the rents in 1775, were £10,000 sterling. 1776. *Jan.* 1.

The impolitick measures of Great Britain threaten the loss of the trade of this Colony, (i. e. Virginia) to that kingdom, which an author of their own, makes to be £1,200,000 sterling per annum. "In times of peace (he says) there are more than an hundred thousand hogsheads of tobacco exported every year; in which trade are employed about four thousand seamen."

Admiral Shuldham arrived at Boston to relieve Admiral S. Greaves on that station. He brought with him the King's Speech, delivered to his Parliament in October last, in which his Majesty holds up the idea, that *independency* was the object of the Colonies, and recommends, as an act of humanity, their exertions to put a speedy end to the *rebellion*; in other words—*more vigorously to prosecute the war*. The Commons, in their address, echo back the same language. This obsequious Parliament engaged their lives and fortunes to support his Majesty in defeating and suppressing, what they call the "rebellion in America;" they voted twenty-five thousand men for this service, and an augmentation of the Navy on the American station. *Jan.* 1.

Congress now thought it expedient to provide against the depredations of the British cruisers, who swarmed in the American seas, and came into a resolution to build thirteen frigates, to be got ready for sea early in the spring. Though these frigates were launched in season, yet they did not answer the expectation of the Continent. Great delays, and probably *necessary* delays, for want of stores, &c. to equip them, gave the enemy opportunity to block some of them up in the ports where they were built. Most of the others met with disasters of one kind or other, being captured by the enemy, blown up at sea, run ashore, &c.

The manufacture of salt-petre and gun-powder was of great importance to the United States. They could obtain none from any foreign country, and their parent State had prohibited its exportation to America; therefore every communication relative to the manner of making them, was carefully attended to, and experiments rewarded with a bounty by the General Assemblies. A method of making gun-powder was published by *Henry Wisner*, who had erected a *Powder-Mill* *Feb.*

1776. at New-York.—A Virginian also published an account of the ingredients and their proportion to each other, used in this manufacture, which, from a great number of experiments he found to be best, and is copied from a new Chemical Dictionary, translated from the French. The proportion is, 75 parts of nitre, or salt petre, 15 parts and a half of charcoal, 9 parts and a half of sulphur or brimstone.

Feb. 6. Captain Eseck Hopkins of Providence in Rhode-Island, (brother to one of the Delegates at Congress from that Colony) was commissioned by Congress, commander of a fleet of five sail of armed vessels, viz. the Alfred 32 guns, Columbus 32 guns, Andrew Doria 16, Cabot 14, and Providence of 12 guns. They left Philadelphia this day and proceeded to Carolina, and from thence to *New-Providence*, one of the Bahama islands. On their arrival there, the Commodore summoned the garrison to surrender—which they did, and brought off *Mountford Browne*, Esq. the King's Governour, and other crown officers, with all the military stores found there, and landed them at New-London, in Connecticut. In their passage back, some of the Continental fleet fell in with some of *Wallace*'s (a hectoring troublesome British commander on the Rhode-Island station) off the east end of Long-Island.—One of the British was captured, and the others made off

Feb. General Clinton from Boston, with five hundred troops arrived at New-York—he did not land them, but sailed from thence to the more southern Colonies; to which he was followed by General Lee, from the Continental camp.

To carry on the war in America, Parliament had recourse to the expedient of hiring foreign troops, and entered into treaty with the Duke of Brunswick, and Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and Count of Hanau, to furnish a number of troops to serve against the Americans. Besides the wages to be paid these hirelings, the treaties stipulated to grant to the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, in case of disturbances in his territories, not only all the service that should be in their power, but likewise to continue it, till the Landgrave should have received security or indemnification, and to pay for every soldier who did not return, thirty pounds sterling per head; and for every disabled soldier, fifteen pounds sterling per head.

March 5. It was moved by the minority, in the House of Lords, to present an address to his Majesty, setting forth the many evils with which treaties of this nature were pregnant—the disadvantages that would accrue therefrom to Great Britain, and to implore his Majesty to stop the march of the German

troops. But the question for this address was resolved in the negative, a majority of 100 being against it. 1776.

Lord *George Germaine*, who succeeded the Earl of Dartmouth as American Secretary of State, and who had the conduct of the war put under his direction, has the credit of exhibiting to Parliament the plan for hiring Germans for the American service. If we inquire into the character and former conduct of this nobleman, we shall find he is the identical Lord *George Sackville*, (a son of Earl Dorset) who discovered such an aversion to the report and smell of gunpowder at the battle of Minden, Anno 1759, when he disobeyed the orders of Prince Ferdinand, the commander, at an important crisis. The Prince represented his conduct to the British Court—he was tried by a court martial, and deprived of all his *military* employments, and declared incapable of ever serving in them again. This was in the days of Pitt—but now in the days of North—he is advanced to an important *civil* department—perhaps because he possesses the qualifications necessary to scourge the Americans. *March.*

Lord *William Campbell*, Governour of South Carolina, like his countryman, the Earl of Dunmore in Virginia, having by his tyrannick measures irritated the people of his government, and fearing the effects of their resentment, deserted his government, and fled on board one of the King's ships at Charleston.

Sunday morning, Boston, in the Massachusetts Bay, was evacuated by the whole British force, naval and military. *Mar.* 17.

Congress publish their Resolves, by which the inhabitants of the Colonies were permitted to fit out vessels on their own private account and risque, to cruise on the enemies of the United Colonies, to capture their ships and merchandize. A *maritime* court was appointed for their trial, and condemnation, if the captures were proved to be the property of the enemy. *Mar.* 23.

This resolve of Congress was in consequence of an act of Parliament, passed December, 1775, which declares "The Colonies to be in a state of rebellion, and directs to stop all intercourse with them, and to seize all American property, wherever to be found, after the first day of January, 1776."

The terms *Whig* and *Tory* obtained throughout the Colonies; by the *former* is intended those who are in opposition to Parliamentary measures—the *latter* are those who abetted them.

An action took place in North-Carolina between the Whigs there, and some of the Tory inhabitants, who had joined Governour Martin, in which the latter sustained great loss. *March.*

1776. General Clinton, after his arrival in Carolina, despatched a part of his troops for Georgia. They were repulsed on their attempt to land, and fifteen sail of their vessels damaged and destroyed, which obliged them to desist from their enterprise:

[Georgia is situated between South Carolina and Florida. This Colony had a charter granted in the fifth of George II. At the commencement of the troubles in America, Sir James Wright was King's Governour—but this Colony sharing in the oppressions, they joined in the Union of the other twelve Colonies.]

May 3. Commodore *Sir Peter Parker*, with a small squadron of ships arrived at Cape Fear. The British armament destined to operate in this quarter, rendezvoused first at this place.

General *Earl Cornwallis* arrived with Sir Peter. This nobleman, in the beginning of the American disputes, had protested with some of the minority against coercive measures, and voted for the repeal of the Stamp Act, upon the principle that Parliament had no right to tax the Colonies unrepresented.—But his Lordship was afterwards influenced by the majority to come into their measures, and *personally* to assist in carrying into execution those very measures he had before reprobated.

May 6. General *Carlton* at Quebec having received succours from England, by the Surprise Frigate, Captain Lindsay, he improved the first opportunity, after their arrival, to sally out of the garrison suddenly with about a thousand men.

The Continentals serving in that quarter were dispersed in various parts of the country; two hundred of them sick; not more than two hundred could be mustered at head quarters; which small force could not resist the enemy to advantage, and the attack being unexpected, they were obliged to make a precipitate retreat to Trois Rivieres, leaving their cannon, a number of musquets, and many sick behind them. The small remnant of the Continentals soon after removed to the Sorelle.

A small Continental fort at the Cedars, forty-five miles west of Montreal, consisting of a garrison of about three hundred, under Major Butterfield, were obliged to surrender to upwards of six hundred Regulars, Canadians, and Indians.

May 19. A reinforcement of an hundred men, under Major Sherburne, ordered for their relief, was intercepted in the woods, and captured by a party of five hundred, after a very obstinate dispute: And (the account published of this affair reports) whilst Brigadier General Arnold was preparing to follow, the enemy stripped the prisoners almost naked, tomahawked, and otherwise barbarously used them; one of them they shot, and while he retained life and sensation, the Indians roasted

him. The prisoners were driven to a fort commanded by a British Captain Foster of the eighth regiment, who we do not learn had humanity enough to restrain or discountenance the barbarities exercised on them. The enemy had twenty-two killed, amongst whom was a Chief Warrior of the Seneca's ; those that remained of the Continentals were exchanged by a cartel. 1776.

The Renown Man of War was driven from Boston harbour by the Provincials, &c. under the conduct of General Lincoln, which opened the port of Boston, without the leave of Parliament. *June* 13.

Major General Sullivan joined the small Continental army at the Sorelle, and despatched a body under Colonel Thompson, to dislodge the enemy who were intrenching at Trois Rivieres : But at this critical time they were reinforced, which proved disastrous to the Continentals. The commander was taken prisoner, three other officers, and a number of privates. *June* 16.

The Continental army in Canada, having been much weakened by sickness and unsuccessful attempts against the enemy, who were strengthened by reinforcements ; General Burgoyne having arrived there from England with recruits ; and the four thousand he brought with him were soon followed by some Brunswickers ; the reduction of Quebec was by these means rendered impracticable for the present. It was judged that the Continentals might be better employed in some other quarter. The siege of Quebec was therefore raised, and the troops withdrawn, after they had been in that neighbourhood six months from the fifteenth of November. They retreated to Crown Point, and (as a private letter from thence mentions) " affairs were managed with consummate policy and prudence, through the intrepidity of our Generals, first Thomas, and then Sullivan. We have brought off all that could be saved from Sorelle, Chamblee, and St. John's."

Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell, with Highland troops, was captured, and brought into Boston.

General Clinton and Sir Peter Parker were repulsed at Charleston (S. C.) this day. Earl Cornwallis having joined General Clinton, they attempted the reduction of *Charleston*. We collect the following particulars of their defeat from Major General Lee's letter to the President of Congress. *June* 28.

" Sir Peter went over the bar with his whole fleet, consisting of two line of battle ships, the Bristol and Experiment of fifty guns each, and six frigates from twenty-eight to twenty guns, and anchored within half a musquet shot of the fort on Sullivan's Island, (a log fort was all they could bring to bear on the vessels) three miles from Charleston. A furious en-

1776. gagement ensued, and lasted twelve hours without intermission, and though the garrison were raw troops, their behaviour would have done honour to the oldest. *Colonel Moultrie*, a native of that country who commanded there, acquired great honour. The troops were repulsed twice by Colonel Thompson of the Carolina rangers in attempting to make a lodgment at the extremity of the island. We had only two men killed and seventy-two wounded, seven of whom lost their limbs, and though in this circumstance, encouraged their comrades never to abandon the standard of liberty and their country. The loss of the enemy is great.* The Commodore had his breeches‡ much torn with the splinters, and was wounded ; the Captain of his ship lost his left arm ; the Captain of the Experiment was killed ; besides which one hundred and four were killed, and sixty-five wounded. Three of the ships got aground. The Acteon of twenty-eight guns could not be got off, and was burnt and blown up by her own people ; the two line of battle ships greatly damaged. The gallantry of Colonel Moultrie in defence of Sullivan's Island is celebrated."

Sir Peter Parker, in his account transmitted to England, says, " Not one man who was quartered at the beginning of the action on the Bristol's quarter-deck escaped being killed or wounded. At the head of the volunteers on board he must place Lord William Campbell, (the late Governour) who was so condescending as to take direction of some guns on the lower gun-deck—he received a contusion in his left side."

June 30. Major General *John Thomas* of the Massachusetts, who commanded in Canada after the camp at Cambridge broke up, died in Canada. It is but justice due to the memory of this officer to say of him, that he had served in former wars against the French and Indians with reputation ; and at the siege of Boston, in 1775, he cheerfully took command of a division of the provincials, in defence of the rights of his native country.

* Said to be one hundred and seventy-nine killed, two hundred and sixty wounded.

‡ The Editor of the Pennsylvania Evening Post, indulging a little humour in these serious times, inserted the following epigram, on Sir Peter's disaster.

" If honour in the breech is lodg'd,
As Hudibras hath shewn,
It may from hence be fairly judg'd,
Sir Peter's honour's gone."

Arrived at Sandy-hook (New-York) from Halifax, *Sir William Howe* and *Admiral Shuldham*, with upwards of one hundred and forty sail of men of war and transports, having with them about eight thousand troops. The fleet on their passage was joined by six sail of transports, a part of the embarkation from Scotland, which arrived at Boston after the British armament had left it, and were driven from the harbour by the militia, &c. 1776.

A part of the Continental army at this time occupied the city and suburbs of New-York.* Major General Greene, with another division of Continentals were stationed on Long-Island.

This day General Sir William Howe, landed his army on Staten Island. *July* 2.

Governour *William Franklin*, who till now had kept his station in the Jersies, was removed from his government by the *whig* party ; they judging it unsafe to the continental interest for his Excellency to be in the neighbourhood of the British. He was sent to reside in Connecticut. This gentleman had previously shewn his good disposition toward the British, and the measures they were pursuing.

A report about this time prevailed, that a plot had been discovered at New-York, in which some *tories* there had associated for the purpose of joining the British army, to assassinate General Washington and some other field officers, while the Continentals were engaged with the enemy, to blow up their magazines, &c. The Mayor of the city, and an armourer were taken into custody on suspicion.

Lord Abingdon, an English peer, was on the minority side. He is characterized as " one of the most steady and intrepid assertors of liberty in this age." He declared in the House of Lords, " The American war is unjust, iniquitous, cruel, and oppressive. When the component parts of government (said his Lordship) conspire to oppress the subjects and deprive them of their rights, such a conspiracy is the worst of treasons. The

* New-York Island is about fourteen miles long, and in some places only one mile wide. The town is situated on the south end of the island, at the mouth of Hudson's river, and the fort is at the extreme point. The narrows are formed by Staten Island and Long Island ; the passage about two miles wide. From Sandy Hook up to New York, is about twenty-five miles. Six furlongs east of the fort is Governour's Island, containing about one hundred, or one hundred and twenty acres. Before the war, the city is said to have contained 20,000 inhabitants.

See " account of the Province of New-York, printed in 1780."

1776. Americans *are not guilty of rebellion ;* they have been provoked to resistance by the wanton insults of despotick power."

The minority in Parliament were very severe in their remarks on the conduct of their troops at Lexington and Bunker Hill. Howe's forcing the lines thrown up by a handful of raw undisciplined militia, in the course of a summer's night, was ludicrously compared to a Marlborough's victory at Blenheim, &c. &c.

July 4. This day commenced a new *epoch* or æra for America. Thirteen of the United Colonies, in Congress assembled, published at Philadelphia their declaration, that the said *thirteen* Colonies were "free, sovereign, independent States." And a new empire begins in America in the sixteenth year of the reign of King George the third, and thirty-ninth of his age. This declaration was signed per order of Congress, by their President, John Hancock, Esq. and recites the grievances and oppressions for which they could not obtain redress ; and testifies to the world the causes that impelled them to a separation from the crown of Great Britain.

In the introduction to the enumeration of their oppressions, Congress say : "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator, with certain unalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness ; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.——When a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism—it is their right—it is their duty, to throw off such governments, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies, and such is now the necessity, that constrains them to alter their former system of government. "Towards the close of the declaration, after reciting their oppressions in twenty-six articles," they say, "In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms, our repeated petitions have been answered only by a repeated injury.——A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act, which defines a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people."

The principal arguments (says a popular writer*) in favour of independency, are drawn from the natural rights of

* Mr. Thomas Paine of Philadelphia, author of Common Sense.

the Colonies to independence, their interest—the necessity of it—and the real advantages arising from it. The *necessity* of the measure he argues from the following considerations. 1776.

" We had no credit abroad, because of our *rebellious dependency*. Our ships could obtain no protection in foreign ports, because we afforded them no justifiable reason for granting it to us. The calling ourselves subjects, and at the same time fighting against the Prince we acknowledged, was a dangerous precedent to all Europe. If the grievances justified our taking up arms, they justified our separation ; if they did not justify our separation, neither could they justify our taking up arms. All Europe was interested in reducing us as rebels, and all Europe (or the greater part, at least) are interested in supporting us in our independent state. At home, our condition was still worse ; our currency had no foundation, and the state of it would have ruined whig and tory alike. We had no other laws than a kind of moderated passion ; no other civil power than an honest mob ; and no other protection than the temporary attachment of one man to another. Had independency been delayed a few months longer, this continent would have been plunged into irretrievable confusion, some violent for it, some against it—all in the greatest cabal—the rich would have been ruined, and the poor destroyed. The *necessity* of being independent would have brought it on in a little time, had there been no rupture between Britain and America. The increasing importance of commerce—the weight and perplexity of legislation—and the enlarged state of European politicks, would daily have shewn to the continent the impropriety of continuing subordinate : for after the coolest reflection on the matter, this must be allowed, that Britain was too jealous of America to govern it justly, too ignorant of it to govern it well, and too distant from it to govern it at all."

The King of Portugal, ally to his Britannick Majesty, published at Lisbon an edict " To prohibit protection to *American* ships in his ports, and all intercourse between his dominions and the United Colonies." *July* 5.

Congress having recommended to the several States to settle their particular forms of government ; the State of Virginia was the first in the Union that complied with the recommendation. They chose *Patrick Henry, Esq.* for their Governour. They left out of the Litany, used in the Episcopal service, all prayers for King George III. and instead thereof substituted sentences or petitions for their own magistrates and commonwealth. *July* 6.

[Virgina has about one hundred and eighty miles seacoast, and is of almost unbounded extent in the country, abounding with a great number of rivers—it dates its begin-

1776. ning in 1580, and is the *first* settled Colony on the continent—the *first* that reprobated Parliamentary innovations—the *first* that moved for independency, and the *first* that formed a government under it.]

July 10. Major General Gates by appointment of Congress takes command in the northern department. He gave orders for the troops at Crown Point to retreat to Ticonderoga, and there make a stand.

Independency was publickly declared in the city of Philadelphia. It was also declared at New-York, when they manifested their dislike to royalty by taking down the equestrian statue of his Majesty King George III. erected on the bowling-green in that city.

At Albany, situated on *Hudson's* river, a plot was discovered, by the confession of two tories, to set the city on fire and blow up the magazine. Some of the incendiaries being apprehended, the intended mischief was prevented.

[The sources of *Hudson's river* are not yet explored: From Albany to Lake George is reckoned sixty-five miles; the river in that interval navigable only for batteaux; the banks on the western side the river are rocky cliffs; sloops of fifty tons can go up to Albany, and larger vessels within sixteen or seventeen miles—the river continues fresh till within sixty miles of New-York.—"Account of New-York, 1780."]

July 18. This day independency was declared in Boston.

A few days after the declaration of independence in New-York, Admiral *Richard Lord Viscount Howe* arrived off that city, to take command of the British fleet, and to act in conjunction with his brother Sir William Howe in the American war. On his arrival, he forwarded letters to all the King's Governours on the Continent, informing them, "That he together with his brother General Howe, were authorized by letters patent under the great seal of England, "His Majesty's Commissioners," with full power to grant pardons to all, or to any town, country, district, &c. who may have departed from their allegiance and duty to his Majesty, &c. and who are willing by a speedy return to reap the benefits of the royal favour."

Colonel Paterson, Adjutant General of the royal army, was despatched to General Washington at New-York, with letters from Lord and General Howe; but they not being properly directed, the American General refused to receive them, and politely dismissed the Colonel.

The conduct of General Washington, in this interview with the British Colonel, was approved by Congress, and produced the following resolve: "That he had acted with a

dignity becoming his character. That no letters or messages be received, on any occasion whatever, from the enemy, by the Commander in Chief, or others, the Commanders of the American army, but such as shall be directed to them in the characters they respectively sustain." 1776.

On this day Colonel Paterson had a second interview with General Washington, in which he addressed the General by the title of "Excellency," and apologized (by the commissioners' desire) for any deficiency in point of respect or punctilio, informing him that they had the highest personal regard for Mr. Washington—that they now had sent a letter "To George Washington, Esq. &c. &c. &c." and that they hoped all difficulties were removed, as by the three *et ceteras* might be understood all his Excellency's titles. The Colonel laid down the letter on the table, but General Washington declined to accept it; asking what powers the General and Lord Howe were invested with, declaring that he had read the last act of Parliament, and found by it, they were *merely* empowered to grant pardons. He said the Americans had done no wrong, and therefore wanted no pardons. He then mentioned the approbation of Congress of his conduct in the first interview; he could not enter into any new treaty without fresh authority; besides, though it was true that the three et ceteras might mean *every* thing, it was also true it might mean *any* thing. After some other conversation, in which the Colonel endeavoured to exculpate General Howe from the charge of inhumanity to American prisoners when in Boston, and General Washington had mentioned his indulgence to such of their prisoners as fell into his hands—the conference ended. *July* 20.

It appears from a speech of the Earl of Shelburne in Parliament, "That [the powers of the Commissioners] the pretended mercy of conciliation, held out nothing but a naked offer of pardon, on the terms of unconditional submission."

The following extract from his Lordship's speech shews his opinion of the misapplication of the word "Rebel" with respect to the Colonies. "The Americans, he said, had been represented, as daring, desperate, traitorous, insolent, ungrateful, and rebellious; for his part, he could never be persuaded to deem people taking up arms in defence of their property, their privileges, and unalienable rights, *rebels*. If such doctrine had prevailed at the time of the revolution, their Lordships would not then probably be sitting in that house. If resisting a *lawful* authority, though perhaps not a *rightful* authority, is the essence of treason, the whigs of the revolution were *rank* rebels, King James the second was their lawful King. It is true, he endeavoured to trample upon, and in some in-

1776. stances did invade their rights; but still if resistance of *lawful* authority constituted an act of treason in every possible event, the whigs in 1688, and the provincials now, may be deemed rebels: He would always continue to think that both were a constitutional resistance to a power *originally legal*, but which, by the unconstitutional exercise of it, had *degenerated* into the most oppressive stages of an *usurped arbitrary* power. His Lordship said also, that it was his opinion, that the power of regulating the trade of the Colonies, was the very essence of the political connexion betwixt both countries."

Aug. 12. The first and second division of German troops, hired by the British Parliament to fight in America, about nine thousand, arrived at New-York, under General de Heister, and one hundred of the English guards joined General Howe's army.

After the destruction of Norfolk (already mentioned) the Earl of Dunmore, with the King's ships, hovered round the coast of Virginia, and were very troublesome. They were at length driven from it, with the loss of cannon, small arms, baggage, and tents, with three tenders.

The enemy burnt two small vessels, and a large ship of their own; on board the latter, his Lordship received a wound in his leg; from the accounts published of the war in Virginia to this time, the enemy lost great numbers of men, not only in battle, but by sickness and other disasters.

Aug. 12. The last exploits of Lord Dunmore in Virginia were on *Potowmack river*, where he burnt and destroyed all in his power, and left the State. And on

Aug. 13. Lord Dunmore arrived at *Staten Island* with the remnant of his *motley* troops, where, a few days before, the Generals Clinton, Earl Cornwallis, &c. had arrived from South-Carolina, with the remains of Sir Peter Parker's shattered squadron; having found that climate *too warm* for them to continue in.

Aug. 16. The Phœnix man of war, and some other of the King's ships infested the *north*, or *Hudson's* river. Two *fire* ships were sent up the river to destroy them, under command of two gentlemen volunteers, of rank in the Continental army: Though they were not so successful as they wished, they in some measure answered their purpose—they consumed one of the British tenders, and obliged the rest to quit their station, and run the gauntlet through a number of well directed shot, from the batteries in and near New-York city, and some Continental gallies.

A discovery was made of the perfidy of Lieut. Colonel *Zedwitz* (in the Continental service) carrying on a correspondence with Governour *Tryon*, of New-York. The object of this correspondence, was to obtain a large sum of money, to be immediately sent him, upon condition of his

giving the enemy information of the strength and situation of the Continental army, agreeably to a promise he had made Governour Tryon, previous to entering into the American service. He invented this falsehood: "That some villains at General Washington's camp were hired to poison the watering-place at Staten-Island, and were each to receive a recompense of one thousand pounds from the General." 1776.

Zedwitz, on his trial, owned the letters to be his, but said it was intended merely as a trick to draw from the enemy two thousand pounds sterling, in lieu of expenses he had been at in raising a regiment in Germany, at the request of the Marquis of Granby, for which he had never been reimbursed. His life was saved by a casting vote—but he was broke, and declared incapable of holding any military office in the service of the United States.

The discovery was made by a German, who had the charge of delivering the letter to Governour Tryon, but as soon as he got possession of it, laid it before General Washington.

According to a list published, the whole British force in America, under General and Lord Howe, at this time, as nearly as can be computed, is as follows, viz.

Twenty-five ships of war, two of them 64 guns each, one of 44, the rest bomb ships, frigates and sloops, and upwards of three hundred sail of transports.

General Howe, from Halifax,	8000
Scots Troops (3200) embarked, 850 taken,	2350
Defeated troops under Clinton and Cornwallis, from South-Carolina,	2500
Two divisions Hessians, Waldeckers, and English guards,	9000
Dunmore's Negroes, Tories, and about 50 fighting men,	150
	22000
Third division of Hessians expected, about	5000

General Howe now began to remove his army from Staten-Island to *Long-Island*,* where he landed them without any opposition. *Aug.* 22.

* Long-Island is about 120 miles long, contains many towns or settlements—it abounds in wheat and other grain, and cattle of various kinds, is less than two miles distant from New-York.

1776. Nathaniel Greene, Esq. of Warwick, Rhode-Island, was now appointed a Major-General in the Continental army,
Aug. 26. and commanded on Long-Island.

Aug. 27. They (the Royalists) began their march through the woods on Long-Island, which about 3000 Continental troops occupied. Having passed on, and stopped up the cross road, near the American camp, they surrounded the Continentals in the woods. Lord *Stirling** repulsed the enemy before he was surrounded, four different times : When it was found the enemy were greatly superiour in numbers, the General ordered a retreat, and not knowing that the cross road was blocked up, many fell into the hands of the enemy, others escaped by wading through creeks, swamps, and marshes, to the American encampment. In the skirmishes on Long-Island, Lord Stirling and Major-General Sullivan were taken prisoners by the enemy ; (the latter had liberty to go to Congress upon his parole, to solicit the exchange of himself and Lord Stirling, he was also charged with a message to Congress from Lord Howe). Lieutenant-Colonel Parry, of the Pennsylvania musquetry, was shot dead, while animating his men. The number of Continentals killed, wounded and missing, is short of 500, the loss of the enemy is estimated at a much greater number : 840 said to be killed, and a much larger number wounded, 65 prisoners.

Aug. 28. The British attacked the Continental lines on the Island, but were repulsed.

General Washington, from the movement of the British fleet, suspected their intention was to cut off the communication between Long-Island and New-York, he therefore,
Aug. 29. meditated the retreat of his troops from the Island, and he undertook and accomplished it with every mark of generalship. This masterly retreat he *personally* conducted, and went over to the Island in the evening of this day, with the boats he had prepared to convey his troops to New-York.

He ordered the brigades to be got in readiness to march, at such a time, but they knew not where ; and with such secrecy was it conducted, that the three brigades knew not where each other went, till they were all embarked, with their baggage, cannon, and military stores, the last coming off early on Friday morning. A fog favoured their evacuation—it was made undiscovered by the British, and the

* William Alexander, Esq. of the New-Jersey forces. In the year 1755 he attended Gen. Shirley in his expedition to Niagara in quality of Secretary. He laid in a claim to the title of Earl of Stirling, his ancestor, had that title, and a grant of Nova-Scotia, anno 1621.

whole Continental force was landed safely on New-York. 1776.
At the same time, the Continentals evacuated Governour's Island without annoyance from the enemy. On both islands were left only six pieces of cannon.

The British on Long-Island opened a battery and began *Sept.* 8.
a cannonade on the fortifications at Hell-Gate, which was returned with spirit.

The purport of Lord Howe's message to Congress by Gen. Sullivan, was, "That his Lordship could not treat with *Congress* as such, yet he was very desirous of having a conference with some of the members, whom he would consider at that time only as private gentlemen, and meet them himself as such, in such place as they should appoint," &c.

Upon receiving Lord Howe's message, Congress resolved, "That Gen. Sullivan be requested to inform his Lordship, that the Congress being the representatives of the free and independent States of America could not, with propriety, send any of its members to confer with his Lordship in their private characters, but that, ever desirous of establishing peace upon reasonable terms, they would send a committee of their body to know, whether he had any authority to treat with persons authorized by Congress for that purpose, in behalf of America, and what that authority was, and to hear such propositions as he should think proper to make respecting the same." "In compliance with the above resolution, Congress made choice of three of their members for the purpose therein mentioned, viz. Dr. Benjamin Franklin, of Philadelphia, John Adams, Esq. of Boston, and Edward Rutledge, Esq. of Charleston, South-Carolina." These gentlemen had an interview with Lord Howe on Staten-Island; and when the conference was over, they returned to Congress, and reported the con- *Sept.* 11.
versation they had with him, the substance of which is, "That his Lordship entered into discourse of considerable length, but it contained no explicit proposition of peace except one, viz. that the Colonies should return to their allegiance and obedience to the government of Great-Britain, and intimated, that upon such submission, the government of Great-Britain would cause the offensive acts of Parliament to be revised, and the instructions to Governours to be reconsidered, that so if any just causes of complaint were found in the acts, or any errors in government were perceived to have crept into the instructions, they might be amended or withdrawn." The Committee gave it as their opinion to his Lordship, "that a return to the domination of Great-Britain was not now to be expected—they mentioned their petitions being treated with contempt, and with additional injuries—their patience—that it was not till the last

1776. act of Parliament which declared war against us, and put us out of the King's protection, that we declared our independence, which had been called for by the people of the Colonies in general, and approved of by every Colony who now considered themselves as independent States ; and were settling or had settled their governments accordingly. So that it was not in the power of Congress to agree for them, that they should return to their former dependent state. That his Lordship might sooner obtain fresh powers from Britain, than powers could be obtained by Congress, from the several States to consent to a submission." His Lordship then saying, " That he was sorry to find that no accommodation was like to take place," put an end to the conference.

It did not appear to the committee (as they reported) that his Lordship's commission contained any other authority of importance than what is expressed in the act of Parliament, viz. " That of granting pardons, with such exceptions as the commissioners should think proper to make. And of declaring America, or any part of it, in the King's peace, upon submission ; For as to the power of inquiring into the state of America, which his Lordship mentioned to them, and of conferring and consulting with any persons the Commissioners might think proper, and representing the result of such conversation to the ministry, who, provided the Colonies would subject themselves, might after all, or might not, at their pleasure, make any alteration in the former instructions to Governours, or propose in Parliament any amendment of the acts complained of ; they apprehended any expectations from the effects of such a power would have been too uncertain and precarious to be relied on by America, had she still continued in her state of dependence."

Sept. 15. On Sunday morning, a large body of the British troops landed at Haerlem, eight miles east of New-York city, and at Turtle-bay, on the same side, four miles nearer.

General Washington having concluded to abandon the city, as it was not tenable, his troops had orders to retreat as far as Mount Washington, and there to make a stand. General Howe's army then took possession of the city. They effected this under a heavy cannonade of their shipping, and with a design to cut off the Continental troops in the city, under General *Putnam ;* but they escaped, and marched to the west side of the island, and joined the main body, about nine miles above the city.

Sept. 19. The British Commissioners finding it was the opinion of the Committee of Congress, that the United States could not relinquish the independency they had lately proclaimed, published their declaration to the *inhabitants at large*, in

which they recommend to them "To reflect seriously upon their present conduct and expectations, and to judge for themselves, whether it is more consistent with their honour and happiness, to offer up their lives as a sacrifice to the unjust and precarious cause in which they are engaged, or to return to the allegiance, accept the blessings of peace, and be secured in the free enjoyment of their liberties and properties." 1776.

Their declaration had no effect with the people at large. Their delegates in Congress had already recommended the best means they could devise, for the safety and future prosperity of the States. And the people had no disposition to counteract their resolves and declarations; but on the contrary, heartily adopted them, and acted conformably thereto. They could not give up their freedom, and return to that submission and allegiance, which the King's Commissioners held up to them as the condition of peace.

The next day after the Commissioners had published their declaration, and five days after the British had taken possession of the city of New-York, a fire broke out in that capital, which consumed some of its most superb buildings, and raged with great violence. *Sept.* 20.

By a flag that came to General Washington's lines a few days after, they had information that some persons, who were suspected of being American emissaries, had occasioned this disaster, that they had been cruelly treated by the enemy, *only* on *bare* suspicion.

The Continentals made an attempt to surprise a guard of the enemy on Montresor's Island, in which a promising young officer, Major Thomas Henley (a native of Charlestown, Massachusetts) was killed; his activity and zeal for the service is applauded, which engaged him to push forward in the first and only boat that landed his men, the others having failed in duty, and probably prevented their success. *Sept.* 23.

The *Cherokee* and *Creek* Indians began about this time to be troublesome to the Southern States of Georgia and South-Carolina, instigated thereto, it was strongly suspected, by the King's superintendant of Indian affairs; but they paid dearly for it, some of the *Cherokee* towns were destroyed by the Carolinians, and many Indians captivated and killed.

A peace was afterwards concluded, upon their ceding a considerable tract of land to the State of South-Carolina.

The troops raised in the several States, and which composed the Continental army, were enlisted only for a certain number of months; at the expiration of which they were discharged, and new enlistments made. This method being found to be very injurious to the service,

1776. Congress resolved "to raise a *standing* army, to consist of about seventy-five thousand men, to serve for the term of three years, or during the war."

Their respective quotas to be as follows, viz.

	Battalions		Battalions
New-Hampshire	3	Delaware	1
Massachusetts	15	Maryland	8
Rhode-Island	2	Virginia	15
Connecticut	8	North-Carolina	9
New-York	4	South-Carolina	6
New-Jersey	4	Georgia	1
Pennsylvania	12		

Sept. And as an encouragement to engage in the service, besides a bounty of twenty dollars for each man, over and above their wages, and allowance of rations, they were to have lands bestowed on them, at the conclusion of the war. The officers, in proportion to their respective ranks, from five hundred to two hundred acres, and the non-commission officers and soldiers, one hundred acres each.* These lands to be provided by the United States, and the expense borne by them, as the other expenses of the war. Their pay to be as follows:

	Dollars
A Colonel, per month	75
Lieutenant Colonel	60
Major	50
Chaplain	33 1-3
Surgeon	33 1-3
Surgeon's Mate	18
Adjutant	40
Quarter-Master	27½
Regiment Pay-Master	26 2-3
Captain	40
Lieutenant	27
Ensign	20
Serjeant-Major	9
Quarter-Master-Serjeant	9
Drum-Major	8
Fife-Major	8 1-3
Serjeant	8
Corporal	7 1-3
Drummer and Fifer	7 1-3
Privates	6 2-3

* By an after resolve, Congress extended the donation of lands to general officers, viz. a Major-General 1100 acres, a Brigadier-General 750 acres.

The two Continental Generals taken on Long-Island, viz. Major-General Sullivan and Lord Stirling, returned to the American camp, being exchanged for General Prescott, taken at St. John's, and Governour Mountfort Browne, of New-Providence. 1776. *October.*

The plan of a *standing* army being settled by Congress, the state of the Continental *paper currency* came under their consideration. To support the credit of it, and stop the depreciation, which was the consequence of the large sums issued, they determined to make no more emissions for a time; and as the means to answer the exigencies of the States, they proposed to borrow money of the possessors, on interest, for which purpose they passed the following resolves, viz.

"That five millions of Continental dollars be immediately borrowed for use of the United States of America, at the annual interest of four per cent.*

"That the faith of the United States be pledged to the lenders, for the payment of the sums to be borrowed, and the interest arising thereon. That a certificate† be given to the lender, witnessed by the Continental treasurer, and countersigned by the Commissioner of the office who receives it.

"That for the convenience of the lenders, loan offices be established in each of the United States, and a Commissioner to superintend said office, be appointed by the said States respectively, who are to be responsible for the faithful discharge of their duties in said offices; said Commissioners to be entitled to receive one eighth per cent. on all monies which shall be brought to their respective offices, &c."

Besides the troops left at Ticonderoga, in June last, under Major-General Gates; Brigadier-General Arnold and General Warterbury had command of a fleet of gondolas, on Lake Champlain, and on the 11th and 12th of this month had an engagement with the enemy; and in a subsequent battle, were obliged to yield to superiour force, and leave them masters of the lake. *Oct.* 12.

Major-General Lee having returned from South-Carolina, he joined the main body of the Continental army, at their head quarters at Haerlem.

The British regain possession of Crown Point, to which place General Carlton repaired, after the battle on the lake. *Oct.* 20.

* The interest was afterwards altered to six per cent.

† Congress resolved, "That the interest due on loan office certificates issued to the first of March 1777, shall be paid by bills of exchange on the Commissioners of the States in Paris, at the rate of five livres for one Spanish milled dollar, or in Continental bills, at the option of the lenders."

1776. A party of about 100 Tories commanded by Major Rogers, in a skirmish with some Continentals, were entirely routed, twenty killed, and a considerable number taken prisoners.

October. This month Congress came into some resolutions respecting the Continental *navy:* and to make it respectable, they resolved, "That no private ships or vessels of war, merchant ships, and other vessels belonging to the subjects of these States, be permitted to wear pendants, when in company with Continental ships or vessels of war, without leave from the commanders thereof. That if the merchant ship or vessel transgress in this respect, the commander of the Continental vessel be authorised to take away the pendant from the offenders—and that if any *private* vessel of war refuse to pay the respect due to the Continental ships, the commander for refusing shall lose his commission—That the rank of officers be the same as officers of similar commissions in the land force,—That the commanders, officers, &c. in the Continental navy, be entitled to *one half* of merchant-men, transports, and store-ships, by them taken, from and after the first day of November, 1776, and that they be entitled to the *whole* value of all ships and vessels of war, belonging to the crown of Great Britain, by them made prize of, and all privateers authorized by his Britannick Majesty to war against these States." And as encouragement to serve in the Continental navy, Congress passed a subsequent Resolve, "That a bounty of twenty dollars be paid to the commander, officers, and men, of such Continental ships or vessels of war, that shall make prize of any British vessels of war, for every cannon mounted on board such prize at the time of such capture, and eight dollars per head for every man then on board and belonging to such prize."*

General Burgoyne having withdrawn the troops that had for a short space occupied Lake Champlain and its neighbourhood, about the middle of November, Sir Guy Carlton, also with the whole force he had at Crown Point, quitted it, and General Gates informed Congress, that he had sent a detachment to beat up the enemy's quarters at their advanced posts, but found they had abandoned them.

A letter of this date, from General Howe to Lord George Germaine, gives the following account of the movements of his army, after they landed on New-York, to this time.

* By order of Congress, the *flags* of the United States are *thirteen* stripes, alternately red and white; and their *union*, thirteen stars, white, in a blue field, representing a new constellation.

"He attempted (he says) to open the principal communi- 1776.
cation to Connecticut, and to force the Continental troops from the post they occupied in the neighbourhood of Kingsbridge, and in prosecution of this plan, his troops passed with their boats through Hell-Gate, taking the advantage of a thick fog to prevent discovery, and the 12th of October landed on Frog-neck, near the town of West-Chester, a frigate being placed to cover the descent.

"Lieutenant General Earl Piercy remained, with two brigades of British, and one of Hessians, in the lines near Haerlem, to cover New-York [city.] They remained in this situation five days, waiting for stores and provisions. They then re-embarked. A part passed round Frog-Neck, and landed at Pitt's-Point, the mouth of the river. The main body then crossed over to the same place, on the creek opposite to East-Chester, and a part advanced near to Rochelle. On their march to this ground a skirmish ensued. The 21st of October, the right and centre of his army moved to the northward of Rochelle, on the road to White-Plains, leaving Lieutenant General de Heister to occupy the former ground. Lieutenant Colonel Rogers, with his corps of Rangers, were sent to take possession of Mare-Neck. Upon these movements General Washington detached a corps to White-Plains, and moved his army from their station at Kingsbridge, extending their force behind the Brunx, from Valentine hills to White-Plains, in detached camps, covering the upper communication with Connecticut, and the road along the North River. His (Howe's) army then moved, the 28th. on to White-Plains, in two columns, commanded by *Nov.*
Lieutenant Generals Clinton, and de Heister (the latter being ordered from his former post, to join the main body) Lieutenant General Kniphausen having established his post, on the York side of King's-bridge, within cannon-shot of *Fort-Washington*. This post, with *Fort-Lee*, on the opposite shore of Jersey, kept the command of the navigation of the North River, and barred the communication with New-York, by land. They prepared to attack it, and with thirty boats, passed the North River on the night of the 14th of November, and on the 15th, in the evening, Adjutant-General Paterson was sent to summons Fort Washington to surrender. Fort-Lee was the next object, for the entire command of North River, and a ready road to penetrate the Jersies. It was taken by Lord Cornwallis, who advanced with the main body, and on the 24th of November, took possession of Newark [in the Jersies."]

The Continental accounts furnish the following particulars, relative to the contents of General Howe's letter.

1776. About the middle of October, the British troops that were landed at Frog's-Point, about eighteen miles S. E. of New-York bridge, pushed forward with great expedition, towards the bridge leading from the point to the main. But a body of Continental rifle men being stationed near it, took up the bridge, and impeded their progress. The British were reinforced, and a large body was landed at Rodman's-Point. Major General Lee sent a small party to attack them, and to retreat back to the place where he was, with a large body in the front, and another in a flanking party; they obeyed the orders of the General, and the enemy followed them till they came within fifty yards of General Lee, till then undiscovered; his troops gave them a very heavy fire, which put them into confusion; upon which the flanking party played upon them so warmly, that they only gave one or two fires and retreated. This is probably the skirmish General Howe mentions they had in their way to East-Chester and Rochelle. General Howe's main body at East-Chester, extended towards Connecticut, as far as New-Rochelle, making a formidable front, of several miles in length on the Sound, attempting to outflank General Washington. Some of their small parties advanced as far as Mare-Neck—the two armies at this time about two miles distant from each other—York-*Island*, still in possession of the Continental troops, with a garrison under General Putnam. The enemy having advanced in great numbers near to White-Plains,* General Lee, with a body of Continentals, were detached to attack them. They fought smartly for about an hour, in which time one hundred and fifty of his men were killed and wounded—and a considerable number of the enemy fell in the action. An eminence near, and N. W. of White-Plains, was disputed, and at last parted with, at a Bunker-hill price.

The loss of the British at White Plains and near it, by their own account, is three hundred and fifty killed, four hundred and seventy wounded, two hundred taken prisoners. As the ground near the centre of this town was overlooked by adjacent hills, the troops occupying it were insecure. The Continental Generals therefore drew off most of their troops from the lines there.

The British that were encamped there, struck their tents, and removed. Some prisoners, and two baggage waggons, fell into the hands of the Continentals, on their retiring from that place.

* Thirty miles from New-York city.

Fort-Washington, on the island of New-York, which had been attempted twice before, was now reduced by the British. The *Hessians* began the attack, and approached the lines, within point blank shot, when they suffered greatly, being cut down in whole ranks by the defenders, but they being supported by a body of British, and the place, from which the garrison had been supplied with water, being in possession of the enemy, the besieged found the fort was not capable of defence, and the besiegers refusing the terms offered by Colonel Magaw, he was obliged to surrender at discretion on the 15th of November. The enemy's account of their loss in attacking the lines, was 900 killed ; another account says 1500 wounded ; also, the garrison had 400 killed, and 1600 made prisoners, being their whole number. 1776. Nov.

After this business was accomplished, the British landed a large body of troops on the Jersey-shore, and proceeded to Fort-Lee, opposite Fort-Washington, which not being tenable, and (as a person then on the spot related) the Continentals were exceedingly cramped, the place being on a narrow neck of land, between North River and the Hackinsack, and their force inconsiderable, Major General Greene who commanded there, thought proper to withdraw and abandon the fort, the 20th of the month, when it fell into the hands of Lord Cornwallis.†

The royal army having now entered the Jersies, an action took place the 28th of the same month, between some of the Pennsylvania militia, and a body of the enemy, who were repeatedly repulsed, in attempting to cross the river at Aquinac-bridge.

Congress came into a resolution to set on foot a Lottery, for the purpose of raising a sum of money for the use of the United American States, to bear an annual interest of four per cent. to be applied for carrying on the necessary war. Agreeably to the scheme, the Lottery consisted of four classes, of one hundred thousand tickets each, subject to a deduction of fifteen per cent. at the price of ten, twenty, thirty, forty dollars for a ticket in each class. The highest prizes, ten thousand, twenty thousand, thirty thousand dollars, and the fourth and last class, fifty thousand dollars, and not one blank and an half to a prize. The fortunate adventurers, who should draw more than thirty or forty dollars, in the first, second, and third classes, were to receive a treasury bank note, payable at the end of five years, and an annual interest of four per cent—the drawers of fifty dollars in the fourth Nov.

† Before they abandoned the fort, they killed of the enemy twenty, and wounded thirty-five.

1776. class to receive their money immediately, without any deduction; and all who drew more, to have bank treasury notes without deduction—the interest to commence from the last day of drawing.

Dec. This month is replete with many memorable events. General Howe having formed a design to make a descent on *Rhode-Island* State, detached a part of his force, the first of this month, to gain possession of *Newport* Island, the capital.

Commodore Sir Peter Parker, having with him about seventy sail of transports, arrived in Newport harbour, eight days after. The troops were landed under direction of Captain Caulfield (of the Commodore's ship, who had command of the flat-boats.) He immediately took possession of the Island, no resistance being made—many of the inhabitants being loyalists, received them gladly. General Clinton, Earl Piercy, Major-General Prescott, and Lord William Campbell, were on this expedition. The number of troops was between five and six thousand, among whom were some light horse, a number of Hessians, &c.

A large body of militia were collected at Providence, and the towns adjacent, to prevent their penetrating the main, if they had attempted it.

Decem. The affairs of the United States at this period, wore a discouraging aspect. Major-General Gates had not yet returned from the northern department, and Major-General Lee, with a division of Continentals, was at Morristown at a distance from the American camp. The Continental troops were now reduced to a small number, the time of the enlistment of the greater part had expired, and they could not be prevailed on to continue till their places could be supplied with new levies; these circumstances were not unknown to the enemy. Their late success at Fort-Washington and Lee, and at Newport, together with the present state of the Continental army, and their having got possession of Brunswick, in the Jersies, gave them the most flattering prospects of accomplishing their designs, and vanquishing the Continental forces. General Washington thought proper now to retire from the Hackinsack. Howe's troops made a forced march to come up with the Continentals; they had got within two miles of Princetown, when Lord Stirling began his retreat. General Washington, finding he could not maintain his ground in the Jersies, with his *little* army, prudently determined to cross the Delaware. Boats from every quarter were provided, and the Continental troops snd stores conveyed over the Delaware.

General Washington taking his quarters within a mile of the river, it was the design of General Howe to have pur-

sued them with his troops, and entirely to rout and break up the Continental army, but was prevented from the pursuit, by the precaution of General Washington, who, upon leaving the Jersies, had ordered all the boats left on that shore to be destroyed. General Howe, in a letter to Lord George Germaine, of the 20th of this month, informs him, "that the first division of his troops advancing to Trenton, reached the Delaware soon after General Washington's rear guard had crossed it." The royalists could proceed no farther. 1776. *Decem.*

The royalists being informed that General Lee was at a house in Basking-Ridge, in New-Jersey, three or four miles distant from his corps, Colonel Harcourt was sent with a detachment of dragoons. They having arrived at the house, fired a great number of shot into it, and the General finding no means of escape, surrendered himself to the party. *Dec.* 13.

They mounted him on a horse, and rode off with him in triumph, and in such haste, they could not allow him time to get his cloak and hat, and conveyed him to New-York.†

From Colonel Woodford's account of an action he had with a party of the royalists, near the *Great-Bridge*, Williamsburgh, *Virginia*, the following is collected: A deserter, says the Colonel, has completely taken in his Lordship (Cornwallis.) He informed them that not more than three hundred shirtmen (riflemen) were there. *Dec.* 15.

Captain Leslie with all the regulars, about two hundred, was despatched, with about three hundred black and white slaves, and crossed the bridge in the morning, when the Colonel's men had just got under arms. Lieutenant Batut commanded the advanced party, and Captain Fordyce, of the grenadiers, led the van with his company, and had the misfortune to fall in the action which ensued—who for his conduct and bravery (the Colonel says) deserved a better fate, as well as the brave fellows who fell with him, who behaved like heroes.

They marched up to the breast works with fixed bayonets, but the fire against them was so well directed, as to occasion great carnage amongst them. None of the blacks in the rear with Lieutenant Leslie advanced further than the bridge, near which they had a fort. Colonel Woodford's victory was complete. The enemy carried off their dead and wounded, and two pieces of cannon, under cover of the guns of the fort. Colonel Woodford took prisoner Lieutenant Batut, the commander, and sixteen privates, all wounded, thirty-five stand of arms, and accoutrements, three officers' fusees, powder, ball cartridges, &c.

† There he remained till March or April, 1778, when he was exchanged for General Prescott, taken at Newport.

1776. This, the Colonel says, was a second Bunker-hill affair, in miniature, with this difference, that we kept our post, and had only one man wounded in the hand.

The royal army, now in possession of the Jersies, were scattered on the banks of the river, and occupied many of the towns—flushed with their late successes, and anticipating the *total* destruction of the Continental army—but a surprising reverse of fortune we shall presently see takes place.

Decem. Lord Cornwallis went to New-York with a design, it was said, to embark for England; and Major-General Vaughan had command of the troops in the Jersies. A writer, before cited, takes notice of the retreat over the Delaware, and says, "That both officers and men, though greatly harrassed and fatigued, frequently without rest, covering, or provision, (the inevitable consequences of a long retreat) bore it with a martial and manly spirit; all their wishes were one, which was that the country would turn out, and help them to drive the enemy back." He then applies to General Washington, a remark of Voltaire's, on King William, "That he never appeared to full advantage, but in difficulties and in action." The application of this remark will be allowed to be just, if the *critical* situation of the American General is taken into view, and the wisdom and magnanimity he discovered at this very important crisis.

The Villagers in the Jersies suffered greatly by the enemy's troops, ravaging, plundering, and offering great indecencies to the female inhabitants. The following is related with such circumstances as to gain full credit: "A farmer near Woodbridge, hearing the cries of his daughter, rushed into the room, and found an Hessian officer attempting to ravish her; in a fit of rage he killed the officer; but the poor man was ungenerously wounded by the officer's party who came up soon after."†

Dec. 19. The King's Commissioners, at New-York, now tried the force of another proclamation, which this day made its appearance. It mentions the terms on which they would grant pardons, and limits the time—and in a high authoritative tone, *charges* and *commands* all who were assembled in arms against his Majesty, to disband—and all under the names of General or Provincial Congresses, Committees, Conventions, &c. to desist from their *treasonable* practices and relinquish their usurped power, within sixty days from the date of the proclamation—and to subscribe a declaration to remain peaceably, not to take up arms, nor encourage others. Upon compliance with the above, they were to receive a full and free pardon.

† William Smith, of Smith's-farm, near Woodbridge, is said to be this unfortunate man.

This proclamation had no effect—it was occasioned by the apparently forlorn state of the Continental army at this time. The States were not conscious of any *treason* they had been guilty of, unless defending their liberties and properties against invasion could be deemed such; besides, the proclamation proceeded from an authority, the whole continent had already abjured—and notwithstanding the dark appearances on the side of the States, they trusting in the justice of their cause—we do not find any who complied with the haughty demand of the proclamation. 1776. *Decemb.*

Congress were apprehensive that the royal army would pay a visit to Philadelphia, and taking into consideration the religious tenets of a great many of the inhabitants denominated Quakers, which would not allow of their taking up arms, and which had been a great clog to the military operations of the Pennsylvanians—they judged it proper to lay before the people the hazard that would attend the success of the enemy, and getting into their capital; for this purpose Congress ordered hand-bills to be struck off, and circulated through the State, to rouse them to a sense of their danger, and the defence of their property, and to convince the Continent that *one spirit actuated the whole.*

This address had a good effect in the southern States, they were excited thereby to more vigorous exertions.

The Philadelphians at this crisis thought it prudent to suspend their private business, secure their effects, and provide for their common safety. Congress removed to Baltimore (in the state of Maryland, about 120 miles below Philadelphia.) And

General Washington entered upon the execution of a very important plan, and almost a desperate one, to check the intended progress of the enemy, and to raise the spirits of his little army. This celebrated General had not, at this juncture, under his immediate command, more than 2500, or 3000 men, to oppose a victorious army, of thrice the number; yet with this handful of men, he baffled the designs of Howe's *large* army, and prevented his carrying them into effect at this time, by a judicious and well timed manœuvre.

An advanced party of the enemy being quartered at *Trenton*, General Washington concerted a plan to surprise them, and in order to accomplish it, he re-crossed the Delaware, and landed on the Jersey shore, early in the morning, of the 26th of this month, with about twenty-four hundred men,*

* An intelligent officer, who was in the action, informed the compiler of this Journal, there was 2250, of which only 1600 were Continental regulars.

1776. among whom were some companies of artillery, with eighteen field pieces: They formed into two divisions; the one
Dec. 26. commanded by Major-General Sullivan, the other by Major-General Greene, and the whole, by his Excellency General Washington. The attack began at seven o'clock, by the vanguard of Sullivan's division, who attacked the Hessian advanced guard, about a mile from the town, which they soon drove, when the whole pushed, with the utmost vigour, for the town, which they immediately entered. General Greene's division attacked the town on the other side, at the same time; fifteen minutes decided the action in favour of the Continentals, and the enemy threw down their arms. The Continental troops, finding many of their guns would not go off, owing to their being exposed to a violent storm of snow and rain, for six hours, they charged their bayonets, and giving three cheers, rushed with impetuosity on the Hessians.

By General Washington's account to Congress, "the royal forces at Trenton were three Hessian battalions, viz. Landspatch, Kniphausen, and Rahl, and a party of British light horse, all under the command of Colonel Rahl, who died of his wounds soon after the action." Fifty were killed and 918 made prisoners, among whom were 30 commission officers.* The Continentals also gained six brass cannon (two of them 12 pounders) 1200 small arms, seven standards, and other trophies, a large quantity of military musick, baggage, &c. &c. On the side of the Continentals not more than 20 were killed and wounded.

General Washington gave the Hessians all their baggage, and sent them to the western counties of Pennsylvania, unsearched. The *generosity* of the General, so contrary to the conduct of the enemy on similar occasions, excited in their breasts a veneration for their amiable conqueror, whom they stiled "*a very good rebel.*"

The royal troops at Bordentown soon had the alarm, which was communicated to all their parties along the river. After they had remained under arms for some time, instead of marching to oppose the Continentals, they retired, and left them to take possession of Bordentown, Mount Holly, and Burlington.

* The royalists account is,

Thirty-five killed,	35
Sixty wounded,	60
948 made prisoners.	948
Total,	1048.

The action at Trenton, and its attendant consequences, changed the scene, and gave a sudden turn to appearances in favour of the United States. 1776. *Decemb.*

Congress conferred on their Generalissimo more ample powers, and appointed him *Dictator* for the *limited* term of six months; to reform and new model the military arrangements, in such manner as he judged best for the publick service.

Soon after the declaration of Independence, Congress appointed the following Commissioners on behalf of the States, viz. Benjamin Franklin, who arrived in France this month, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee,* Esqrs. to manage their affairs in France and Spain, to cultivate an acquaintance with them, and procure their friendship, and some other of the European powers, and to give them a right understanding of the nature of the controversy, between Great Britain and the United States of America. These gentlemen happily succeeded in their commission, and procured supplies of such warlike, and other articles, as were necessary for the States; not from the Court of France (they not having yet interfered) but from the *merchants*, by their agreements with the Commissioners.

Their negociations in France were viewed by *Lord Stormont*, the British Ambassador there, with a jealous eye; and to prevent their further success, he presented a memorial to that Court. "He hoped (he said) his Most Christian Majesty would so far extend his neutrality and friendship, as to prohibit the merchants in his dominions, from affording those of America (with whom they now trade openly) such vast succours as have hitherto been furnished. Above all, he hopes, that Messrs. Deane and Franklin, may be restrained in their measures, which have been gradually unfolded, so as to become less and less equivocal. The papers annexed to this memorial (says his Lordship) will amply display the nature of the progress of Mr. Deane's negociation, that after perusal, it might reasonably be expected, that he should be delivered up." But the *Court* of France did not meddle in this *mercantile* business.

After General Washington's success at Trenton, he passed again over the Delaware, into Philadelphia, with the prisoners, cannon, &c. he had taken.

The success of the Continentals, at the close of the last year, was followed with another victory in their favour, at the opening of this. The vigilant Washington improved 1777. *Jan. 2.*

* The latter gentleman was chosen in the room of Mr. Jefferson, who declined going to France, at this time.

1777. *January.* the advantage he had just now gained, and "having received reinforcements from Virginia, Maryland, and the militia of Pennsylvania, he repassed the Delaware into Jersey."*

Lord Cornwallis having deferred his voyage to England, returned from New-York to the Jersies; and being informed that General Washington was posted at Trenton, he advanced towards the town, and General Washington, in the night, marched off his troops towards Princetown, and fell in with the 17th and 55th regiments, on their march to join *Jan.* 3. Brigadier-General Leslie, at Maidenhead. On the third, an action commenced between them, in which the Continentals were victorious, and according to General Howe's own account, "the loss to his Majesty's troops, is seventeen killed, and nearly two hundred wounded and missing. Captain Leslie of the 17th is among the few killed." (Another account has it, seventy-four killed, which appears more probable.)—The Continental account greatly exceeds the above; the killed and prisoners, they reckon, about five hundred—it also mentions their taking some field pieces, blankets, stores, waggons, &c. General Howe acknowledges† *one* regiment, viz. the 17th, could not stand their ground; and that *two* others, the 55th and 40th, retired to Brunswick, where they were collecting their force. On the side of the Continentals, they have to regret the loss of a valuable gallant officer, *Brigadier-General Mercer*, of Virginia, who commanded the southern militia. A spectator of his remains, at Philadelphia (where they were interred with military honours) gave the following account to the publick: "His body, covered with wounds and mangled, was exposed to publick view, and after he had surrendered himself, the enemy, deaf to the voice of humanity, and the law of nations, stabbed him with their bayonets, and, with the butt end of a musket, battered and disfigured his face."

The above action was within three miles of Princetown, whither General Washington went, but soon quitted it, with his troops, by way of Kingstown, breaking down the bridges behind them, and crossed the Mill-stone river. Upon finding this, Lord Cornwallis retired to Brunswick. Some other of the royal troops, under Major-General Vaughan, assembled at Elizabeth-town; but they abandoned it on the 7th of the month, when some Waldeckers, Highlanders, and some baggage waggons, fell into the hands of

* So General Howe writes to Lord George Germaine, the 5th of January.

† See his letter of January 5th, to Lord George Germaine, printed in the publick papers.

the Continentals. The royalists were in possession only of Perth, Amboy, and Brunswick, in the Jersies. General Washington, by the battle near Princetown, and his well judged movements, gained great advantages of the enemy. 1777. *Jan.* 23.

Lieutenant-Colonel Parker, of the 6th Virginia regiment, had an action with an escort of 600 royalists, of the 28th and 37th regiments ; in the attack, their commander, Colonel Preston, was killed, and Lieutenant-Colonel Parker, not being properly supported, was obliged to retreat, after having killed of the enemy twenty-five, and wounded about forty. This escort was moving from Brunswick to Amboy.

A few loyalists belonging to the southern States, having signed a declaration of fidelity to the King, &c. and engaged not to take up arms against him, nor encourage others to do it, General Washington issued a proclamation of this date, requiring such persons to repair to his head quarters, at Morristown, or to the quarters of the nearest general officer, (till further notice could be taken of it by civil authority) to take oaths of allegiance to the United States, or to withdraw themselves and families within the enemy's lines, and if not complied with in thirty days, they would be considered as enemies to the States, and treated as such. *Jan.* 25.

General Dickinson defeated a party of about 500, took 40 waggons, upwards of 100 horses, and some sheep and cattle they had collected. This was performed by a body of militia, near Somerset court-house, on Milstone river. General Washington by letter, informed Congress, that this action reflected the highest honour on General Dickinson ; for, though his were all raw troops, he led them through the river, middle deep, and gave the enemy so severe a charge, that, although supported by three field pieces, they gave way, and left their convoy. *Jan.* 26.

The *Marquis de la Fayette* arrived this month, at Charleston (S. C.) from France, and immediately engaged in the Continental service.

Mr. Thomas Townshend (in debate on an answer to the King's speech delivered in January) expressed himself thus, in the House of Commons : " We have put the Colonies totally out of our protection. We have forbid them the exercise of every trade but that of arms, and have, by these means, forced them to take up their arms, and use them against ourselves. We profess to involve the innocent subjects of America with the guilty—our restrictions did not only deprive them of trade, but even of *food*—Are we to wonder at their declaring themselves independent ?" *Feb.* 10.

1777. A small party of Continentals stationed at Quibbletown, in the Jersies, was attacked by a large body of the royalists,
Feb. 13. from Brunswick; Colonel Scott, their commander, having retreated with them about a mile, was reinforced from Lord Stirling's division, with four pieces of cannon, when they renewed the action, and forced the enemy to retire, leaving 300 dead on the field, and took about 100 prisoners.

Feb. 16. A skirmish took place in New-York State, near King's-bridge, between a party of Continentals and a party of royalists, in which a few were killed and wounded on both sides; among the killed was one Captain, and two Lieutenants of the royalists. The next morning, the Continental guard-house was surrounded by the royalists, when the Continentals took some of them prisoners.

Feb. 17. The British government had in contemplation a plan, to send American prisoners in their possession, to the East-Indies, from whence it is probable they would never have returned; but it was, for some reasons, laid aside.

The American *Piracy* bill, proposed by Lord North, and brought into the House of Commons by Lord George Germaine, was passed by Parliament this day, by a majority of 77. It enabled the King to secure and detain persons charged with high treason in America, or for piracy on the high seas, &c. Such persons as were taken in American armed vessels, on the high seas, are by this act deemed *pirates*; and such as are taken in arms in the Colonies, are deemed *traitors*; and to be kept in custody, without bail or mainprize, until the first day of January, 1788, and not to be tried before, without orders from the Privy Council†.

Feb. 21. The following circumstance was the foundation of the disputes between England and Holland: *Sir Joseph Yorke*, the British Ambassador *in Holland*, presented a memorial to the States General, complaining of the conduct of the *Sieur de Graaf*, the Dutch Governour of St. Eustatius, for *daring* to connive at the arming of *American* vessels in St. Eustatius; and for permitting the capture of an English vessel, by an *American pirate*, under the guns of his fort, and that he had, from a principal fort, returned a salute to the *rebel* colours, &c. The English Ambassador demanded of the States General a formal disavowal of the salute, and the immediate dismission of Governour de Graaf. This memorial was ill received by their High-Mightinesses. They gave the Ambassador a *laconick* answer; and resolved to demand satisfaction for the affront offered them, and ordered an equipment of a number of their ships of war.

† See Mr. Burke's remarks on this act, printed in the publick papers.

General Maxwell, in the Jersies, with about 1400, chiefly militia, obliged a large foraging party of the royalists to retreat, with the loss of a considerable number, killed and wounded. 1777. *Feb.* 23.

Governour Livingston, in a speech to the General Assembly of *New-Jersey*, represents the violence and rapine of the royalists, in that State: "They have (he says) plundered friends and foes; effects, capable of division, they have divided; such as were not, they have destroyed: They have warred upon decrepid old age, warred upon defenceless youth; they have committed hostilities against the professors of literature, and the ministers of religion, against publick records and private monuments, books of improvement, and papers of curiosity; and against the arts and sciences: They have butchered the wounded, asking for quarter, mangled the dead, weltering in their blood, refused to the dead the rites of sepulchre, suffered prisoners to perish for want of sustenance; violated the chastity of women, disfigured private dwellings of taste and elegance; and, in the rage of impiety and barbarism, profaned edifices dedicated to Almighty God." *Feb.* 28.

The following is an extract from Mr. *Galloway's* reply, to observations of General Howe, published in England:

"All and more than I have said, in my letters to a nobleman, respecting indiscriminate and excessive plunder, is known to thousands within the British lines, and to a number of gentlemen now in England; and in respect to the rapes, the fact alleged does not depend on the credit of newspapers; a solemn inquiry was made, and affidavits taken, by which it appears that no less than twenty-three were committed in one neighbourhood in New-Jersey; some of them on married women, in presence of their helpless husbands, and others on daughters, while the unhappy parents, with unavailing tears and cries, could only deplore the savage brutality." *Amer. Herald.*

It must be remarked here, that the reporter of the foregoing is not an enemy, but a friend to the British cause.

Mr. *Galloway* had been speaker of the Pennsylvania House of Assembly, and a member of Congress for that State; but deserted the American cause, and went over to the enemy, at New-York, and at the time of publishing the above, he was in England.

In the northern department, a party of Indians in the British interest attacked thirty odd unarmed recruits, with two officers, in their way from Ticonderoga to Fort-George, to join their corps. They were asleep round a fire—the savages tomahawked some of them on the spot. Not more than three of this party (it was reported) escaped from the *March.*

1777. savages—they pushed on for Canada, and were pursued by Colonel Whitcomb, with some Continentals, who overtook, *Mar.* 23. and killed and wounded several of the Indians.

The royalists were prevented from *fully* executing their design, in an expedition to *Peck's-Kill*, by the good conduct of General *Mc.Dougal*, who commanded there.

About 500 of the royalists were detached from New-York, under command of Colonel Bird, with a design to destroy some stores that were collected there.

General Mc.Dougal ordered the rum and provisions to be destroyed, to prevent its falling into the enemy's hands, and the heavy artillery to be sent off, excepting one iron twelve pounder. The General and his troops retired to a barrack, two miles and a half from the town; the enemy cannonaded it, and wounded one man. General Mc.Dougal then took post to secure the pass of the mountains, and some mills, which contained a quantity of flour and grain, belonging to the Continent. The next day, Lieutenant-Colonel Willet, with about sixty men, of Colonel Ganse-woort's regiment, got undiscovered on the right flank of the enemy's piquet guard of 100 men, while a small party was sent on their left to draw their attention; it had the desired effect, for Colonel Willet got near them unperceived, when a short skirmish ensued. The Colonel ordered his men to fix bayonets, and rush on them, on hearing which, the enemy fled with great precipitation. That night they embarked, and the next morning General Mc.Dougal took repossession of the town.

Although the enemy did not accomplish their *whole* purpose, yet the loss sustained by the Continent was considerable, in rum, molasses, flour, sugar, &c.

In the Jersies, 60 of the Continentals from Sampton, &c. fell in with a party of the enemy near one of their out posts, *Mar.* 24. when a smart engagement began; Major Ritney's party being inferiour to the enemy (who were constantly reinforced) were obliged to retreat, which he did in such good order, as not to lose a man; he was reinforced by Ramsay's battalion of Maryland militia, and some Virginia volunteers, who drove the enemy into their breast works. The affair ended in favour of the Continentals.

April 5. A party of Continentals surrounded a piquet of the royalists—killed seven, one of them said to be a Lieutenant Frazier, of the 71st British regiment.

Major General Lincoln, who had a command of Continentals at *Bound-Brook*, writes thus: "The enemy having found means to evade the observation of our patroles, attacked our small encampment in different parts; which obliged us to retire to the mountains in our rear. We lost

three field pieces, and a few men." Whilst the General went to the place first attacked, some of his papers and his baggage fell into the enemy's hands. We had about 500 men, who were extended the distance of four or five miles. The enemy's force, about 4000, with four or five general officers; they remained about two hours in the little village, and after destroying a few stores, retired to their quarters at Brunswick, and General Lincoln with his party to theirs. 1777.

A ship from Bordeaux arrived at the United States. She was commissioned as a letter of marque, and brought with her linen and woolen goods, much wanted for the army. *April* 20.

General Howe issued, at New York, a proclamation for levying *Provincial* troops, "affording (the proclamation says) an opportunity for his Majesty's faithful and well disposed subjects, inhabitants of the Colonies, to co-operate in relieving themselves from the miseries attendant on anarchy, &c." As an encouragement to enlist, they were to receive, after being disbanded, grants of vacant lands in the Colonies, agreeably to their respective stations. *April* 21.

An expedition to *Danbury*, in Connecticut, was undertaken by the royalists. General Howe, in a letter of this date, informed Lord George Germaine, "That about 1800, under command of Governour *Tryon* of New-York, (who had accepted the rank of Major-General of the Provincials) went with a design to destroy a large magazine of provisions, and military stores, at Danbury. Brigadier-General Agnew, and Sir William Erskine, are upon the service, the naval part of which is under the conduct of Captain Duncan, commander of his Majesty's ship Eagle." *April* 24. *April* 25.

What follows, is from an account published in the Connecticut Journal:——"When the troops had landed, the handful of Continentals were obliged to evacuate the town, having previously secured a part of the stores and provisions. The enemy began their operations, by burning and destroying houses, stores, &c. which alarmed the country. Brigadier-General Silliman mustered about 500 militia, and was joined by Major-General Wooster, and Brigadier-General Arnold.

After the enemy had manœuvred about, they took the road leading to Norwalk; General Wooster pursued, and had a smart skirmish with them; he behaved with great intrepidity, but unfortunately received a wound, by a musket ball, through his groin.* General Arnold, by a forced march, having reached Ridgefield, and posted his party of

* General Wooster, of New-Haven, died of his wound the 2d of May, greatly lamented.

1777. about 500, waited the approach of the enemy. They soon advanced in a column, with three field pieces in front of them, and three in the rear, and large flank guards, of 200 men in each. They began their attack by discharging their artillery, and were soon within musket shot, when a smart action ensued between the whole, which continued about an hour, in which our men behaved with great spirit, but being overpowered with numbers, were obliged to give way, though not till the enemy were raising a small breast work, thrown across the way, at which General Arnold had taken post, with about 200 men, the rest of his small body were posted on the flank.

Arnold had his horse shot under him, when the enemy were within ten yards of him; having recovered himself, he drew his pistol, and shot a soldier who was advancing with his fixed bayonet.

The General then ordered his men to retreat.

In this action the enemy suffered very considerably, leaving about thirty dead and wounded on the ground, besides a number unknown, buried. Here we had the misfortune of losing Lieutenant-Colonel Gould, one subaltern, and several privates, killed and wounded. After several subsequent disputes, between the contending parties, the British having gained the high hill of Compoo, attempts were made to dislodge them, but without effect, and having landed a number of fresh troops, to cover their embarkation, they effected it —weighed anchor, and stood across the Sound for Huntington, on Long-Island. Our loss was judged to be about sixty, killed and wounded, among the former were one Lieutenant-Colonel, one Captain, four subalterns, and Dr. David Atwater, whose death is greatly regretted; the enemy's loss judged to be more than double of our number, and about twenty prisoners taken. General Howe's return, transmitted to England, makes their loss to be 26 killed, 117 wounded, and 29 missing. Total 172. Among the wounded are three field officers, one of whom is Brigadier-General Agnew.*

The return made by the Quarter-Master, to General Arnold, of the stores destroyed by the enemy, is 1750 barrels of pork and beef, several hogsheads of rum, 11 tierces of claret, 3 quarter casks of Madeira wine, 1200 to 1700 bushels of wheat, rye, and corn, 12 coils of rope, a small quantity of coals and smith's tools, 10 waggons, some tents, &c. The enemy's return, at New-York, greatly exceeds the above.

* An account afterwards exhibited, has it, 260 killed, 350 wounded.

A spy from the enemy's camp, at New-York, who had been employed by them to procure *cheveaux de frise* pilots, to carry the King's ships up Delaware river, was apprehended at Philadelphia, and on his trial, being found guilty, was executed agreeably to his sentence. 1777. *April* 30.

The ice in Lake Champlain broke up very early this spring, and it became passable.

The royalists in that quarter began to muster their forces, and Sir Guy Carlton, to make preparations for putting in execution, the plan communicated to him by Lord George Germaine.

In his letter of instructions to Sir Guy, he says, "It is the King's determination to leave about 3000 men under your command, for the defence and duties of the province [Canada] and to employ the remainder of your forces upon two expeditions; the one under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, *who is to force his way to Albany.* The other under Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger, who is to make a diversion by way of the Mohawk river.* As this plan cannot be so advantageously executed without the assistance of Canadians and *Indians*, his Majesty strongly recommends to your care to furnish both expeditions with good and sufficient bodies of those men."

Burgoyne and St. Leger, with the troops under their separate commands, were to use their most vigorous exertions to form a junction with Sir William Howe at Albany, to act under his orders, and endeavour to cut off the communication between the southern and eastern States, which, when accomplished, they doubted not but they could, with ease, subdue *New England*, the object of their greatest resentment.

It is remarked on this plan, "That the attempt to unite their forces by Hudson's river (the only way by which Howe could get to Albany) will be thought at least a precarious undertaking, if what follows be admitted. That by going up the North River, Howe may secure a retreat for his army through Canada, but the ships must return, if they return at all, the same way they went, and as our [the Continental] army would be in the rear, the safety of their passage down is a doubtful matter.

"By such a motion he shuts himself up from all supplies from Europe but through Canada, and exposes his army and

* Mohawk-river belongs to one of the five nations of Indians in alliance with Britain; it rises to the north of Fort Stanwix, then runs south to that Fort, then east 110 miles, into the Hudson. This tribe is greatly reduced, said now to have only sixty fighting men. HUTCHINS.

1777. navy to the danger of perishing. The idea of cutting off the communication between the eastern and southern States
April 30. by means of North River is merely visionary; he cannot do it by his shipping, because no ship can lie at anchor in any river within reach of the shore, a single gun would drive a first rate from such a station. This was proved last winter at Forts Washington and Lee, when one gun only on each side the river obliged two frigates to be cut and towed off in an hour's time.

"Neither can he cut it off by his army, because the several posts would divide them almost to nothing, and expose them to be picked up by ours like pebbles on a river's bank."*

Messrs. Franklin and Deane, the American Commissioners in France, made the following representation to Lord Stormont, ambassador there, from the British court, relative to the case of American prisoners in England; they tell his Lordship, "That compelling men by chains, stripes, and famine to fight against their friends and relations (alluding to the practice of forcing them to enlist on board British armed vessels) is a new mode of barbarity which your nation alone has the honour of inventing, and the sending American prisoners of war to Africa and Asia (a plan which had been proposed) remote from all probability of exchange, and where they can scarce hope to hear from their families, even if the unwholesomeness of the climate does not put a speedy end to their lives, is a manner of treating captives that you can justify by no other precedent or custom, except that of the black savages in Guinea."

In answer to this representation, Lord Stormont sent the following message to the Commissioners.

"The King's Ambassador receives no letters from *Rebels*, unless when they come to ask mercy."

We cannot help observing here, that the appellation of *rebel*, comes with an ill grace from the native of a country famed for *rebellion*.†

This month Lieutenant-Colonel Wolcott, in behalf of General Howe, made a demand in writing on General Washington for performance of his agreement relative to exchange of prisoners, which the Colonel pretends his Excellency had not complied with.

General Washington, in a letter to Sir William Howe, states fairly the case of the prisoners, and gives the reason of his

* American Crisis, No. 3, by the author of Common Sense.

† His Lordship is a *Scotsman* of the same name "Murray," as Lord Mansfield and Dunmore, and allied to them in principle as well as blood.

conduct respecting them. His Excellency takes notice, 1777.
"That the prisoners taken by the British were treated with
great severity and inhumanity. That he did not hold him- *April* 30.
self bound either by the spirit of the agreement, or by the principles of justice, to account for those prisoners, whom, from *the rigour and severity* of their treatment, were in so emaciated and languishing a state at the time they came out, as to render their death almost certain and inevitable, and which in many instances happened, while they were returning to their homes, and in many others after their arrival. Painful as it is, I am compelled (says his Excellency) to consider it as a fact not to be questioned, that the usage of our prisoners, while in your possession, the privates at least, was such as could not be justified.

"This was proclaimed by the concurrent testimony of all who came out, their appearances sanctioned the assertion, and melancholy experience in the speedy death of a large part of them stamped it with infallible certainty."

1777. *May* 8. *Distribution of the Foreign Troops under General Sir* WILLIAM HOWE, New-York, *May 8th*, 1777.

FOREIGN.

Regiments or Corps.	*Brigades.*	*Commis. officers.*	*Staff.*	*Non com. officers.*	*Drum. & Fifers.*	*Privates.*	
Corps of Chasseurs	—	4	1	20	3	157	With the Commander in Chief.
Linsing's Grenadiers	—	13	1	42	18	363	—
Mingerode's ditto	Donop.	12	2	39	16	361	—
Lengereck's ditto	—	14	2	42	19	363	Lt. Gen. de Heister.
Kochler's ditto	—	14	3	35	16	299	
Du Corps	—	21	5	59	22	491	
Mirbach	Stirn.	20	4	56	21	452	
Donop.	—	18	4	58	19	445	—
Debres of Rall's Brigade	—	18	5	52	23	369	Maj. Gen. Stirn.
		134	27	403	167	3300	
1 Company of Chasseurs	—	4	0	9	0	95	
D'Eyb	Anspach.	23	7	45	15	458	
De Voit	—	22	6	45	15	451	
Corps of Artillery	—	1	0	4	0	39	
		50	13	103	30	1043	

1777. May 8.

FOREIGN.

Regiments or Corps.	Brigades.	Commis. officers.	Staff.	Non com. officers.	Drum. & Fifers.	Privates.	Where stationed.	
PrinceCharles	—	16	6	61	22	464	New-York Island.	Maj. Gen. Schmidt. Maj. Gen. Murbach.
Trumback	—	18	5	59	20	433		
Stein	Bichausen	15	4	35	15	247		
Wissenbach	—	15	3	46	13	279		
Prince Hereditaire	—	18	2	49	20	355		
		82	20	250	90	1778		
Regiment of Waldeck	—	13	5	45	14	330	Staten-Island,	N. B. The Artillery attached to the Hessian Regiments and Regiments of Waldeck are included in the numbers of each corps.
Landgraff	Losberg.	16	2	52	18	343	Rhode-Island.	
Ditfurth		18	4	60	18	440		
Huyn	—	17	3	47	19	348		
Bunau	—	16	3	47	19	365		
		67	12	206	74	1496		
Total		346	77	1007	375	7947	— 9752 Foreign Troops.	

1777. By this account it appears that General Howe had at this time nearly *ten thousand hired foreign troops* under his command, and acting under his orders, in addition to his army of British regulars.

May 11. A letter from a post near Bonham-town (in the Jersies) of this date, relates an action between part of General Stephens's division of Continentals, and the Royal Highlanders, and six companies of Light-infantry, within two miles of the town, and about the same distance from Brunswick. The enemy were twice reinforced, when, from the situation of the posts occupied by the Royalists, viz. Brunswick, Rariton-landing, and Bonham, the Continentals thought it advisaeble to retire, which was effected in excellent order, and their loss inconsiderable. Another account of this affair makes the loss of the Royalists 80 killed and wounded.

May 22. General Washington's encampment was at this date at *Bound-brook*, and the Royal army at *Brunswick*, on the east side of the Rariton, and upon the communication between that place and Amboy.

May 25. *Colonel Meigs*, from Connecticut, undertook an expedition to *Long-Island*, with a detachment of one hundred and sixty men, including officers; they landed within three miles of Sagg-harbour, and having made proper dispositions for attacking the enemy, in five different places, proceeded with the greatest order and silence till within twenty rods of them, when they rushed with fixed bayonets upon the different barracks, guards, and quarters of the enemy; whilst Captain Throop, with a party, took possession of the wharves and vessels lying there; the alarm soon became general, and an incessant fire of round and grape shot was kept up from an armed schooner of twelve guns, which lay within one hundred and thirty yards of the wharves, for near an hour, notwithstanding which the party burnt all the vessels at the wharves, chiefly sloops and schooners, about ten in number, and also the armed vessels, and killed and captivated all the men belonging to them, destroyed about one hundred and seventy tons of hay, large quantities of grain, ten hogsheads of rum, and other West-India goods, and secured all the soldiers stationed there, as prisoners, about ninety. Colonel Meigs had not a man killed or wounded, according to the account given of this affair by General Parsons.

May. Earl Piercy having resigned his command at Newport (R. I.) to General Prescott, he embarked for England this month, in consequence of a difference that had taken place between him and Sir William Howe, relative to his not immediately complying with the requisition of Sir William, for 1500 men. His Lordship's reason was "that the enemy

were collecting a large force at Providence, and it would injure his Majesty's service to spare so large a number from Newport." This disgusted Sir William, and in his reply, he threatened his Lordship with a trial for disobedience of orders, &c. Upon which the Earl wrote to his father, the Duke of Northumberland, to solicit his immediate recal from America. 1777.

We should not insert the following extract from the American Crisis, No. 5, if we had not found it confirmed by a letter from the British commander in chief, being loth to report any facts, of which we have not evidence sufficient to gain our credulity.

"It is a meanness (says the author of that pamphlet) we could wish was not chargeable on the King's Generals, that they have done all they could *to ruin the paper currency of the States*, and have not omitted to attempt it even by this method of *counterfeiting* the bills, which has been done under their countenance; if not by their immediate direction."

The following paragraph in a confidential letter wrote by Sir H. Clinton, after he had command of the Royalists, to Lord George Germaine, will justify the above assertion. Sir Henry says, "The experiments suggested by your Lordship—no assistance that could be drawn from the power of gold, or the arts of *counterfeiting* have been left unattempted, but still the currency like the widow's cruise of oil, has not failed Congress."

This month the Earl of Chatham made a motion, in the upper House of Parliament, for *an accommodation with America*, and as he had done before, strongly reprobated the American war, as *unnatural in the mother country to her affectionate children on the Continent of America*, and as ruinous to themselves. In his speech on this occasion, his Lordship said, "That as this country [England] was the aggressor, it was from her that the first tender of accommodation must come; that America was not at war with them, but they with America; that they had invaded America just as the Spanish armada was preparing to invade England. We have burnt the towns of America, and plundered the people there, and therefore he would change the term, and instead of talking of *unconditional submission* from the Colonies, it behoved us to shew ourselves willing to grant them *unconditional redress*, &c." Lord Chatham's motion was supported by the Dukes of Grafton and Manchester, the Bishop of Peterborough (Dr. Hinchcliffe) Lords Camden, Shelburne, Abingdon, and some others, who were for immediate reconciliation; but the opposition was too strong. Though the motion proposed *only* negociation with the Colonies, and *May.*

1777. removal of grievances, yet the majority were not inclined to grant even these, and the motion was lost by a majority of sixty-six. The Lords Gower, Weymouth, Littleton. Mansfield, and the good Archbishop of York, (Dr. Drummond) &c. &c. were for chastisement.

The requisites the royal army wanted for opening the summer campaign, did not arrive till the latter end of May,

June 3. Sir William Howe writes of this date to Lord George Germaine: "The arrival of the camp equipage, the 24th of May last, both for the army and Provincials, hath relieved me from much anxiety, being articles greatly wanted for opening the campaign, which will now immediately take place in *Jersey*, where the enemy's principal strength still remains, and shall proceed as occurrences may arise." The following account of the movement of the Royal army, after the arrival of the camp equipage, is related in a letter, dated at the American camp, at Middle-brook. "General Howe began to move from Brunswick the 10th of June, extending his van as far as Somerset court-house, and forming a line over the whole intermediate ground, where he continued, thus posted, till Monday the 17th. On Thursday morning, having the rivers Millstone and Rariton in his front and rear (and a chain of redoubts he had thrown up) he made a sudden and precipitate change of his ground, and

June 10. returned to Brunswick, without attempting any thing. It was not in our power, while he was in that situation, only to give him some annoyance with our light troops, for which purpose *Colonel Morgan*, with a chosen band of riflemen, were appointed; he kept almost an incessant fire, and did them much damage. It is thought General Howe's design was to attempt an impression on our right or to proceed to Philadelphia: If the first, he found the execution would be the price of much blood; if the latter, most probably his destruction. The militia of the Jersies turned out upon this occasion, and occupied the ground leading from his camp, to dispute his passage, but Saturday night and Sunday morning, the 22d, they evacuated Brunswick and retired to Amboy, but not without loss. They got off before our troops could get up, not having timely notice of their intention. Maj. Gen. Greene had command of the troops detached, but only Wayne's brigade were well up before the enemy retired; they advanced, and formed very near to the enemy, who were far superiour in number, but they declined a battle and kept moving off; General Maxwell, who was detached to flank the line of communication between Brunswick and Amboy, could not get up in time."

June 23. General Burgoyne being appointed to a command in the northern department (agreeably to the plan of Lord George

Germaine in a letter to Sir Guy Carlton, already mentioned) began his operations, and having got to the river *Boquet* (between Champlain and Lake George) issued an extraordinary proclamation of this date, introduced in the following very *pompous* enumeration of his files, viz. 1777.

"*By John Burgoyne, Esquire, Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's forces in America, Colonel of the Queen's regiment of Light Dragoons, Governour of Fort William, in North-Britain, one of the Commons of Great-Britain, in Parliament, and commanding an army and fleet employed on an expiedition from Canada, &c. &c.*"

The style of this extraordinary performance held up to view the confidence General Burgoyne placed in his troops: He considered them as invincible, and that at the head of such an army he could march *where-ever* and accomplish *whatever* he pleased. He seems to be absorbed in the contemplation of his own greatness, and almost to have forgotten that there is any power existing superiour to him; but a little time taught him more modesty, and convinced him that the *undisciplined* troops of America, when fighting in the cause of heaven-born liberty, were more than a match for the regular *disciplined* troops of Britain, when fighting against it.

Congress resolved to form a *corps of invalids*, to be employed for garrisons and guards, in cities, and other places where magazines and arsenals were placed. Also to serve as a military school to young gentlemen, previous to their being employed in marching regiments.

General Washington, in a letter dated this day, at Middlebrook, informed Congress, "that on Thursday morning, General Howe advanced with his whole army, in several columns, from Amboy, as far as Westfield. We are certainly informed that the troops sent to Staten-Island returned the preceding evening, and it is said with an augmentation of marines, so that carrying them there was a feint with intention to deceive us. His design in this sudden movement was either to bring on a general engagement upon disadvantageous terms, considering matters in any point of view, or to cut off our light parties, and Lord Stirling's division, which was sent down to support them, or to possess himself of the heights and passes, in the mountain on our left. The two last seemed to be the first object of his attention, as his march was rapid against these parties, and indicated a strong disposition to gain those passes. In this situation of affairs, it was thought absolutely necessary, that we should move our force from the low ground, to occupy the heights before them, which was effected. As they advanced, they fell in with some of our light parties, and part of Lord Stirling's division, with which they had some pretty smart skirmishing, but with very *June* 28.

1777. little loss, I believe, on our side, except in three field pieces, which unfortunately fell into the enemy's hands; but not having obtained returns yet, I cannot determine with certainty, nor can we ascertain what the enemy's loss was. As soon as we had gained the passes, I detached a body of light troops under Brigadier-General Scott, to hang on their flank, to watch their motions, and ordered Morgan's corps of riflemen to join him since. The enemy remained at Westfield till yesterday afternoon, when, about three o'clock, they moved towards Spank-town, with our light troops in their rear, and pursuing."

The enemy have plundered all before them, and it is said burnt some houses. The affair of Lord Stirling is thus related by General Washington: "He commanded a party of 12 or 1300 men at Westfield, a few miles from Perth-Amboy, and was attacked, and almost surrounded by the main body of the enemy; but they fought their way through with great bravery; being overpowered by numbers, they were under a necessity to retreat to the centre of the army, with the loss of three field pieces, 20 killed, and about 40 wounded."

July 6. The important post of *Ticonderoga*, on the south part of lake Champlain, on the frontiers of Canada, was evacuated this day by the Continental troops, when that fortress with all its dependencies, fell into the hands of Burgoyne's army.

The 14th of the month General *St. Clair*, who commanded at Ticonderoga, wrote to Congress, from Fort-Edward, the state of the garrison and his reasons for evacuating it, by which it appears "that the batteries of the enemy were ready to open, that the effective men in the garrison were not sufficient to man one half the works, and that consequently the whole must be upon constant duty, which they could *July.* not possibly long sustain—that he consulted the general officers, who were of opinion the place ought to be evacuated without loss of time—that he was too short of provisions to call the militia to his assistance sooner than he did—that 900 came the day before the evacuation, but so ill provided that they could not, nor did they propose to stay but a few days—that the militia from Massachusetts, which composed part of the garrison, gave him notice that their time expired in two days, and they intended then to go home—that his whole force consisted of 2089 effective men, besides the corps of artillery and the 900 militia above mentioned—that it was impossible with that force to defend Ticonderoga and Mount Independence." It was the design of General St. Clair to have marched his garrison to Skeensborough, but the enemy got there before him, and Captain Lutwidge des-

troyed all the Continental boats there. General St. Clair was therefore obliged to change his route, and make the best of his way to Fort-Edward ; but as his retreat was hasty and irregular, he lost a considerable number of men. 1777.

When the news of this event reached Congress, they resolved to make inquiry into the affair, and directed Generals Schuyler and St Clair, forthwith to repair to head quarters ; they also appointed Mr. Lawrens, Mr. R. H. Lee, and Mr. J. Adams, as a Committee to collect evidence of the facts, and transmit them to General Washington, who was directed to appoint a Court-Martial for the purpose above mentioned.*

General Burgoyne crossed Lake George,† and formed his encampment on the banks of the Hudson river, Saratoga.

This day intelligence was received at Providence, that Major-General *Prescot*, commander of the Royalists at Newport, with one of his *aids*, were to lodge about four miles out of the town. Lieutenant-Colonel Barton, with a party of thirty-eight men belonging to the State, went in boats from Warwick neck, and passing the enemy's ships and guard-boats, landed on the island about twelve at night ; they got to the General's lodgings undiscovered, and having secured the sentinels, broke into the house, and took the General in bed, his *aid* leaped from a window in his shirt, and attempted to escape, but was taken. The party then returned to their boats with their prisoners. Soon after they had put off, the enemy fired rockets from their several posts, as signals for an alarm, but it was too late. General Prescot was escorted in a polite manner, in a chariot, from Warwick neck to Providence. The manner in which this affair was conducted does much honour to the enterprising Colonel Barton. *July* 18.

General Washington at the camp at Middle-brook, published a *manifesto*, in answer to General Burgoyne's proclamation, which may be considered as an excellent comment on it. It begins in this manner : " The associated armies in America act from the noblest motives, and for the purest purposes ; their common object is liberty. The same principles actuated the arms of Rome in the days of her glory, and the same object was the reward of Roman valour. When these sacred ideas are profaned, when the abominable mixture of mercenary, foreign, and savage forces dares to mention *the love of country, and the general privileges of mankind* (which Burgoyne's proclamation mentions as motives for the British conduct,) the freemen of America protest against *Aug.* 16

* General Schuyler was tried for not being at Ticonderoga, when it was evacuated ; and General St. Clair was tried some months after, and both acquitted.

† Over Lake George to Ticonderoga is about 40 miles.

1777. such abuse of language and prostitution of sentiment." In adother paragraph of the manifesto : " We beg leave to observe, if the power of his Britannick Majesty's fleets and armies have been driven from Boston, repulsed from Charleston, cut off at Trenton, expelled the Jersies, and be now, after almost three campaigns, commencing its operation, that this is a power we do not dread." In the close of the manifesto are these expressions : " Harassed as we are by unrelenting persecution, obliged by every tie to repel violence by force, urged by self-preservation to exert the strength which Providence has given us to defend our natural rights against the aggressor ; we appeal to the hearts of all mankind for the justice of our cause, its event we submit to him who speaks the fate of nations, in humble confidence, that as his omniscient eye taketh note even of the sparrow that falleth to the ground, so he will not withdraw his countenance from a people who humbly array themselves under his banner, in defence of the noblest principles, with which he hath adorned humanity."

July 22. General Howe, being prevented by the vigilance of the American General, from passing his troops through the Jersies to make an attempt on Philadelphia by way of the Delaware ; and having this object in contemplation (though diverse from the plan proposed and communicated by Lord George Germaine to General Carlton already noted,) he made preparation to embark them for Chesapeak-bay, which being accomplished, Admiral Lord Howe, with six line of battle ships, four frigates, four sloops of war, and another armed vessel, took under his convoy two hundred and seventy sail of transports, having on board sixteen or seventeen hundred troops, with whom he proceeded to the place of destination.

August. General Harkerman at the head of the militia from Tryon county, State of New-York, marched to relieve Fort Stanwix, which was surrounded by Sir John Johnson and his party of Tories and Indians. He had a successful action with them, within six miles of the fort, near Oneida-Creek.

After some hours they were routed, and made off, leaving most of their dead on the ground. Notwithstanding General Harkerman was wounded in both his legs, he maintained the ground ; he sat on a stump, and heroically encouraged his men. At the end of the action he had but fifty men, the rest having left him, he brought off his own wounded men, and some of the enemy's. Colonel Gansevoort the commander of the fort, hearing the enemy had engaged the militia, he sent Colonel Willet with 250 men. They sallied out of the fort, and put to flight a large guard of them, took one regular Captain and four privates, &c.

The enemy was reinforced, but being hard pressed, they fled as the others had done, and the party returned again to the fort without loss of a man. General Harkerman (the account says) did great execution with his militia ; 160 of his men were killed, wounded, and missing. He himself soon after died of the wounds he so magnanimously bore in the field of action. The loss of the enemy about 350, the greater part of them Indians, among them many chiefs. 1777.

The Continentals in the northern department having evacuated several posts after the loss of Ticonderoga, and retreated from place to place, General Burgoyne presumed no more opposition would be made by the country, and that he might push on without much annoyance. These flattering expectations so far prevailed, as led him to adopt and pursue measures, that issued in his defeat.

He despatched Colonel Baum (a German officer) with a party of 1500 men, upon a most *romantick* expedition. His instructions, which fell into the hands of General Stark, and he communicated, discovered the object of the expedition, and the route the Colonel was to take ; he was instructed " *To proceed through the New-Hampshire Grants, cross the mountains, scour the country with Peters's corps of tories and the Indians, from Rockingham to Otter-creek, to get horses, carriages, and cattle, and mount Reidesel's regiment of dragoons, to go down Connecticut river as far as Brattleborough, and return by the great road to Albany, there to meet General Burgoyne, to endeavour to make the country believe it was the advanced body of the General's army, who was to cross Connecticut river and proceed to Boston ; and that at Springfield they were to be joined by the troops from Rhode-Island. All officers, civil and military, acting under the Congress, were to be made prisoners. To tax the towns where they halted, and with such articles as they wanted, and take hostages for the performance, &c.*"

By the tenor of this commission it appears that the British General thought his proclamation at Boquet had produced wonderful effects ; that it had struck a general panick through the States, and quelled all opposition ; and that it was now only for his troops to move at his command, and the conquest was obtained. *Aug.* 6.

With his commissions in his pocket, Colonel Baum set out to execute it, and proceeded about 12 or 13 miles, halted and intrenched, and could get no further ; here he was stopped : And on the 16th of August, General Stark obtained a complete victory over his party, by which memorable event the vain expectations of General Burgoyne were brought to naught, and the foundation laid for the signal conquest, which followed soon after.

1777. Brigadier-General Stark, with some of the militia from Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, and the Grants, attacked the enemy in their intrenchments, above five miles west of *Bennington*, and after an obstinate engagement dislodged them, making prisoners of upwards of 300, and taking two field pieces. The Continental General was reinforced by 150 men under Colonel Warner. They pursued two miles, when the enemy had a reinforcement of a 1000 men, and two field pieces. A second and very smart action ensued, and after being continued about two hours, the enemy beat a retreat. The militia rushed on with a general shout, which put the enemy into such confusion, that they left their wounded behind them, and General Stark master of the field. In the second onset two field pieces more, and 300 of the enemy were taken ; they left 200 dead on the spot.

The parties sent out by General Stark, brought in 100 prisoners, he took also 1000 stand of arms, eight loads of baggage and 20 horses. The number of killed, wounded, and prisoners, is as follows :

1 Lieut. Colonel,	157 Tories,	2 Canadian officers,
1 Major,	4 Ensigns,	3 Surgeons,
5 Captains,	2 Cornets,	37 British soldiers,
12 Lieutenants,	1 Judge adv.	398 Hessians,
36 Canadians,		

654 prisoners.

200 killed, 80 wounded, total 934—about 400 of them were escorted to Boston, and put on board prison ships, &c. provided for them, being Germans, Canadians, and some British soldiers. Colonel Baum died of the wounds he received in battle.

[It appears by the English papers that General Burgoyne was censured for this undertaking, and for employing a German Colonel to command in such an enterprise, who, though brave, could not be expected to have an idea of the nature of American warfare, and did not understand a syllable of the language of the people whose affections he was to try.]

The following *anecdote* is worthy of record. The venerable old man, who is the subject of it, discovers more than Roman greatness of soul. We wish we could give his name.

A good old gentleman, that had five sons in the field, whose furrowed cheeks and silver locks added venerableness to his hoary brows, being told that he was unfortunate in one of his sons—replied, what, has he misbehaved, did he desert his post ? Or shrink from the charge ?—No, Sir, says the informant, worse than that—he is among the slain, he fell contending mightily in the cause ; then I am satisfied, replied the venerable sire ; bring him in, and lay him before

me, that at leisure I may behold and survey the darling of my soul. Upon which the corpse was brought in and laid before him, all besmeared with dirt and gore—He then calls for a bowl of water and a napkin, and with his own hands washes the gore from his son's corpse, and wiped his gaping wounds, with a complacency, as he himself expressed it, which before he had never felt or experienced. 1777.

Some instances of savage barbarity by the Indians in Burgoyne's army, after they had got possession of Ticonderoga, he was informed of by a letter from General Gates, in the words following. "A young lady, Miss M'Crea, lovely to the sight, of virtuous character, and amiable disposition, engaged to be married to an officer in your army, was, with other women and children taken out of a house near Fort-Edward, carried into the woods, and there scalped and mangled in a most shocking manner. Two parents with their six children were all treated with the same inhumanity, while quietly residing in their own happy and peaceful dwellings. The miserable fate of Miss M'Crea was peculiarly aggravated by being dressed to receive her promised husband—but met her murderer, employed by you. Upwards of one hundred men, women, and children, have perished by the hands of the ruffians, to whom it is asserted you have paid the price of blood." The substance of General Burgoyne's reply follows. "The fact (he says) was no premeditated barbarity; on the contrary, two chiefs, who had brought Miss M'Crea off for the purpose of security (not of violence) to her person, disputed which should be her guard, and in a fit of savage passion, in one from whose hands she was snatched, the unhappy woman became the victim.

"He obliged (he says) the Indians to deliver up the murderer into his hands, and he certainly should have suffered an ignominious death, had he not been convinced that a pardon on his terms, would be more efficacious than an execution, to prevent further mischief. That he paid for scalps he denies, but the Indians were to receive compensation for prisoners."

The mode of employing savages and slaves in the British armies, was recommended by a Minister of State as early as the beginning of the war. Lord Dartmouth, then Secretary of State for the American department, wrote to Lord Dunmore of August 5th, 1775. "The hopes you hold out to us in your letter in the first of May, that you should be able to collect from among the *Indians*, negroes, and other persons a force sufficient, if not to quell the rebellion, at least to defend government, *was very encouraging*." Lord George Germaine informed Sir Guy Carlton, "That his Majesty strongly recommends this measure." General Burgoyne,

1777. in a letter to Lord George, of June 22d, 1777, says "That he allowed the Indians to take the scalps of the dead."

Fort-Stanwix was attacked by Colonel St. Leger, with a body of regulars, and (according to a letter from Canada, published in England) about 2000 *Indians*—the attack did not continue long; he soon marched off with great precipitation, leaving their tents with considerable baggage, provisions, military stores, &c. The probable cause of his going off suddenly, was his hearing General Arnold was on his way to relieve the fort. The real intention of St. Leger not being known, whether he was returning back with his force, or retired from the fort with a design to engage Arnold's party on the road; General Arnold, supposing the former, sent a body of 900 men to make a forced march to the fort, in hopes of coming up with their rear, and securing their cannon and heavy baggage; but before they arrived at the fort, Colonel Gansevoort, the commander, sent out a small party who brought in four Royals, and a quantity of baggage, with some prisoners and deserters.

The real cause of St. Leger's retreat was afterwards known to be from the advance of those (he called) rebels; and according to the account he gave, the ferocity and ungovernableness of the Indians, who required him to retreat.

Major-General Sullivan, in the Jersies, planned an expedition to *Staten-Island*, and undertook it the 22d August. He forwarded to Congress an account of his proceedings, and his reasons for undertaking it, viz. "That the troops on that Island were frequently making excursions into the Jersies, carrying off inhabitants, cattle, &c. these reasons induced him to embark in the affair, in which he was assisted by Generals Smallwood and De Bouers, with about 2000 troops, chiefly of the Jersey militia; he crossed the Kills at the blazing star, and was joined by the rest of Elizabeth town militia. After landing, they proceeded to the house of the tory Colonel Lawrence, who commanded some new raised provincial levies; they made him prisoner with several other officers and 80 privates, which was the first notice the enemy had of their being upon the island; they also made prisoners of Col. Barton, another tory colonel, and about 40 privates. He repulsed the enemy in many skirmishes, and took besides the above mentioned, 9 other officers, 130 privates, and 28 tories, also a considerable number of arms, hats, blankets, cloths, and some hard money, &c. destroyed their stores and vessels, and brought off their baggage with a number of cattle. They judged about 400 of the enemy, killed and wounded; his loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners was 164. The remainder retreated with their plunder to Elizabethtown." General Sullivan having engaged in this expedition,

without consulting Congress, or the Commander in chief, he was examined before a Court of Inquiry, of which Lord Stirling was President. In their opinion General Sullivan's conduct, in planning and executing the expedition, was such as deserved the approbation of his country. General Howe, with his troops, being on their way to Philadelphia, the *Council of Pennsylvania* were of opinion that the safety of that State was in peculiar danger from divers persons, who were in office under the late hereditary government, or otherwise in the service of the King of Great-Britain, which caused those persons to be apprehended: They were indulged on parole, with a convenient degree of liberty. *John Penn, Esq.* the late Governour, and the late Chief Justice *Chew*, refusing to sign paroles, were sent to Fredericksburg, in Virginia. Twenty other persons, inhabitants of Philadelphia, chiefly of the denomination of Quakers, were removed to Staunton, in Virginia, there to be treated according to their characters and stations, as far as was consistent with security of their persons: They were for a time deprived of the liberty they wished for, but not the least injury offered to them. 1777.

General Carlton embarks at Quebec for England, and is succeeded by Gen. Haldiman as Governour of Canada, &c. *Aug.* 28.

Captain Gustavus Cunningham, in an armed vessel *under American colours*, having taken the Harwich packet-boat, and carried her into Dunkirk, Cunningham (by application from the British Ambassador, Lord Stormont) was confined for a breach of treaty respecting that port; but he and his company were soon after released, and at liberty to proceed on another cruize. This disgusted the British Court with France, and disappointed the hopes of Lord North, who told Parliament "Cunningham would be treated in France as a pirate." The *Court of Versailles* took no further notice of the matter.

Lord Howe arrived with his fleet from New-York, at the mouth of *Elk river*, and on the landing the army at Elk ferry, a corps of them then advanced to the head of the Elk, by the west side of the river, within fifty or sixty miles of Philadelphia. *Aug.* 25. *Aug.* 26.

General Washington, with the main body of his army, marched through Philadelphia, in his way down to Maryland; and the last of the month encamped at Wilmington, thirty miles from the city of Philadelphia, and about twenty miles from the enemy on Elk river. *Aug.* 30.

The returns of the Royal army make them to consist of 27,000 men at this date, in all their divisions. *Sept.* 1.

General Washington, in a letter to Congress, dated at Wilmington, informed them that "the enemy, with a con- *Sept.* 3.

1777. siderable force, had a skirmish with some of his light advanced corps, who, though they were obliged to retreat, yet he believed the enemy had suffered the greatest loss,* as some of the Continental party were expert marksmen, and had opportunities of giving them several close and well directed fires, particularly in one instance, where a body of riflemen formed a kind of ambuscade. The design of their (the enemy's) movement, General Washington says, seemed to have been to disperse our light troops, who had been troublesome to them; and to gain possession of Iron-hill, to establish a post most probably for covering their retreat in case of accidents."

Congress ordered General Smallwood and Colonel Gist to the eastern and western shores of Maryland. They, with General Cadwallader, of Philadelphia, were to take command of the militia there, and to act on the rear and the left flank, if the enemy advanced, to be joined with militia from the Jersies under General Dickinson. General Sullivan with his division were directed to join the Continental army.

Sept. 9. General Washington moved with his troops to Newport, three miles below Wilmington. The Royalists marched in one solid column to Mill-town, within about 1½ mile of General Washington's main body, but soon after filed off to the right of them, in order to possess themselves of a fort on the heights of *Brandywine*; but General Washington perceiving their design, despatched Lord Stirling with his division to get possession before them.

Sept. 11. An action took place at *Brandywine*, the particulars of which were published in a letter written at Schuylkill, two days after the action.

"The action began in the morning, when a large body of the enemy appeared opposite to them, and a heavy cannonade, lasted more or less, the whole day. Gen. Maxwell's advanced light corps engaged the advanced parties of the enemy, on the other side of the Brandywine creek,† with success. Another body advanced opposite to our army, and took a circuitous rout of six miles to our right, and crossed the creek, at the forks of Brandywine. General Washington had very contradictory accounts of the number and determination of this column, until they had crossed the creek, six miles in our right; he immediately ordered General Sullivan's, Lord Stirling's, and Stephens's divisions, to advance and attack them; this was about three o'clock in the after-

* An account published since, makes 59 killed, 80 wounded, 26 prisoners of the Royalists.

† This creek empties itself into the Delaware, near Wilmington.

noon ; these divisions having marched about three miles, fell in with the enemy, who were also advancing. Each side pushed for a hill situated in the middle ; the contest became accordingly severe, and lasted without intermission for an hour and an half, when our troops began to give way, many having expended all their cartridges. General Washington, who, in the beginning of the action, galloped to the right, ordered Major-General Greene's division and Nash's brigade fromthe left, but the distance being so great, the other division had retreated before this arrived ; however, they formed, and were of the utmost service in covering the retreat of the other divisions, particularly Wendon's brigade of General Greene's division, who behaved to admiration ; in an excessive hot fire, they attacked the British grenadiers, and finally after dark came off in great order. While this scene was acting on the right, the enemy opened a battery on the left, of eleven pieces of cannon, opposite to one of ours, of the same number. General Wayne, with a division of Pennsylvania troops, having General Maxwell's light corps on the left, and General Nash's brigade (which was afterwards drawn off to support the right wing) on his right, formed the left wing. The enemy's batteries and ours kept up an incessant cannonade, and formed such a column of smoke, that the British troops passed the creek unperceived on the right of the battery, in the ground which was left unoccupied by the withdraw of General Nash's brigade. 1777.

" A very severe action immediately commenced between General Wayne and the enemy, who had now got possession of a height opposite to him ; they made several efforts to pass the low grounds between them, and were as frequently repulsed. Night coming on, his Excellency the General gave orders for a retreat, which was regularly effected, without the least attempt of the enemy to pursue.

" Our troops that night retired to Chester."

The latter writer remarks, " This is the most capital and general action of the present war, and when we consider the precarious circumstances of the enemy, and the views they had, to take Philadelphia by a single action, the loss they sustained without attaining their end, it may be fairly concluded, from a comparison of circumstances, that if the advantage is not on our side, yet they will have but little to boast of."

Monsieur *de Coudry** of the Continental army was unfortunately drowned in crossing the Schuylkill.

Notwithstanding the situation, in which the engagement

* This gentleman was a Brigadier-General and Engineer in the French service, and a Major General in the American army ; he arrived at Boston in the month of May.

1777. happened, prevented little more than one half of General Washington's force to be opposed to nearly the whole strength of the enemy ; it was reported with confidence, that the loss on the side of the Continentals did not exceed one thousand, killed and wounded ; among the latter is the young Marquis de la Fayette, lately from France, and General Woodford ; the enemy lost double the number. An account published, has it 800 killed, 1178 wounded, in the whole 1978. It is certain that many were killed and wounded on both sides, and the loss greatest on the side of the Royalists.

Sept. 13 *and* 14. Burgoyne passed the Hudson, and encamped on the heights, and in the plains of Saratoga.

Sept. 17. The *northern* army advanced in three columns, under Generals Lincoln and Arnold, General Gates in the centre.

The design was to endeavour to force Burgoyne and his troops back to Canada, " which (in the words of the general orders issued by General Gates, previous to their march) had been successfully begun by Gen. Stark and Col. Warner at the eastward ; and by Gen. Harkerman and Col Gansevoort at the westward ; and could not, with the blessing of heaven, fail to be equally prosperous in the hands of the generals and soldiers appointed to face the enemy's main army at the northward. If the murder of aged parents, with their innocent children ; if mangling the blooming virgin and inoffensive youth are inducements to revenge—if the righteous cause of freedom, and the happiness of posterity are the motives to stimulate to conquer their mercenary and merciless foes, the time is now come, when they are called upon by their country, by their General, and by every thing divine and human, to vanquish the foe." These orders inspired them with ardour to revenge their country's wrongs, and their operations heaven crowned with success.

The main body of Gates's army took post near *Stillwater*, between Saratoga and the mouth of Mohawk river.

Sept. 19. The first general action between Burgoyne's and the Continental army happened on this day. The latter being encamped on Behmus's heights on the Hudson, some miles above Stillwater, and the latter at Van Veighten's mill, seven miles north. The advanced guards of the Continentals, consisting of Morgan's rifles, and detachments from the other corps, posted at about one mile and an half front of the enemy, were attacked by three regiments of British troops, and after an obstinate dispute, the enemy gave way with considerable loss, but being reinforced they renewed the attack. The Continentals, being at the same time supported by the left wing, consisting of the whole of Arnold's division, received them warmly ; and though the enemy brought on their

whole force, not more than half the Continentals maintained their ground till night, when both parties retired. 1777.

The loss of the enemy in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted (as was reported) to near 1000. They had two pieces of artillery in this action, one of which was taken and retaken four different times, the enemy finally keeping it; the loss on the side of the Continentals, variously reported: Some accounts make them 260, and the highest number 318.* A detachment of 500 men was sent from General Lincoln's division, under Colonel Brown, to attack the enemy at the landing at Lake George, three miles from Ticonderoga, with a view to retake the prisoners and destroy the enemy's stores.

Another detachment of equal number marched the same day for Mount-Independence, to divert the enemy's attention from Colonel Brown. These parties had orders, if they found it practicable, to attack Ticonderoga and the Mount.

Colonel Woodbridge, with a like number, marched for Skeenesborough, Fort Ann, and Fort Edward, all which places the Royalists had evacuated, and collected their whole force at their grand army. Six days after the action, mentioned above, General Gates was joined by two hundred *Oneida* Indians, who, with the riflemen, were detached to gain information of the enemy's situation, and to attack their outposts; the army following the next day. Colonel Brown having succeeded in the business he went upon, to lake George, informed General Lincoln what he had done; from his letter, and an officer in his detachment, we learn, "That after taking possession of the old French lines at Ticonderoga, and keeping them four days with 300 men, Mount Defiance fell into his hands with 100 men. He took 200 batteaux on lake Champlain and Mount Hope, several large gun-boats and an armed sloop, some cannon and small arms, equal to the number of prisoners, who were about 300—he also released a number of Continental prisoners."

After performing these services, Colonel Brown joined the main army.

After the action at *Brandywine*, the outpost of the Continental and Royal armies had a skirmish near the Warren tavern, twenty-three miles from Philadelphia, and on Lancaster road. The Royalists had now got possession of Wilmington, and *Congress* thought it prudent to remove to *Yorktown*, in the northern part of Pennsylvania. The city of Philadelphia then fell into the hands of the Royalists, and "the British and Hessian grenadiers, with a detachment of *Sept.* 27. Royal artillery, took possession of the city (and as a publick

* These numbers differ greatly from that given by the enemy.

1777. paper reports) headed by Colonel Harcourt with a party of light dragoons, under command of Earl Cornwallis, who was attended at the head of the grenadiers by Sir William Erskine, commissary-general, and a number of other officers of distinction, with a band of musick playing *God save the King*."

Oct. 4. That part of the Royal army that were left in possession of New-York, in the absence of General Howe, having received a recruit of fresh troops from England, General *Vaughan* undertook an expedition up Hudson's river, probably to make a diversion in favour of General Burgoyne, whose situation became now very hazardous. A number of troops were embarked in about thirty sail of vessels, and a number of flat-bottom boats, under Sir James Wallace; they proceeded up the river, as far as Tarry-town, and landed some men; the next morning reshipped them, and proceeded to King's-ferry, and landed a few troops, but their main body landed on the opposite shore, the west side; on the Monday following, those at Peek's-Kill crossed over. About 4000 marched towards the continental forts, Montgomery and Clinton; they were opposed in their march by an inferiour number, who were obliged to retire. The forts were garrisoned with 5, or 600 men, and between the hours of one and two the attack began, but the fire from the fort put them into confusion several times. About four o'clock, a flag was sent, demanding a surrender in a few minutes, or they should all be put to the sword; Colonel Livingston returned for answer, "They were determined to defend the fort to the last extremity." The combat was then renewed with vigour, till dusk of the evening, when the Royalists stormed the upper redoubts, which commanded the fort Montgomery, and after a severe struggle, by superiority of numbers, they got possession. At the same time, they stormed and took Fort Clinton, where were only militia, who made a noble defence.

The greatest part of the garrison, with almost all the officers, taking advantage of the darkness of the night made their escape, after the enemy had been some time master of the Forts.

It was reported that the conquerors refused to give quarters, and continued firing on the garrison, after they had scaled the ramparts. The Continental Frigates, Congress and Montgomery, being in the river, and the wind and tide unfavourable to remove them higher up, they were burnt, to prevent falling into the enemy's hands; their loss in this adventure in killed and wounded was very considerable. Notwithstanding their success, it proved of no advantage to the army from Canada, under Burgoyne.

An action took place this day, between the Continental army and General Howe's, at *Germantown*, eight miles from

Philadelphia. The following is General Washington's account of it in a letter to Congress, dated Penbuckers-Mill, Oct. 5, 1777. "Having received intelligence by two intercepted letters, that General Howe had detached a part of his force for the purpose of reducing Billings-Fort, and the forts on Delaware, I communicated the accounts to my general officers, who were unanimously of opinion that a favourable opportunity offered, to make an attack upon the troops, which were at, and near Germantown. It was accordingly agreed it should take place yesterday morning, and the following dispositions were made. 1777.

"The divisions of Sullivan and Wayne, flanked by Conway's brigade, were to enter the town by way of Chesnut-Hill, while General Armstrong, with the Pennsylvania militia, should fall down the Menatawney road, by Vanderinge-Mills, and get upon the enemy's left and rear. The divisions of Green and Stephens, flanked by M'Dougal's brigade, were to enter by taking a circuit by way of the Lime-Kiln road, at the Market-house, and to attack their right wing; and the militia of Maryland and Jersey, under Generals Smallwood and Freeman, were to march by the Old York road, and fall upon the rear of their right. Lord Stirling, with Nash's and Maxwell's brigades, were to form a corps de reserve.

"We marched about 7 o'clock the preceding morning, and General Sullivan's advanced party, drawn from Conway's brigade, attacked their piquet, at Mount-Ring, at Mr. Allen's house, about sunrise the next morning, which presently gave way, and his main body, consisting of the right wing, following soon, engaged the light infantry and other troops encamped near the piquet, which were forced from the ground, leaving their baggage; they retreated a considerable distance, having previously thrown a party into Mr. Chew's house, who were in a situation not to be easily forced; and had it in their power, from the windows, to give us no small annoyance, and in a great measure to obstruct our advance. The attack from our left column, under General Greene, began about three quarters of an hour after that from the right; and was the same time equally successful; but I cannot enter upon the particulars of what happened in that quarter, as I am not yet informed of them with certainty and precision. The morning was extremely foggy, which prevented our improving the advantages we had gained, so well as we otherwise should have done. This circumstance, by concealing from us the true situation of the enemy, obliged us to act with more caution, and less expedition, than we could have wished, and gave the enemy time to recover from the effects of our first impression; and what was still

1777. more unfortunate, it served to keep our different parties in ignorance of each other's movements, and hindered their acting in concert; it also occasioned them to mistake one another for the enemy, which I believe more than any thing else, contributed to the misfortunes which ensued. In the midst of the most promising appearances, when every thing gave the most flattering hopes of victory, the troops began suddenly to retreat, and entirely left the field, in spite of every effort that could be made to rally them.

"Upon the whole, it may be said, this day was rather unfortunate than injurious. We sustained no material loss of men, and brought off all our artillery, except one piece which was dismounted. The enemy are nothing the better by the event; and our troops, who are not the least dispirited by it, have gained what all young troops gain by being in action. We have had however several valuable officers killed and wounded, particularly the latter. General Nash is among the wounded, and his life is despaired of."* The letter concludes with encomiums on the gallantry of General Sullivan and the whole right wing of the army, who acted immediately under his Excellency's eye. In a postscript he takes notice—"I have just heard from General Greene, I fear the loss is more considerable than I at first apprehended. The cannon mentioned above is said to be brought off in a waggon."

* General Nash died soon after.—The following lines were written in Carolina on occasion of his death.

"On Bunker's hill great *Warren* is no more,
The brave *Montgomery's* fall we next deplore;
Princetown's fair fields to trembling Britain tell,
How scarr'd with wounds the conqueror *Mercer* fell;
New-England's boast the generous *Wooster* slain,
Demands our tears, while Britons fly the plain;
And *Harkerman*, who fought the savage race,
Among the Heroes well deserves a place.
Last flow our sorrows for a fav'rite son,
Whom weeping *Carolina* claims her own;
The gallant *Nash*, who with the fatal wound,
Tho' tortur'd—welt'ring on the hostile ground,
"Fight on my troops," with smiling ardour said,
"Tis but the fate of war, be not dismay'd."
High heaven designs for great events this wo,
Which till the destin'd period none must know;
Heroes of old thus for their country stood,
Rais'd mighty Empires founded with their blood;
In this *new* world like great events must come,
Thus Athens rose, and thus imperial Rome.

It appears by other accounts published at the time, "That the Continental troops having eagerly entered the town, every house in it became a garrison for the enemy, who got their light field-pieces into the chambers. (The houses built with stone were proof against small arms.) Besides the very thick fog, the Royalists set fire to several fields of stubble, hay, and other combustibles, the smoke of which, together with the fog, combined to make such a midnight darkness, that great part of the time there was no distinguishing friend from foe, but by direction of the shot, and no other object but the flash of the gun. In this situation, one division of the Continentals coming towards their rear, they mistook it for a large body of the enemy, and were thereby thrown into confusion. The Royalists had great advantage, by knowing perfectly well the ground, to which the Continentals were total strangers. By unfortunate occurrences, the Continental troops were broke, the event of which was a retreat. General Sullivan's two aids were killed. The Royalists lost General Agnew, killed, General de Heister's son, and several other officers; the privates not ascertained. General Kniphausen was wounded, and a great number of soldiers. 1777.

A letter from a general officer at the northern camp, three miles from Stillwater, relates the following circumstances of an action with Burgoyne's army, which happened on Tuesday, the 7th of October, viz.

"The enemy's army advanced from their right, with a design to post on our left; our scouts were driven in, and they continued advancing. Three regiments were ordered out, who met them a mile from our lines, a small eminence lying between them; each pushed hard for it, and our troops gained it. *Oct. 7.*

"The attack began in the afternoon, and continued till dark without intermission; during which we drove them two miles, and at length entered their works sword in hand. Lieutenant Colonel Breyman, who defended one of the intrenchments, was killed in the action; and in the works were taken two brass twelve pounders, and six six pounders, three ammunition waggons, about 300 tents, a quantity of baggage, upwards of 30 horses, waggons, &c. &c.

"Our troops could not prudently proceed any further, it being dark, and the woods very thick: they halted at half a mile in the rear of the enemy. The next morning, about four o'clock, General Lincoln moved by the right. On his approach, the enemy retired to their strong holds on the river road, leaving their lines in our possession. Skirmishing parties were sent out the whole day. Some prisoners were

1777. taken, and some killed and wounded. On our side among the wounded, is General Lincoln, shot through the leg. Gen. Arnold was wounded in the action. The day before, about 30 of ours were killed, and 100 wounded. The enemy's loss was considerable, Gen. Fraser wounded mortally. Prisoners, six Captains, 10 Subalterns, one Quarter-Master-General, and 190 privates. We took three field-pieces. From their hospitals were taken 300 sick and wounded, with some medicines, 100 barrels of flour, and other articles; upwards of 100 left dead on the ground. About 12 at night the enemy began their retreat, breaking up bridges, and otherwise spoiling the roads in their rear. Three thousand of our men were despatched to lay on their left flank, the river being on their right, and two brigades on the river road in their rear."

Another account mentions 300 to have been taken, of which number, seven are field officers, among whom is Major Williams, commander of the British artillery.

Major General Gates, in his letter to Congress, mentions the capture of two other officers. Major Ackland, who commanded the corps of grenadiers, and Captain Money, Quarter-Master-General; he applauds the bravery of the whole body that engaged, particularly the riflemen under Colonel Morgan, and the light-infantry under Major Dearborn. [Captain Money, when examined before a Committee of the House of Commons, censures the conduct of a battalion of Brunswickers who were dispersed in confusion, and could not be rallied afterwards.]

Oct. 15. General Vaughan's division of Royalists, in their return from the capture of forts Montgomery and Clinton, committed great outrage. The town of Kingston (Æsopus) the third for elegance in the State of New-York, was burnt; the church did not escape, nor any other house, excepting one.

The operations of General Burgoyne were now drawing towards a period. A variety of circumstances combined to accelerate the fate of his army. After the combat above related, they had frequent skirmishes to their loss. Into the hands of the Continentals fell large quantities of provisions, prisoners, and baggage. A considerable number of deserters came over to Gen. Gates; numbers of their boats were taken. The Continental army was daily recruiting, and in a condition to surround Burgoyne's, which rendered it impracticable for them to retreat, the Continentals having command of all the passes by which it must have been made, or he could receive any supplies. In this situation, General Burgoyne requested a correspondence with General Gates, which being granted, Major Kingston was despatched with a message, in which the British General holds up the idea, "that his attempting

a retreat would produce a scene of carnage on both sides ; and therefore he was impelled by humanity to propose a cessation of arms, to communicate his preliminary terms of surrender." 1777.

General Gates in his reply represented, that the state of the Royal army was such, that they could only be allowed to surrender prisoners of war. Sundry proposals were made, and replied to, and the preliminary articles being stated by General Burgoyne, officers from each camp were appointed to discuss and settle them, which being done, and the articles of capitulation agreed on, General Gates, out of complaisance to a British commander, condescended that their agreement of surrender should bear the name of *convention*. It was signed by the respective parties, and Lieut. General Burgoyne with his whole army became the prisoners of the United States, this 17th day of October.*

The return made by General Burgoyne to Sir William Howe, makes the number of troops which surrendered at Saratoga 5750, viz. *Oct.* 17.

British by capitulation	2442
Foreigners by do.	2198
Gen. Burgoyne's staff, among which are six members of Parliament.	10
	4650
Sent to Canada	1100
	5750

At the same time were taken also 39 brass cannon complete, royals and mortars included ; 5000 stand of arms ; 400 sets of harness, a number of ammunition waggons, &c. &c. They were allowed to take their military chest with them to Albany.

In another list, exhibited by the captive General to the commander in chief of the British army, it appears he brought out of Canada upwards of 10,000, besides Indians, viz.

* A writer observes, that *seven* is a mystical number remarkable in the scripture prophecies. In the American contest it hath been noted, that the surrender of Burgoyne and his whole army happened on the 17th day of the month, in the 17th year of the reign of George 3d, the 7th Monarch of England from Charles first. In seven years and seven months from the first bloodshed in the contest, the massacre at Boston, which was seven years from the assumed right of Britain to tax America, and 70 years from the union of England.

1777.

Sick and wounded,	1126	Brought up	3646
Prisoners before surrender,	400	Taken at Ticond.	400
Deserters,	300	Killed in General Harkermer's bat.	300
Lost at Bennington,	1220	Included in Saratoga Convention,	5750
Killed between 17th Sept. and 18th Oct.	600		10096
	3646		

The loss of Ticonderoga, which at first gave great pain and anxiety, particularly to the New England States, paved the way to the important conquest above, and eventually proved, by the interposition of Providence, the ruin of Burgoyne's army. It blasted the hopes of Britain in this expedition, under a commander from whom they expected much. And it was followed with happy consequences to the United States.

[Besides what is related in the foregoing pages, relative to the operations of General Burgoyne's army, in their route from Canada to Saratoga, we collect the following particulars, viz.]

Previous to the arrival of General Burgoyne from England, the 6th of May, at Quebec, Sir Guy Carlton had, in the winter of 1776, forwarded provisions and stores to Chamblee and St. John's, for the intended expedition from Canada. That after he, Burgoyne, had crossed Champlain, he made an address to the Indians in his army, and was answered by an Iroquois chief These savages were principally under the direction of Mr. St. Luc, a Canadian gentleman, and a Mr. Langdale. It appears that if the Indians were serviceable to the British in the expedition, they were also very troublesome and difficult to restrain within rule and order. That in an action with a party of Continentals, 150 of Burgoyne's troops under General Fraser were killed and wounded, July the 7th, at Hubbards town. That on the 9th and 10th of the same month, the British army assembled at Skenesborough. The 12th, the Earl of Harrington was appointed aid de camp to General Burgoyne.

That the action of the 19th of September continued from one to seven o'clock, P. M. Three British regiments, viz. the 20th, 21st, and 62d regiments, were in close and continual fire for four hours. The latter were not left with more than 100 rank and file; the others also suffered greatly.

In the action of the 7th of October, Colonel Bloomfield of the artillery was wounded at the beginning of it. During the action Sir Francis Clarke, secretary to General Burgoyne, was mortally wounded. On the 8th, the day after the action, General Fraser expired of the wound he had received in it, and was, as he desired, interred in a redoubt.

His loss was greatly regretted by General Burgoyne, who, with all the Generals and their aids, and those who were not attached to any particular post, attended his funeral. The Earl of Balcarras, of the British light infantry, succeeded to General Fraser's command, on his being wounded, and Lieutenant Colonel Kingston, Adjutant-General, was appointed Secretary to the General, on the decease of Sir Francis Clarke. 1777.

At the first council of war, the British officers were unanimous for treating with General Gates. A treaty accordingly was opened, but before it was signed, General Burgoyne having received advice that Sir Henry Clinton was coming up North river, he, together with some other officers, Phillips, Balcarras, Hamilton, &c. were of opinion it might be receded from ; but they were over-ruled, and the Convention took place.

From General Burgoyne's narrative of his expedition, and from the event of it, it appears that he had a very inadequate idea of the situation of the country, and of the disposition of the people he was to subjugate, and was greatly deceived in his expectations at his first setting out. It was truly an arduous undertaking, and replete with embarrassments he could not overcome. It is not wise to entertain too mean an opinion of our enemy ; this hath often proved ruinous, and seems to have been the error of Great Britain, in their contest with America.

The unfortunate commander in this expedition, by the testimony of the officers under him, executed, *as well as he could*, the orders he had received, though not as he, and his employers not only wished for, but were almost confident of realizing.

The return of Gen. Gates's army, the 16th of Oct. was 13,216, fit for duty, under command of Brigadier-Generals Nixon, Poor, Learned, Glover, Patterson, Warner, Stark, Baily, Whipple, Bricket, Fellowes, Wolcot, Ten Broek.

When General Gates had accomplished the necessary business that attended his late capture, he gave directions for transporting the prisoners to Massachusetts Bay, agreeable to the terms of the Convention, and soon after pushed forward his troops to join the main Continental army under General Washington.*

A letter from the Continental camp, 13 miles from Philadelphia, gives the following account of the repulse of a body of Hessians at *Red-Bank*. *Oct.* 22.

* As a memorial of this event, and as a token of respect for the General, Congress ordered a medal of gold to be struck, and presented to General Gates, in the name of the United States.

1777. "This happened the day after the Royalists had quitted the strong village of Germantown, and had retired towards Philadelphia, to be in a more compact situation, &c.

"About 1200 or 1500 Hessians, with cannon, crossed the Delaware at Cooper's ferry, opposite Philadelphia, and marched to attack the redoubts at Red Bank, in which were two regiments from Rhode-Island, and some artillery under command of *Colonel Greene* of that State. A number of bridges were taken down, which obliged the enemy to take a circuitous route, so that the garrison had sufficient intelligence of their design, and were prepared accordingly. *Count Donop*, and his troops, chiefly Hessian grenadiers, arrived near the redoubts about four o'clock, and immediately summoned the commander to surrender, who answered he would defend the place to the last extremity." The attack commenced by a steady cannonade from 10 or 12 field pieces, and one howitzer: under cover of the smoke, the enemy advanced to storm the redoubt. This place was at first intended for a larger garrison, therefore it became necessary to run a line across the middle, and divide it in two; and accordingly, one part was evacuated, though not destroyed. The enemy without difficulty gained the evacuated part with loud huzzas on their supposed victory, and approached the new lines which divided the place. The brave garrison then began a severe and well directed fire, which lasted about forty minutes, when the enemy gave way in all parts, having above 100 killed on the spot, and upwards of that number badly wounded, and prisoners. Count Donop, their commander (a person of great consideration in the royal army) was mortally wounded; a number of other officers were wounded.

The enemy retreated with the utmost precipitation all night, leaving many of their wounded on the road, and the next day crossed the Delaware to Philadelphia, with the loss of one half their party. Colonel Greene and his brave garrison acquired praise for their gallant defence of this important pass, which is a key to the other posts on the river. Congress rewarded the Colonel with an elegant sword.

Oct. 26. A plan, which had been projected to dispossess the Royalists of the island of *Newport* (R. I.) and had for some political reasons been laid aside, after some preparations had been made at Providence to put it in execution, was now resumed by the New England States. A large body of men were assembled at Providence, and the command given to General Spencer, a Continental officer, belonging to Connecticut; but this also failed of being executed. The militia were dismissed, and returned to their homes, after parading in the neighbourhood of Newport, some weeks. The court ap-

pointed to examine into the cause of it's not being undertaken were of opinion, "That the General had done his duty, and all that was in his power; that the 16th of October was the time agreed on by the general officers to make a descent on Rhode-Island; that one brigade was not assembled, nor embarked in the whole of that day, nor ready for embarkation. The principal reason was, that all the brigades were not assembled and embodied on the day preceding the night of the 16th of October; it did not appear to the court that any other time was expedient to have made an attack previous to it; and subsequent to it, several times were assigned, but the weather being wet and stormy, from the 17th to the 26th of October, and other circumstances, made it unfavourable; and considering the time for which part of the troops were engaged was near expiring, the court were of opinion that the determination of the council of war, of the 26th of October, for giving over the expedition, was judicious and well made." 1777.

It appears that the orders of the General had not been punctually complied with; there was a neglect relative to the preparation for embarking the troops, and providing a sufficient number of boats at the time agreed, which having been omitted, no other was favourable, and the design was frustrated.

Sir William Howe found it difficult to get supplies for his troops in Philadelphia. They got them from their shipping at Chester, thirteen miles distant, by a communication over the Schuylkill, which rendered their convoys liable to be cut off. General Washington's army was between them and the country, and the Continental gallies, and chevaux de frise in the Delaware, prevented the British ships getting up to the city. To remove these obstructions in the river was the business of the Admiral Lord Howe. He ordered six of his ships to attempt it; having got above the lower tier of chevaux de frise, they made for the upper tier, and had to encounter the gallies and Fort Mifflin at Mud-Island. The ships were disabled, the tide ebbed, and the fire ships, carried upon them, greatly embarrassed them. Two run aground, and were set on fire by the crews who deserted them, and soon after blew up; one of them, the Augusta of 64 guns, the other a frigate. The conduct of Commodore *Hazzlewood*, who had command of the Continental force in the river, was applauded and rewarded by Congress.

In this month was levied the *first publick tax* since the emission of Continental bills of credit. Nov.

It was recommended by Congress to the respective States, to raise in the course of the year following, in quarterly payments, the sum of five millions of dollars, by *taxes* levied on

1777. the inhabitants of the respective States, in the following proportions, viz.

	Dollars.		*Dollars.*
New-Hampshire,	200,000	Pennsylvania,	620,000
Massachusetts Bay	800,000	Delaware,	60,000
R. I. and Providence,	100,000	Maryland,	520,000
Connecticut,	600,000	Virginia,	800,000
New-York,	200,000	North-Carolina,	250,000
New-Jersey,	270,000	South-Carolina,	500,000
		Georgia,	60,000

In the recommendation, Congress gave the reasons for it. "That, supported by the confidence of their fellow citizens, without burthening them with taxes, or pecuniary contributions, they have raised the necessary supplies on the publick faith for carrying on the war. Large sums have been emitted in bills of credit, and the same method embraced by the respective States, to answer their internal wants. By these accidents our paper currency, notwithstanding the solid basis on which it is founded, is multiplied beyond the rules of good policy. Therefore to carry on the war, and yet not to increase the number of bills of credit, the foregoing expedient is recommended."

Congress also recommended the appointment of Commissioners, to meet at particular places, for regulating the prices of labour, manufactures, internal produce, and commodities, imported from foreign parts, military stores excepted, and to regulate the charges of innholders.

They resolved also, "That it should be recommended to the several States to confiscate and make sale of all the real and personal estates therein, of such of the inhabitants and other persons who have forfeited the same, and the right to the protection of the respective States; and to invest the money arising from the sales in Continental loan office certificates, to be appropriated in such manner as the respective States shall hereafter direct."

Fort-Miffiin on *Mud-Island* was evacuated by the Continental garrison, after having bravely defended it against the Royal batteries on Province-Island, that lay back of the fort, whence they kept a continual fire of eighteen pound shot, and also from a large India ship cut down, which lay at one end of the fort, mounted with twenty eighteen pounders. The Continentals brought off all their stores, levelled the block houses, and cut down the bank to let in the water which overflows the island.

Lieutenant Colonel Smith of Maryland commanded the fort, and for his gallant defence he received a testimonial

from Congress of the approbation of the United States.* A letter from General Washington's camp deplores the loss of young Captain Treat (a native of Boston, Massachusetts State) who was killed by a cannon ball, while defending his post (the letter says) with the intrepidity that would have done honour to an old soldier. 1777.

Lord Cornwallis and Sir William Erskine marched to Chester with about three thousand men, and then crossed the Delaware to Billing's port, where they joined Generals Wilson and Peterson of the royal artillery. *Nov.* 17.

General Washington, expecting by their manœuvres that the Royalists were about leaving Philadelphia, put his army in motion; and Generals Greene and M'Dougal were ordered over the Delaware with a body of six thousand. Lord Cornwallis's design was afterwards found to be to attack Fort Mercer at Red Bank, before it was evacuated, and to make incursions into New-Jersey. The Continentals at Red Bank, not being in a condition to make effectual resistance, brought off all the stores, quitted the fort, and withdrew to Huddonfield, nine miles back. The Continental fleet lying at Red-Bank, they also quitted and burnt them. Three days after the Royalists took possession of Red Bank. *Nov.* 20.

Lord Cornwallis finding General Greene was advancing towards him with a strong body, he returned back to Phila-

* Since the above was written, the following particulars have been published in the Providence Gazette, of August, 1786, by General James M. Varnum.

"The commander, Colonel Smith, being wounded, the command devolved upon Lieutenant Colonel Russell, of the Connecticut line, who being exhausted by fatigue, and out of health, desired to be recalled. The moment was critical. The commanding General at Woodberry, on the Jersey side, had orders from General Washington "to defend Mud Island as long as posssible, without sacrificing the garrison." To defend it absolutely was impossible, unless the siege could be raised by an attack upon the besiegers in the situation of the fort. Nothing could present itself to a relieving officer, fully informed of all circumstances, but certain death, or an improbable escape. In that critical moment Major *Thayer* offered himself a volunteer, and from the 12th to the morning of the 16th of November, he defended the Island with the greatest address, against a furious, and almost continual cannonade, and bombardment from batteries at a small distance. The design of General Varnum in relating the conduct of Major Thayer, is to rescue from inattention the brilliant behaviour of so deserving an officer."

1777. delphia, and General Greene returned to the Continental camp.

The forts on *Mud Island* and *Red-Bank* being now in possession of the Royalists, they removed the obstructions in the Delaware, so as to admit small vessels with provisions to get up to Philadelphia city.

A French ship arrived at Piscataqua (State of New-Hampshire) from Marseilles with ordnance stores, mortars, bombs, brass cannon, gun-powder, musquets, &c. &c. In this ship arrived *Baron Steuben*, a Prussian officer of rank, said to have been aid de camp to his Prussian Majesty. He was appointed a Major-General in the Continental army and also Inspector General: He was a valuable acquisition: He regulated the Continental army, and taught them a uniformity of discipline.

Decemb. The Continental army went into winter quarters, and took post in the neighbourhood of Schuylkill, about fifteen miles from Philadelphia. The main body quartered in and about *Valley-Forge*, seven miles further; where, with great toil and fatigue, they cleared the woods, and built huts for their accommodation, during the winter.

Dec. 5. In this situation General Howe meditated an attack on them. For this purpose the royal army began to march in the night, and proceeded as far as Chesnut-hill, above Germantown.

Skirmishing took place between the piquets of the two armies. Colonel Morgan's riflemen fell in with a large column of the enemy near Jenkins-town, on the Old York road; when a smart engagement ensued. In one of the skirmishes, Brigadier-General Irvine was wounded, thrown from his horse, and taken prisoner.

An officer at General Washington's camp, in a letter to his friend, writes thus, relative to this manœuvre of the Royalists: Sir William Howe imagined, that on the first appearance of the British army, the shivering half-naked defenders of liberty would have decamped, and left him master of the country; but finding his parade in front ineffectual, he had recourse to the more trying manœuvre of encamping on our flank; but seeing us still immoveable, he judged it more prudent to retire to peaceful winter quarters, than attack us in a position, the strength of which would probably have obliged him to retire with loss.

Admiral Lord Howe sailed with his fleet from the Delaware to Newport harbour, as a safer situation for the winter.

The ice in Delaware river drove several of their merchant ships on shore, which fell into the hands of the militia and Continental troops stationed at Wilmington and the adjacent shores; one of which had on board a quantity of arms, clothing, and baggage, for some British regiments.

It appears by the Royalists' own account, that there had been no good understanding between the British and German troops. The latter complained that they had been employed in the most difficult and dangerous enterprises, and been treated by the British as their inferiours. Their commander in chief, General de Heister, returned to Europe, and General Kniphausen took command of the foreign troops. They had suffered much at Fort Washington, at Trenton, at Red-Bank, &c. &c. as already noted. 1777.

The publick were amused with a very *extraordinary* letter which appeared this month in the Pennsylvania Ledger, under the signature of "Jacob Duché," addressed to his Excellency General Washington; in which, to use the author's own words, "*he has spoken freely of Congress, and of the army.*" It is dated October 8, 1777, and is calculated to cast a general odium on the proceedings of the United States; to induce General Washington to abandon the American cause, and resign his command of the army; or at the head of it, to force Congress immediately to desist from hostilities and to rescind their declaration of Independence. If this is not done, he says "You have an infallible resource still left, *negociate for America at the head of your army.*" The Congress existing (at the date of his letter) he represents in the most despicable view, as consisting of weak, obscure persons, not fit associates for his Excellency, and the very dregs of the first Congress. The New-England delegates he treats with great indelicacy. The army, officers as well as men, he describes to be without principle or courage; undisciplined; taken from the lowest of the people; unfit for a seat at his Excellency's table. Even the *minority nobility* in England, who were advocates for America, did not escape his aspersions, &c. &c. *Dec.* 17.

Mr. Duché was a popular clergyman at Philadelphia—minister of the Episcopal Church there; and the chaplain *first* appointed by Congress. He officiated as such for about three months, and then resigned. Some disagreeable circumstances took place. Long-Island and New-York were taken by the Royalists, and perhaps caused his resignation; or it might have arisen from a change in the chaplain's sentiments respecting the *justice* of the American cause, which he had implored heaven to succeed. But whatever was the reason, the abuse contained in his letter will admit of no excuse. He acted a part disgraceful to his profession; and by taking up the pen of slander, brought on himself that ignominy which he designed for others. He left Philadelphia, (and as a letter to him expresses it) "took shelter under the arm of that power, which from the sacred pulpit he had exhorted his hearers to oppose."

The inhumanity of the British officers to American prisoners was not unknown to the British minister. Messrs. Frank-

1777. lin, Deane, and Lee, the American Commissioners in France, the 12th of this month, in pointed language, in a letter addressed to Lord North, informed him of it.

Congress took into consideration the necessity of a mutual contract or Band of Union, between the American Independent States, for the purposes of preserving peace and order among them; the security of their rights and properties, and the well ordering and regulating sundry important matters for the benefit of the whole, and for their mutual and general welfare. They accordingly formed this month "a plan of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the Thirteen United States." This plan to be laid before the legislatures of each State, for their consideration. If approved by them, and the delegates of each ratified it, in Congress, by orders from their constituents, it was then to be valid and conclusive.*

1778. *Jan.* 29. Congress having appointed a committee to confer with General Washington, on the circumstances of their army, and in concert with him to make and recommend such new arrangements as should appear eligible; his Excellency laid before them a representation† in which he suggested the *necessity* "of a half pay establishment," to induce the officers to continue in the service and cheerfully discharge their respective duties; many of them having resigned, and application for it being made by many others; not having suitable encouragement, fearing they should be rather impoverished, than benefited by the service, and if they should die in it, their families would be left in wretched circumstances.

* Maryland did not ratify it in Congress till March, 1781. It was not (as one observes) an easy task to form a plan of union accommodated to the sentiments of so many States, differing in a variety of circumstances, their manners, produce, trade, &c. Having been tried six years, and found to be insufficient for the purposes hoped for from it, a convention of delegates from the several States was chosen to remedy its defects. They reported a new constitution or frame of government for the United States, in September, 1787, which was acceded to (some amendments proposed, &c.) by all the States excepting North-Carolina (who afterwards acceded to it.) The first day of March, 1789, was appointed for the meeting of the new government at New-York. The States chose his Excellency General Washington of Virginia, for President, and John Adams, Esq. of Massachusetts, for Vice-President.

† See a collection of papers relative to half pay, &c. published at Fishkill, 1783.

In this representation, General Washington takes notice, 1778.
that "besides adopting some method to make the provision to officers equal to their then exigencies, a due regard should be paid to futurity. Nothing, in my opinion, says his Excellency, would serve more powerfully to reanimate their languishing zeal, and interest them thoroughly in the service, than a half pay establishment. This would not only dispel the apprehension of personal distress at the termination of the war, from having thrown themselves out of professions and employments, they might not have it in their power to resume, but would in a great measure relieve the painful anticipation of leaving their widows and orphans a burthen on the charity of their country, should it be their lot to fall in its defence." The General said he urged his sentiments with the greater freedom, because he cannot, nor shall he, receive the smallest benefit from the establishment, and can have no other inducement for proposing it than a full conviction of its utility and propriety. The General further observes, "I am sensible the *expense* will be a capital objection to it; but to this *I oppose the necessity*. The officers are now discontented with their situation. If some generous expedient is not embraced to remove their discontent, so extensive a desertion of the service will ensue, and so much discouragement will be cast upon those who remain, as must wound it in a very essential manner."

His Britannick Majesty recommended to his Parliament "The necessity of preparing for such further operations as the contingencies of the war, and the *obstinacy of the rebels* may render convenient." They readily concurred with the king, and voted twenty thousand men for the service of the year 1778. To augment their army, to furnish a part of these troops, and to facilitate the business, General Haldiman (lately with the king's army in America) was sent into Germany, to aid the British agent already there.

Lord Barrington, Secretary at War, told Parliament, that the number of Royal troops employed in America, the last year, 1777, amounted to fifty thousand, viz. twenty thousand under Sir William Howe, ten thousand under General Burgoyne, four thousand under Sir Guy Carlton at Quebec, the remainder serving in Nova Scotia, New-York, &c. and yet it is a fact that this large army had at this time no other places on the continent in their possession excepting New-York island, Newport island, and Philadelphia city. They retained only the former during the war, having been obliged soon after their capture to abandon the two latter.

Hon. John Adams, Esq. being appointed by Congress to *February*
reside in France, *in a publick character*, he embarked this month for that kingdom, in the Continental frigate, Captain Tucker.

1778. *March.* Congress finding that the lenity shewn to the Royalists captivated in America, had been considered by them, as the effect of fear and cowardice, and was the occasion of more severe treatment of American prisoners; they found it necessary to pass the following resolve, "That the prisoners of the enemy shall be subsisted and treated in the same manner as our prisoners are by them, and that this mode of treatment be continued, changed, or suspended, as the conduct of the enemy with respect to American prisoners shall from time to time render just and necessary." They also recommended to the States the raising a body of light horse volunteers, to act in conjunction with their army, till the end of the year; and it was accordingly complied with.

Parties of troops were detached from the royal army at Philadelphia, to New-Jersey, in quest of cattle, &c. but their success was interrupted by the vigilance of General Wayne, and the bravery of Count Polaski, who attacked them at Haddonfield, and put them to flight, though greatly superiour to the Continentals in that quarter. They recrossed the Delaware, without the cattle and forage they wanted, having lost several, killed, and about a hundred wounded.

April 6. General Burgoyne, by leave of Congress, left Cambridge, in Massachusetts (on parole) to proceed to Newport, there to embark for England.

April 19. Mr. Simeon Deane (brother to the American Commissioner in France) arrived at Boston with despatches for Congress, containing "Treaties of alliance between France and the United States, signed at Paris, the 6th of February."

By the 11th and 12th articles of the Treaty of Commerce, it was agreed, "that the subjects of the States should pay no duties on molasses in the French islands, and that the French were to pay no duties on merchandize of the States they procured for the islands which furnished molasses." These two articles were suppressed afterwards, by mutual consent, in September following. At this time Count *de Vergennes* was minister for foreign affairs; and the *Sieur de Sartine*, minister and Secretary of State for the marine department.

M. *de Noailles*, the French Ambassador in London, upon having information from his Court, of the alliance entered into with the American United States, acquainted the British ministry. It gave them alarm, and changed the proceedings of Parliament. Lord Stormont was ordered to leave the Court of France, and the French minister left that of London. Previous to the *official* information from the Court of France, Lord *North* had changed his tone, and spoke a language diverse from what he had hitherto done, on hearing of the capture of General Burgoyne and his army. On the 17th of February, he proposed a repeal of the

obnoxious acts of Parliament—to send commissioners to treat with Congress as a *legal* body ; these commissioners to be authorized to order a suspension of arms—to suspend the operation of all former laws—to restore the colonies to their ancient constitution, as they were before the troubles, &c. &c. In the close of this notable speech, his Lordship was so honest as to declare his reasons for making it, viz. "*his extreme disappointment in his expectations of the effect of the force employed against America.*" 1778.

His Lordship's proposals readily went down with Parliament, and the House of Commons prepared bills conformable thereto. The draft of two of them (said to be) only *once* read before *one* branch of their legislature, was hurried over to America, in their imperfect state, with many blanks, and industriously circulated by the royal partizans, which gave suspicion that their view was to relax the military preparations on the part of the States, &c.

The three acts called the *conciliatory* acts, are entitled, viz.

"An act for repealing an act passed in the fourteenth year of his Majesty's reign, entitled, "An act for the better regulating the government of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in New-England."

"An act for removing all doubts and apprehensions concerning taxation, by the Parliament of Great-Britain, in any of the colonies, provinces, and plantations, in North-America and the West-Indies, and for repealing so much of an act made in the seventh year of the reign of his present Majesty, as imposes a duty on tea imported from Great Britain into any colony or plantation in America, or relates thereto."

"An act to enable his Majesty to appoint Commissioners, with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces, in North America."

A member of the House of Commons* expressed his ideas of these bills, in the words following : "These bills hold out what ministry know to be a fallacious hope, *a reconciliation with the colonists on terms short of independence.* The object is merely to screen ministry from the indignation of the publick and vengeance of the people. Are our ministers weak enough to expect to cajole America with a *parchment*, at the moment they declare that they despair of conquest by the *sword ?*" The foregoing accords with the sentiments of Congress. They viewed these bills in the same light, and that they were designed to lull the people into security. The following are extracts from an *animated* address of Congress to their constituents on this occasion.

* Mr. Wilkes.

1778. "The haughty Prince who spurned us from his feet with
contumely and disdain, and the Parliament who proscribed us,
May 9. now descend to offer terms of accommodation.

"Whilst in the full career of victory, they pulled off the mask, and avowed despotism. But having lavished in vain the blood and treasure of their subjects, in pursuit of this execrable purpose, they now endeavour to ensnare us with the insidious offers of peace. They would seduce us into a *dependence*, which necessarily, inevitably leads to the most humiliating slavery. And do they believe you will accept these fatal terms, because you have suffered the distresses of war? Do they suppose that you will basely lick the dust before the feet of your destroyers? Can there be a man so lost to the feelings that adorn human nature, to the generous pride, the elevation, the dignity of freedom? Is there a man who would not abhor a dependence upon those, who have deluged his country in the blood of its inhabitants? We cannot suppose this, neither can we suppose that they themselves expect to make many converts. What then is their intention? Is it not to lull you with the fallacious hopes of peace, until they can assemble new armies to prosecute their nefarious designs? If this is not the case, why do they meanly court each little tyrant of Europe to sell them his unhappy slaves? why do they continue to embitter the minds of the savages against you? Sure this is not the way to conciliate the affections of America——*Be not deceived.*

"It hath become now morally certain, that if we have courage to persevere, we shall establish our liberty and independence.—Expect not peace while any corner of America is in possession of your foes. You must drive them away from this land of promise, a land flowing indeed with milk and honey. Is there a country on earth which hath such resources for the payment of her debts, as America? such an extensive territory; so fertile, so blessed in its climate and productions? Surely there is none; neither is there any to which the wise Europeans will sooner confide their property. What then are the reasons that your money has depreciated? Because no taxes have been imposed to carry on the war; because the commerce hath been interrupted by the enemy's fleets; because their armies have ravaged and destroyed a part of your country; because their agents have villainously counterfeited your bills; because extortioners among you, inflamed with the lust of gain, have added to the price of every article of life, and because weak men have been artfully led to believe that it is of no value.

"How is this dangerous disease to be remedied? Let those among you, who have leisure and opportunity, collect the

monies which individuals in their neighbourhood are desirous of placing in the publick funds. Let the several legislatures sink their respective emissions, that so there being but one kind of bills, there may be less danger of counterfeiting. Refrain a little while from purchasing those things that are not absolutely necessary, that so those who have engrossed commodities, may suffer, as they deservedly will, the loss of their ill-gotten hoards, by reason of their commerce with foreign nations, which their fleets will protect. Above all, bring forward your armies into the field. Trust not to appearances of peace or safety. Be assured, that unless you persevere, you will be exposed to every species of barbarity; but if you exert the means of defence which God and nature have given you, the time will soon arrive, when every man shall sit under his own vine, and under his own fig-tree, and there shall be none to make him afraid." 1778.

This address calls the attention of the inhabitants of the United States to *recollection*. To remember how reluctantly they were drawn into the arduous contest; their supplications for redress; while they were petitioning, the fatal blow was struck which hath separated us for ever. The people appealed to their Maker for the justness of their cause. They were then quite defenceless, without arms, ammunition, clothing, ships, money, and military officers skilled in war. The course of the enemy's army marked by rapine and devastation. We were obliged to take up arms against our own countrymen; were ill treated, while prisoners. They stimulated servants to slay their masters, and excited the Indians against us. One of their Generals declared his intention of letting loose whole hosts of savages upon us. They offered to export our inhabitants, by their merchants, to the sickly baneful climes of India. We have treated their prisoners with tenderness, which has been construed by them into cowardice. We should take notice of the interposition of heaven in our favour, when reduced to distress, and the means wanting to prosecute the war. Our foes have been instrumental in providing them: And he hath conducted us to the threshold of security.

These considerations were laid before the people as powerful incentives to *perseverance and exertion.*

That this address might be *universally* known through the United States, it was recommended by Congress to be read by all the ministers of the gospel of every denomination, after divine service, in their respective places of religious worship.

The people in the States were not deceived; they entertained the same opinion of these bills as Congress has expressed, and their conduct was correspondent.

1778. Notwithstanding the *pacifick* appearance of the above acts of Parliament, their troops did not relax in their hostilities, but continued their desolations by fire and sword. Some of their troops destroyed the house of Joseph Borden, Esq. at Bordentown, in the Jersies, and the buildings on a farm belonging to Colonel M'Bride. They were prevented from further mischief at this time, by the interruption given them by General Dickinson. Their troops from Newport, in Rhode-Island State, also committed outrage on the towns in that neighbourhood—the latter end of this month their shipping got up the bay undiscovered, and landed about six hundred men, between the towns of Bristol and Warren, and marched on to a place where a number of flat-bottomed boats and gallies were repairing, which they burnt, together with a grist-mill.

At *Warren* they entered the houses of the inhabitants, insulted and plundered them of their clothing, bedding, furniture, &c.

They set fire to the meeting-house, parsonage, and several other houses, and destroyed a small magazine of military stores.

They began their retreat by the road leading to Bristol ferry, where they burnt, plundered, and destroyed whatever their haste would permit, not sparing the Episcopal church, situated near the centre of the town, which with many of the best houses were reduced to ashes. To the women (it was reported) the soldiery were rude, and robbed them of their handkerchiefs, aprons, shoe-buckles, rings, &c. Major-General Sullivan, who at this time was on command at Providence, sent Colonel Barton to rally the scattered inhabitants, and hang upon the enemy's rear, to give *him* time for his main body to come up. The Colonel collected about twenty men, and with this small number, followed them towards Bristol ferry, near which he came up and attacked their rear with great bravery, until being wounded, he was obliged to retire. The enemy's boats arrived in time to embark them for Newport island, before General Sullivan, with his troops, could get up. They afterwards landed a body at *Freetown*, and burnt two mills, but being opposed by the militia, they went off.

The judicious representation made by General Washington, January 29th, relative to half pay, convinced Congress of the propriety and necessity of making further provision for the army, and produced the following resolves, viz.

May 15. "Resolved unanimously, That all military officers commissioned by Congress who now are, or hereafter may be in the service of the United States, and shall continue therein during the war, and not hold any office of profit

under these States, or any in them, shall, after conclusion of the war, be entitled to receive annually for the term of seven years, if they live so long, one half of the present pay of such officers, provided that no general officer of the cavalry, artillery, or infantry, shall be entitled to receive more than the one half part of the pay of a colonel of such corps respectively, and provided that this resolution shall not extend to any officer in the service of the United States, unless he shall have taken an oath of allegiance to, and shall actually reside within some of the United States.* 1778.

"Resolved unanimously, That every non-commissioned military officer or soldier, who hath enlisted or shall enlist in the service of these States during the war, and shall continue therein to the end thereof, shall be entitled to receive a further reward of eighty dollars at the expiration of the war."

June 5. In the beginning of this month, Captain Elliot in the Trident frigate, arrived off the Delaware, with three of the commissioners appointed by act of Parliament to settle the disputes in America, viz. Frederick *Lord Carlisle*, *William Eden*, Esq. (brother to a late Governour of Maryland) and *George Johnstone* Esq. (late Governour of Pensacola, West-Florida, and a naval commander)† accompanied by *Adam Ferguson*, Esq. their secretary. In this commission were joined Admiral Lord *Howe*, and the commander in chief of the King's land forces in America, now Lieutenant-General *Sir Henry Clinton*.‡ Their commission bears date the 13th of April, 1778, to expire the first of June, 1779.

* The resolve respecting the officers was extended to their widows by an after resolve. See August 24, 1780.

† Their emolument, said to be £1000 sterling each, for a service of plate; a proportionably large sum for their stores; and a salary of £100 each per week, excepting the president, who had three times that sum. [This is inserted as a matter of report.]

‡ Soon after the defeat of General Burgoyne, Sir William Howe wrote to England a letter of resignation; and the first of May, Sir H. Clinton went to take command of the army at Philadelphia.

In the General Advertiser, of Saturday, December 5th, Sir William is said to have given his reasons in the House of Commons, for quitting his command in America. He blamed the ministry, particularly Lord George Germaine, for neglecting his duty, not treating him with confidence, nor co-operating in the plans he formed; nor supplying him with the reinforcements he demanded; not paying that attention to the requisitions he had made in favour of deserving officers, that the dignity of his station, and the nature of their services required.

1778. *June* 9. General Washington forwarded to Congress a copy of a letter he received from the *three* first mentioned commissioners, informing him of their arrival and commission, and requesting a passport for their secretary, charged with a letter from them to Congress. General Washington also forwarded a copy of his answer to the commissioners, in which he declines giving the passport requested, till the pleasure of Congress was known.

Congress having received the abovementioned papers from their General, the letter from the Commissioners to them was read, till these words occurred : " *Insidious interposition of a power which has from the first settlement of these Colonies been actuated with enmity to us both.*" The reading was then interrupted, and a motion made not to proceed further, because of the offensive language against his most Christian Majesty. This letter, and the papers that accompanied it, were read at another time. A committee of Congress to whom they were referred, reported the draft of a letter to the three commissioners, of which the following is a copy :

[The committee consisted of William H. Drayton, Richard H. Lee, George Morris, Mr. Witherspoon, and Samuel Adams, Esq'rs.]

" I have received the letter from your Excellencies the 9th instant, with the enclosed, and laid them before Congress. Nothing but an earnest desire to spare the further effusion of human blood could have induced them to read a paper containing expressions so disrespectful to his most Christian Majesty, the good and great Ally of these States, to consider propositions so derogatory to the honour of an independent nation. The acts of the British Parliament, the commission from your sovereign, and your letter, suppose the people of these States to be subjects to the crown of Great-Britain, and are founded on the idea of dependence, which is utterly inadmissible. I am further directed to inform your Excellencies, that Congress are inclined to peace, notwithstanding the unjust claims from which this war originated, and the savage manner in which it has been conducted. They will therefore be ready to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when the King of Great Britain shall demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose. The only proof of this disposition will be an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of these States, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies.

" Signed by order of the unanimous voice of Congress, at York-town, June 17, 1778.

" Henry Laurens, President."

The British fleet under Admiral Keppel, captured three *French* frigates. 1778.

[The King of France, though in alliance with the American States, had not yet commenced hostilities on Great-Britain.]

The Royal army completed their evacuation of Philadelphia (in consequence of orders Sir Henry Clinton had received from England) having previously transported their stores and most of their artillery into the Jersies; they manned the lines the preceding night, and proceeding over the commons, crossed at Glocester point. A party of the Continental light horse pursued, and took some prisoners. General Arnold, with a detachment of Continentals, took possession of the city of Philadelphia, the same evening, previous to which Congress passed a resolve, "that on the evacuation it would be expedient for the commander in chief to take effectual care, that no insult, plunder, or injury of any kind, may be offered to the inhabitants." General Washington, in a letter to Congress, dated at English-town, gives a particular relation of the manœuvres of both armies, after they had left Philadelphia: the following is a copy of said letter, viz. *June* 19.

"On the appearance of the enemy's intention to march through Jersey becoming serious, I had detached General Maxwell's brigade, in conjunction with the militia of that State, to interrupt and impede their progress, by every obstruction in their power, so as to give time to the army under my command to come up with them, and take advantage of any favourable circumstances that might present themselves. The army having proceeded to Correll's ferry, and crossed the Delaware at that place, I immediately detached Colonel Morgan with a select corps of six hundred men to reinforce General Maxwell, and marched with the main body towards Princetown. The slow advance of the enemy had greatly the air of design, and led me with others, to suspect that General Clinton, desirous of a general action, was endeavouring to draw us down into the lower country, in order, by a rapid movement, to gain our right, and take possession of the strong grounds above us. This consideration, and to give the troops time to repose and refresh themselves from the fatigue they had experienced from rainy and excessive hot weather, determined me to halt at Hopewell township, about five miles from Princetown, where we remained till the morning of the 25th.

"On the preceding day, I made a second detachment of fifteen hundred chosen troops, under Brigadier-General Scott, to reinforce those already in the vicinity of the enemy, the more effectually to annoy and delay their march. The next day the army moved to Kingston, and having received intelligence that the enemy were prosecuting their route to-

1778. wards Monmouth court-house, I despatched a thousand select men under Brigadier-General Wayne, and sent the Marquis de la Fayette to take command of the whole advanced corps, including Maxwell's brigade, and Morgan's light-infantry, with orders to take the first opportunity of attacking the enemy's rear. In the evening of the same day the whole army marched from Kingston, where our whole baggage was left, with intention to preserve a proper distance for supporting the advanced corps, and arrived at Cranberry early the next morning. The intense heat of the weather, and a heavy storm unluckily coming on, made it impossible to resume our march that day without great inconvenience and injury to the troops. Our advanced corps being differently circumstanced, moved from the position it had held the night before; took post in the evening, on the Monmouth road, about five miles from the enemy's rear, in expectation of attacking them next morning on their march. The main body having remained at Cranberry, the advanced corps was found to be too remote, and too far upon the right, to be supported either in case of an attack upon, or from the enemy, which induced me to send orders to the Marquis, to file off to his left, towards English-town, which he accordingly executed early in the morning of the 27th [June.]

"The enemy in marching from Allentown, had changed their disposition, and placed their best troops in the rear, consisting of all the grenadiers, light infantry, and chasseurs of the line. This alteration made it necessary to increase the number of our advanced corps; in consequence of which, I detached Major-General Lee, with two brigades, to join the Marquis at English-town, on whom, of course, the command of the whole devolved, amounting to about five thousand men. The main body marched the same day, and encamped within three miles of that place. Morgan's corps was left hovering on the enemy's right flank, and the Jersey militia, amounting at this time to about seven or eight hundred men, were under General Dickinson on their left. The enemy were now encamped in a strong position, with their right extending about a mile and a half beyond the court-house, in the parting of the roads leading to Shrewsbury and Middletown, and their left along the road from Allen-town to Monmouth, about three miles on this side of the court-house. Their right flank lay on the skirt of a small wood, while their left was secured with a thick one: A morass running towards their rear, and their whole front covered by a wood, and for a considerable extent towards the left with a morass. In this situation they halted till the morning of the 28th. Matters being thus situated, and having had the best information, that if the enemy were once arrived at the

heights of Middletown, ten or twelve miles from where they were, it would be impossible to attempt any thing against them with a prospect of success, I determined to attack their rear, the moment they should get in motion from their present ground. I communicated my intention to General Lee, and ordered him to make his disposition for the attack, and to keep his troops constantly lying upon their arms to be in readiness at the shortest notice. This was done with respect to the troops under my immediate command. 1778.

" About five in the morning, General Dickinson sent an express, informing that the front of the enemy had begun their march. I immediately put the army in motion, and sent orders by one of my aids for General Lee to move on, and attack them, unless there should be any powerful reasons to the contrary, acquainting him at the same time, that I was marching to support him, and for doing it with the greater expedition and despatch, should make the men disincumber themselves of their packs and blankets. After marching about five miles, to my great surprise and mortification, I met the whole advanced corps retreating ; and, as I was told, by General Lee's order, without having made any opposition, excepting one fire given by the party under the command of Colonel Butler, on their being charged by the enemy's cavalry, who were repulsed ; I proceeded immediately to the rear corps, which I found closely pressed by the enemy, and gave directions for forming part of the retreating corps, who, by the brave and spirited conduct of the officers, aided by some pieces of well-served artillery, checked the enemy's advance, and gave time to make a disposition of the left wing and second line of the army, upon an eminence, and in a wood a little in the rear covered by a morass in front. On this were placed some batteries of cannon by Lord Stirling, who commanded the left wing, which played upon the enemy with great effect, and seconded by parties of infantry detached to oppose them ; these effectually put a stop to their advance.

" General Lee being detached with the advanced corps, the command of the right wing, for the occasion, was given to General Greene. For expedition of the march, and to counteract any attempt to turn our right, I had ordered them to file off by the new court-house, two miles from English-town, and fall into the Monmouth road a small distance in the rear of the court-house. On intelligence of the retreat he marched up, and took a very advantageous position on the right, the enemy by this time finding themselves warmly opposed in front, made an attempt to turn our left flank, but they were bravely repulsed and drawn back by detached parties of infantry. They also made a movement

1778. to our right with as little success, General Greene having advanced a body of troops with artillery to a commanding piece of ground, which not only disappointed their design of turning our right, but enfiladed those in front of the left wing. In addition to this, General Wayne advanced with a body of troops, and kept up so severe and well directed a fire, that the enemy there were soon compelled to retire behind the defile, where the first stand in the beginning of the action had been made. In this situation the enemy had both their flanks secured by thick woods and morasses, while their front could only be approached by a narrow pass. I resolved nevertheless to attack them, and for that purpose ordered General Poor, with his own and the Carolina brigade, to move round upon their right, and General Woodford upon their left, and the artillery to gall them in front; but the impediments in their way prevented their getting within reach before it was dark. They remained upon the ground, they had been directed to occupy during the night, with intention to begin the attack early the next morning, and the army continued lying upon their arms in the field of action, to be in readiness to support them. In the mean time the enemy were engaged in removing their wounded, and about twelve o'clock at night marched away in such silence, that though General Poor lay extremely near them, they effected their retreat without his knowledge. They carried off all their wounded except four officers and about forty privates, whose wounds were too dangerous to permit their removal. The extreme heat of the weather, the fatigue of the men from their march through a deep sandy country, almost entirely destitute of water, and the distance the enemy had gained by marching in the night, made a pursuit impracticable and fruitless; it would have answered no valuable purpose, and would have been fatal to numbers of our men, several of whom died the preceding day with heat. Was I to conclude my account of this day's transactions, without expressing my obligations to the officers, and army in general, I should do injustice to their merit, and violence to my own feelings. They seemed to vie with each other in manifesting their zeal and bravery. The catalogue of those who distinguished themselves is too long to admit of particularizing individuals. I cannot, however, forbear mentioning Brigadier-General Wayne, whose good conduct and bravery through the whole action deserves particular commendation.

"The particular situation of General Lee at this time requires that I should say nothing of his conduct.

"He is now in arrest."

"Being fully convinced, by the gentlemen of this country, that the enemy cannot be hurt or injured in their embarkation at Sandyhook, the place to which they are going, and unwilling to get too far removed from the North river, I put the troops in motion early this morning, and shall proceed that way." 1778.

The return makes the loss of Continentals to be sixty-nine killed, one hundred and forty-two wounded, and one hundred and thirty-two missing: many of the latter dropped through fatigue, and having recovered, returned to the camp.

The loss of the Royalists said to be two hundred and forty-five rank and file, killed and left on the field, twelve hundred and fifty-five wounded, one hundred and seventeen prisoners, and fifteen hundred and seventy-two deserted. Total of their loss after they left Philadelphia, three thousand one hundred and-eighty nine by the account circulated; but not having seen the return made to Sir Henry Clinton, cannot determine this account to be accurate.

In Gen. Washington's general orders, the next day after the battle, "He thanks most sincerely the gallant officers and men, who distinguished themselves on this occasion. He can with peculiar pleasure inform Gen. Knox and the officers of the artillery, that the enemy have done them the justice to acknowledge that no artillery could be better served than our's."

The night after the battle, the Royalists pushed for Middletown; from thence to Sandyhook, in their way to New-York.

Admiral Gambier arrived this month at New-York with twenty-five sail of transports under his convoy, and a few recruits for the Royal army.

The King of France considered the capture made by the British fleet, the 17th instant, as intended by England as the beginning of a war with France; he therefore issued his orders of this date for "Making reprisals on England for the insults offered his flag." At this period we may date the commencement of the war between England and France, the former being the aggressor, and began hostilities to testify their resentment against France for their friendship to the United States. *June* 28.

General Washington, with his army, was pursuing their route by way of North River. General Gates, with a division of Continentals, encamped at White-plains as a barrier to prevent the Royalists penetrating the country contiguous to New-York. *July* 3.

Admiral *Count D' Estaing* arrived off the Capes of Delaware from Toulon, with a fleet of ships under his command, consisting of sixteen sail, viz. *July* 10.

1778.

	Guns.		*Guns.*		*Guns.*
Languedoc	90	Protecteur	74	Sagitaire	50
Tonant	80	Gurrier	74	L'Engageante	36
Cæsar	74	Fantasque	64	Chamion	30
Zelè	74	Proveacè	64	L'Alemene	25
Hector	74	Vailant	64	L'Aimable	26
Marseilles	74				

In this fleet came about four thousand French troops, to co-operate with the forces of the United States. *M. Gerard* also arrived in this fleet, being appointed by the Court of Versailles, minister plenipotentiary to the United States; he landed at Chester, about fifteen miles from Philadelphia, and proceeded to the city. Mr. Commissioner *Deane* returned in this fleet, in consequence of a resolution of Congress "To inform them of the commercial matters he had transacted in France."

Congress, having now returned to their former seat at Philadelphia, received a *second* letter from the British Commissioners, to which they *resolved* to give no answer. The conditions of a treaty mentioned in the letter Congress wrote them of the 17th of June, not being complied with, and the disgraceful conduct of one of the Commissioners in endeavouring to bribe one of their members, might be the reasons which induced Congress to take the above resolution. The circumstances relative to the bribery mentioned were thus related and published at that time. "The Hon. Joseph Read, Esq. one of the delegates for Philadelphia, informed Congress of the means *Governour Johnstone* had used to seduce him to act a part injurious to his country. A lady residing at Philadelphia, who had connexion with the British (said to be Mrs. Ferguson, wife to the Secretary of the Commissioners) undertook to converse with him, and acquainted him that Governour Johnstone had expressed to her his wishes to engage Mr. Read's interest to promote the object of their commission, viz. a reconciliation between the two countries, if consistent with his principles and judgment, and that in such case, it would not be deemed unbecoming in government to take a favourable notice of such conduct, and that in this instance, he (Mr. Read) might have ten thousand pounds sterling, and any office in the Colonies in his Majesty's gift." Mr. Read's reply redounds greatly to his honour, and should not be omitted. He said, *he was not worth purchasing, but such as he was the King of Great Britain was not rich enough to do it.*

The injudicious conduct of Governour Johnstone ruined his credit with Congress, and caused them to withhold all correspondence with him; for as soon as Congress were acquainted with it, they passed the following resolves, viz.

"That the particulars mentioned in Mr. Read's declaration, in the opinion of Congress, cannot but be considered as direct attempts to corrupt and bribe the Congress of the United States. 1778.

"That as Congress feels, so they ought to demonstrate, the highest and most pointed indignation against such doings and atrocious attempts to corrupt their integrity.

"That it is incompatible with the honour of Congress to hold any manner of correspondence with the said *George Johnstone*, Esq. especially to negociate with him upon affairs in which the cause of liberty and virtue are interested; and for the propriety of such conduct, we make and publish to the world this our declaration."

Such was the result of Governour Johnstone's management or rather *mismanagement*.

The settlement of Wyoming on Susquehannah river, suffered a general massacre of the inhabitants. Some who had been eye witnesses of the diabolical proceedings, having escaped, related the circumstances of the massacre, which was perpetrated by *Tories* and *Indians*: from the printed account we collect,

"That this settlement was made by the people of Connecticut on a grant of land purchased by them, under sanction of the government of Indian protectors; and these lands falling within the limits of the Pennsylvania claim, a dispute concerning the right had arisen between the two governments, who had proceeded to frequent acts of hostilities. When it was at a height that threatened the disturbance of the other governments, Congress interposed, by whose recommendation and authority the decision of the dispute was suspended, till that with Great Britain, equally interesting to every American State, was concluded, when they might be more at leisure to attend to the other, and consider the justice of each claim."

The settlement consisted of eight townships, each containing five miles square (the river navigable for flat bottom boats) and produced large quantities of grain of all sorts fruit, hemp, flax, &c. and stock of all kinds; inhabited by about a thousand families, who had furnished the Continental army with many hundred soldiers, &c. The *tory* inhabitants had given them some disturbance before General Harkermer's battle at Oneida creek; some of these had been active in stirring up the Indians to acts of hostility, after they got their liberty from the whig inhabitants, who had taken up, and secured them for a time. The settlers were suspicious of their design, and prepared themselves for defence; the Indians artfully pretended they were for peace, but their real design was discovered to the settlers by a drunken Indian. In the

1778. months of April and May, strolling parties of Indians and tories made incursions.

In this manner began the destruction of *Wyoming*, and in this month it was completed; and (the account says) "All those flourishing settlements were reduced to a scene of desolation, and horrour, beyond description, parallel or credibility."*

July 29. The King of Great-Britain *issued orders to seize French property;* these orders operated the same as a formal declaration of war against France.

August. The city of New-York, which had suffered greatly by fire soon after the regulars had got possession, underwent a like disaster in the beginning of the month, and was immediately followed by a tremendous explosion occasioned by lightning, which struck an ordnance sloop in the east river, said to have on board two hundred and forty-five barrels of gunpowder, by which means the houses in that part of the city were much damaged.

Aug. 6. Monsieur Gerard, the French Ambassador, had his first audience of the American Congress on this day.

Another expedition to *Newport* being planned, Count D'Estaing with his fleet from Sandy-Hook, anchored off point Judith the 29th of July, and blocked up Newport harbour. An army was collected from the four New-England States, who were joined by Glover's and Varnum's brigades from the continental army, the whole commanded by Major-General Sullivan. The Marquis de la Fayette, and Major-General Greene, came from the American camp to serve as volunteers in this expedition. Many of the most respectable characters voluntarily engaged in it. Major-General Hancock, from Boston, undertook to command one division of the troops. The French troops, about four thousand, landed from the ships on Conanicut island, about three miles distant, but were afterwards taken on board again. The fleet made a movement into Newport harbour. In passing the enemy's batteries they were fired on, but received little damage.

Aug. 9. On Sunday, about eight thousand troops landed on Newport island, and took possession of two of the enemy's forts, and the whole island north of their lines, about two miles from the town, without a gun fired on either side. The enemy evacuated them, and retired to their works nearer the town. The advance of the besieging army was compos-

* The particulars of the destruction were published in the American newspapers, and the British Annual Register for 1779.

ed of the light troops, independent companies, and fifty men from each brigade, commanded by Colonel Livingston, the right wing of the army by Major-General Greene, the left by Marquis de la Fayette ; the second line by Major-General Hancock, and the reserve by Colonel West. Thus far matters succeeded to their wishes ; but the events of war are uncertain. 1778.

On or about the 10th, Lord Howe, with the British fleet from New-York, appeared off the mouth of Newport harbour. His fleet consisted of twenty sail, thirteen of which were of the line. Count D'Estaing immediately put out after them, when a violent storm arose, and prevented his return in season to assist the army besieging Newport. The Cæsar, of seventy-four guns, had a smart engagement with one of the British, in which the French Captain lost an arm, and proceeded to Boston. The French fleet having suffered greatly in the storm, the Count was under a necessity of quitting the expedition, and proceeding to Boston, to repair his ships, where he arrived the 28th. This circumstance disconcerted the plan laid for regaining the island.

The enemy having intelligence of the movements of the besiegers, came out early in the morning of the 29th, with nearly their whole force, in two columns ; they advanced in two roads and attacked the light corps, who made a brave resistance. General Sullivan's letter to Congress mentions the particulars of the action, which lasted through the day and ended in the repulse of the enemy ; they retired, and left him in possession of the ground, their loss being greater than his. After the action his troops retired to camp, and the enemy employed themselves in fortifying *their* camp through the night. The loss, by a particular return made to the General, was, on his side, two hundred and eleven killed, wounded, and missing. Some, who were taken prisoners at Newport, and came out on parole, reported that the Royalists had three hundred and six killed, and more than double that number wounded, and had left them eight thousand strong in Newport. The Royalists availed themselves of the departure of the French fleet, and Sir H. Clinton threw in large succours from New-York.

In the evening of the 30th, the day after the action, the General received a letter from General Washington, informing him that Lord Howe had sailed a second time with the fleet. At the same time he received intelligence that a fleet was off Block-Island ; and finding by the intelligence from Boston, that the French fleet could not be repaired in season, so as to aid his operations against Newport, it was unanimously agreed, in council of war, to quit the island. The event (General Sullivan's letter takes notice) proved how

1778. timely his retreat took place, as an hundred sail of the enemy's ships arrived in the harbour, the morning after the retreat. This was accomplished on Sunday the 30th ; the army bringing off with them all their baggage, stores, &c. without suffering any loss or damage, while doing it. In the general orders issued by General Sullivan, he "congratulates his army upon a retreat from an island in the face of an enemy of superiour force, and who had besides the command of the water. Under these circumstances, to perform a retreat without any confusion or disorder, must reflect the highest honour on the brave troops he had the honour to command."

In this manner ended the *third* expedition undertaken to recover Newport from the Royalists.

This month the trial of Major-General Lee came on at Brunswick before a Court Martial appointed for the purpose. The charges exhibited against him were, viz.

"The disobedience of orders, in not attacking the enemy the 28th of June, agreeable to repeated instructions.

"For misbehaviour before the ememy on the same day, in making an unnecessary, disorderly, and shameful retreat.

"For disrespect to the Commander in Chief, in two letters dated June 28, and July 1."

The Court were of opinion, that he was guilty ; and their sentence was, "That Major-General Lee be suspended from his command in the armies of the United States, for the space of twelve months."*

[In 1753. this officer was a Lieutenant in the British army. In 1772, he was promoted to the rank of Lieut. Colonel, and his name was in the army list till 1775, during which time he received half pay. Report says, that being disgusted at not being raised to the rank of a full Colonel, when a vacancy presented, he left England, came to America, and resided in Virginia at the commencement of the American war, in which he early engaged, and Congress appointed him a Major-General in their army. Being taken prisoner by the enemy, he was detained by them at New-York, for many months ; but being exchanged, he returned to his command in the Continental army. He is described to have been a person of abilities, education, and bravery ; but appears to have had a larger share of ambition than was consistent with the respect due to the orders of a superiour officer.]

* In January, 1780, Congress dismissed him from his rank in the Continental army, and he retired from it. In October 2, 1782, he died at Philadelphia. A volume of his writings, with his life, have since been published.

General Gray, from New-York, with a detachment of British troops, burnt the town of *New-Bedford*, in Dartmouth, in the State of Massachusetts bay. 1778. *Sept.* 6.

About the middle of this month, arrived at New-York, from Halifax, Admiral Byron with a squadron of British men of war, to obstruct the operations of Count D'Estaing, in America, and to support and aid the King's naval force, already on that station. His fleet suffered much in their passage from England, and were not in a condition for service, for near a month after their arrival. Lord Howe, having resigned his command of the fleet at New-York to Admiral Gambier, he prepared for his return to England.

Governour Johnstone, finding he could not act with Congress in the character of a Commissioner, accompanied Lord Howe in his voyage to England.

Dr. Ferguson, Secretary to the British Commissioners, forwarded sundry papers to Congress, viz. a declaration signed "George Johnstone," another signed by Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden, and a third declaration signed by the three last mentioned Commissioners, containing a requisition relative to Burgoyne's troops, captured last year at Saratoga. Governour Johnstone's declaration respects the resolve of Congress relative to his attempt on the fidelity of one of their members, which resolve he imputes to be calculated by Congress to delude the people of America, and to defeat the design of the Commissioners in effecting an accommodation, which (he says) *he* would not by any means prevent; and therefore declines acting any more as a Commissioner. The second declaration sets forth, "That the other three Commissioners had not any knowledge of the conduct of Governour Johnstone, in tampering with Congress, till they read it in the newspapers."

This paper contains reflections on France, and asserts "That the offers of France to the American Commisioners there, were in consequence of a plan of accommodation proposed by Britain." It also expresses "their astonishment that this people should prefer an *alliance* with France (if we understand their meaning) to a *submission* to the government of England." In the third declaration they *demand* an immediate release of Burgoyne's troops, and to induce to a compliance, they offer to ratify, on the part of Great-Britain the articles of the Saratoga convention.

In what light Congress viewed this offer may be seen by their resolve, viz. "That no ratification of the convention of Saratoga, which may be tendered in consequence of powers which may reach that case by construction and implication, or which may subject whatever is transacted relative to it, to the future approbation, or disapprobation of the Parliament of Great-Britain, can be accepted by Congress."

1778. W. H. Drayton, Esq. (one of the South-Carolina delegates) in a letter published* and addressed to the three Commissioners, answers to the foregoing declarations, and examines with precision the proceedings of Parliament, relative to the conciliatory plan. He justifies the conduct of France, and proves from the Parliamentary debates, "That the offers of France made on the 16th of December, 1777, were at a point of time, when every publick intimation that could be given of a perseverance in measures of coercion on the part of Great Britain, *actually and clearly existed;*" which nullifies the assertion of the Commissioners, mentioned above, "That the offers were made by France, in consequence of a plan of accommodation previously concerted in Great-Britain."

The German-Flats, a fine fertile country, consisting of about one hundred houses, situated on both sides the Mohawk river, was laid in ashes by the Royalists—the inhabitants, having timely notice, escaped.

Major-General Lord Stirling, at this time commanding a division of Continentals in the Jersies, wrote to Congress a relation of the *massacre* of some of *Colonel Baylor's* regiment of horse, who were surprised the latter end of this month in a barn in Harringtown, near Tapan, by a party of Royalists, headed by a tory. "On its being intimated to me," says his Lordship, "that Congress were desirous to know the particulars of the massacre of Colonel Baylor's regiment, I desired Dr. Griffith, surgeon and chaplain to General Woodford's brigade, and who attends Colonel Baylor, and the other wounded prisoners, to collect all the evidence he could of that barbarous affair. I have just now received collections on that horrid subject." The collection contains the affidavits and depositions of a number of soldiers belonging to that unfortunate regiment, who solemnly declare, that after they had surrendered, and asked for quarter, it was refused. *Thomas Hutchinson*, sergeant of the third troop, escaped unhurt, but heard the British soldiers cry out, "Sliver him," repeatedly. *Cullency*, of the first troop, who received twelve wounds, says, "That when the enemy entered the barn, where his troop lay, he and the men asked for quarter and were refused; that the British Captain, Bull, of the second light infantry, after inquiring how many of the rebels were dead, on being told the number, ordered all the rest to be knocked on the head, and that his orders were executed on five or six of the wounded." *Benson*, of the second troop, received also twelve wounds: he declared he heard the men in the barn with him ask for quarter, which was returned with wounds, and abusive language; he thought it in vain to ask for quarter himself, as he heard the soldiers'

* See this letter printed in the publick papers.

reply to the others that begged it "that their Captain had ordered them to stab all and make no prisoners." *Thomas Talley*, of the sixth troop, received six wounds; he declared, "That after the enemy had taken him and partly stripped him, the soldiers inquiring of their Captain, what should be done with him, he ordered him to be killed, and after that, he received six wounds in his breast with their bayonets at different times." *Southward*, of the fifth troop, says, "That five men out of thirteen of their regiment, in the barn with him, were killed outright, and the rest, except himself, bayoneted; that he heard the British officer order his men to put all to death, and afterwards ask, if they had finished all—that they offered quarters to some, who on surrendering themselves, they bayoneted." The depositions of seven others attested by Governour Livingston, of the Jersies, confirm the above declarations. *Mr. Morris*, Lieutenant and Adjutant in Baylor's regiment, received seven wounds; he solemnly declared that upon begging his life, after he had surrendered, they replied, yes, d—n ye, we will give you quarters, and then rushed on and stabbed him with their bayonets, and stripped him of all his clothes. 1778.

The latter end of this month an hazardous enterprise was undertaken and bravely executed by Major Silas Talbot of the State of Rhode-Island, in a small sloop mounting only two carriage guns, having on board about sixty volunteers. They ran along-side the Pigot galley, belonging to the British, stationed at Seconnet passage, near Newport, which they boarded and took, and conducted her safely to Providence. The Pigot was well manned, had a heavy bow gun, and mounted eight twelve pounders.

The last manifesto or proclamation of the British Commissioners at New-York, was published and circulated through the United States; it was addressed "To the members of Congress, the members of the General Assemblies or Conventions of the several colonies, plantations, and provinces, &c. and all the other inhabitants of every rank and denomination," and signed by three of the Commissioners, viz. Carlisle, Clinton and Eden; it was to be in force forty days from the date. It offers a *general* or *separate* peace to the colonies, with the revival of their ancient government secured against future infringements, and protected forever from taxation by Great Britain, *if they would relinquish their independence, break their faith with France, and submit to the British yoke.* This seems to be the plain English construction of the terms on which they offer peace; but if the United States would not comply with them, then the manifesto suggests, "They were to expect *more severe expressions of British vengeance.*" *Oct.* 3.

1778. The manifesto also contains a recapitulation of what the Commissioners call the blessings they are empowered to confer, and a warning of the continued train of evils to which the *colonies* (in which description this manifesto places them) are at present blindly and obstinately exposing themselves, &c. &c.

The Commissioners explicity declared, that they had *neither authority nor inclination* to acknowledge the colonies to be independent—and Congress having informed them "That they would treat with Great Britain on no other terms;" it put an end to the negociation, and the Commissioners prepared to leave the continent.

Oct. 30. This day Congress published their reply to the *declarations* of the Commissioners. After mentioning the cause of America taking up arms, that it was the oppressive and tyrannous measures of Great Britain, and briefly reciting the cruelties that had hitherto been exercised by their troops and navy, acting against the States; they say, "That since their incorrigible dispositions cannot be touched by kindness and compassion, it becomes the duty of Congress, by other means, to vindicate the rights of humanity," and conclude with the following words: "That if our enemies presume to execute their threats, and persist in their present mode of barbarity, we will take such exemplary vengeance as shall deter others from a like conduct." They appeal to that God, who searcheth the hearts of all men, for the rectitude of their intentions, and in his holy presence declare, "That as they are not moved by any light, or hasty suggestions of anger, or revenge; so through every possible change of fortune they shall adhere to this their determination."

The Somerset man of war of sixty-four guns foundered in Boston bay.

Nov. 5. Count D'Estaing, with the French fleet, sailed from Boston. Their particular destination unknown at this time, to any but the Admiral, whose characteristick was to conduct his affairs with great secrecy. Admiral Byron, with a squadron of British ships, came on the New England coast, to intercept him, but missed his aim. The same day the Count left Boston, Commodore Hotham happened to sail from Sandyhook with some men of war and transports, having on board General Grant with five thousand troops for the West-Indies.

Nov. 14. Lord Carlisle and William Eden, Esqr. two of the British Commissioners, embarked at New-York for England—accompanied by General Earl Cornwallis.

Dec. 3. Lieutenant Colonel *Archibald Campbell*, who embarked at New-York the 27th of the last month, on an expedition to *Georgia*, arrived there the third day of December. The

British had for a considerable time, previous to this undertaking, employed agents in the remote and interiour parts of that country to tamper with the inhabitants, enlisting them into the British service, and swearing them to secrecy. 1778.

A consideration of this circumstance, the previous enlistment of the inhabitants, together with that other, the number of *Scots* inhabiting the southern States, will check our surprise at Colonel Campbell's success so soon after his arrival.

Commodore Hyde Parker anchored in Savannah river, the day after Colonel Campbell had arrived. The Royalists made an incursion with about 3000 troops, assisted by the *loyal* inhabitants. (The *Cherokee* Indians were invited into their service, but they declined going to war at this time.)

General Prevost, with a force from St. Augustine, took possession of Sunbury, while Colonel Campbell got possession of the town of Savannah. He also gained an advantage over a body of Carolina forces under General Howe of that State, who were posted at some distance from the town to oppose their progress; but unluckily for the Carolinians, the enemy marched secretly through a swamp or morass, by a path made known to them by a negro. "The happy face of the ground (says Colonel Campbell's account) favoured the concealment of this manœuvre, and gave opportunity of getting in the rear of General Howe's troops, and the British line advancing forward, made a sudden attack, and succeeded." Colonel Campbell gives a very splendid account of his success. He says "That thirty-eight officers of different ranks fell into his hands; four hundred and fifty non-commission officers and privates, one stand of colours, forty-eight pieces of cannon, twenty-three mortars, ninety-four barrels of powder, the fort with all its stores, and the capital of Georgia, the shipping in the harbour, and a large quantity of provisions;" and all this was done (according to the Colonel's account) without any other loss on the side of the Royalists, than that of a Captain, and two privates killed, and eleven wounded. On the side of the conquered eighty were found dead and eleven wounded. [This is contrary to what generally happens; the greatest number being usually of the wounded; but the above is the *conqueror's* account.]

After this success the enemy marched to Cherokee-hill, and took possession of the town of *Ebenezer*, about thirty miles from Savannah, and then advanced fifty miles above it. These successes were indeed flattering, and the fortunate commander anticipated the conquest of that whole country in one campaign; but their progress and prospects were soon after checked.

1778. The *Royalists* struck a severe blow in the northern quarter. A body consisting of about seven hundred Indians,
Dec. 11. tories, and soldiers, went to *Cherry-valley*, a settlement about sixty miles above Albany, which they destroyed, massacred several of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, with *Col. Alden* of Duxboro', Massachusetts State (who commanded a party of about two hundred and fifty continental troops stationed there) and made prisoners of the Lieutenant-Colonel and many of the inhabitants. The account of this tragical affair says, " That one hundred and eighty of the surviving inhabitants had neither house, nor provisions, and were almost naked and destitute of money to provide themselves with necessaries." The reporter says further, " That three men were killed; all the rest were helpless women and children."

This month, the last *manifesto* published in America by the British Commissioners, became a subject of animadversion in both Houses of Parliament. The *Marquis of Rockingham* called the attention of the House of Lords to it, and holding it in his hand, said, " It was a proclamation contrary to humanity, to christianity, and to every idea of virtuous policy." An objection being made to introducing papers into the House without first addressing his Majesty for leave —and the Marquis having made a motion for such an address, The *Bishop of Peterborough* arose and said, " That in the account of the extraordinaries of the army for the last year, charges were made for the *tomahawk* and *scalping knife*, that is, for the Indians in our service exercising their horrid butcheries, and he supposed from the proclamation, such expense would be continued. It is our duty to act as christians, to soften the horrors of war," &c. *Lord Camden* said, " The declaration in the proclamation held forth a *war of revenge*, such as Moloch in Pandemonium of hell advised, that the proclamation ought to be damned, for it would fix an inveterate hatred in the Americans, against the very name of Englishman, which would be left as a legacy from father to son, to the latest posterity;" he added, " That the lords should consider, that they were christians, and that their enemies were the same."

In the House of Commons a motion was made by *Mr. Cooke*, " That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to express their dissatisfaction with those passages in the manifesto which indicates, " That hitherto, considering that America would again return to her allegiance, and be a source of advantage to Great Britain, they had refrained from the extremes of war, and the desolation of the country, but that the war would assume a different shape, if America joined

herself with France, that she might be rendered of little service to that power; and pray his Majesty to disavow all knowledge of that passage." *Mr. Burke*, gave his sense of *the extremes of war*; "they meant (he said,) the killing man, woman, and child, burning their houses, ravaging their lands, annihilating humanity from off the face of the earth, or rendering it so wretched that death would be preferable." He asked, "against whom is the dreadful menace pronounced? Not against the virulent, and the guilty; but against those who, conscious of rectitude, acted to the best of their ability in a good cause, and stood up to fight for freedom, and their country." Lord *George Germaine* spoke on the other side in the debate, and attempted to soften and explain away the rigour of the expressions, by saying, "That the calamities threatened, would be confined within the bounds of necessity." He would not agree that any censure should be thrown on the Commissioners. The *majority* prevailed, and Mr. Cooke's motion did not obtain. Many of the *patriotick* lords and gentlemen reprobated it, but the greater part excused and palliated it. 1778.

On the House of Lords resisting the motion, "To express their displeasure at the manifesto," thirty-one of them entered their protest. "We choose (say these noble protestors) to draw ourselves out, and to distinguish ourselves to posterity, as not being the first to renew, to approve, or to tolerate, the return of that ferocity, which a beneficial religion, enlightened manners, and true military honour had for a time banished the christian world."*

* Amongst these nobles are the names of Rockingham, Peterborough, St. Asaph, Grafton, Richmond, Abingdon, Manchester, Portland, Effingham, Coventry, Camden, &c. &c.

"Ten of the noble Lords who protested, their fortunes all together, make up above £200,000 sterling per year. Yet these are the men, whose sentiments must avail nothing at so critical and important a period.

"Three of the right reverend the bench of Bishops, Drs. Yorke, Hurd, and (the Bishop of London) Dr. Lowth, struck with the frequent appeals made by the *minority* Lords to *their* feelings and christianity, went out of the house before the division (on the motion) not being able to reconcile a manifesto to their consciences, which so dishonoured the holy religion which they profess. The Bishop of St. Asaph [Shipley] and Peterborough [Hinchcliffe] the true disciples of their mild and merciful master, *headed* the minority division, but the good Archbishop of York, Dr. Markham, stayed behind in order to assist in giving the Americans another *flogging*."

See Parker's General Advertiser, of Saturday, December 12, 1778.

1778. General Washington cantoned his troops in the Jersies, Pecks-Kill, and Connecticut, during the winter of 1778.

The prevalence of *monopoly*, and *extortion*, had called the attention of Congress to devise means that had the most probable tendency to suppress those growing evils, and being of opinion that *regulating laws were absolutely necessary*, they divided the thirteen United States into two districts, and recommended to their respective legislatures to appoint a convention to establish a regulation of prices.

The eastern district, *New England*, complied with the recommendation. A convention met at Newhaven (Connect.) and formed a plan of regulation; laid it before the legislatures of their respective States; and it being approved by them, was put into practice by almost all the States, *excepting the Massachusetts*. A writer says,* "The Recusants of that State prevented its universal execution."

The Massachusetts' reasons for so doing they submitted to the determination of Congress, who had it in their power (says this writer) to refute or overrule them. Congress however did neither; but on the contrary, on the 4th of June, 1778, passed the following extraordinary resolve, viz. "Whereas by a change of circumstances in the commerce of the States, the regulation of prices lately recommended by Congress may be unnecessary, and the measure not being yet adopted by *all* the States, therefore resolved, that it be recommended to the legislatures of the several States that have adopted it, to suspend or repeal their laws made for this purpose."

By this extraordinary resolve, the advantages expected from laws made in conformity to their recommendation, six months before, were entirely frustrated, and the evils they were intended to remove, rapidly increased.

Laws were designed to curb and restrain the passions of men, and keep them within the bounds of moderation; and as the avarice of the people have almost universally overleaped those bounds, the utility of the above regulation is apparent; it had a view of keeping the prices of necessaries within reasonable bounds, and the currency from coming to nothing; which it probably would have effected, had the authority of Congress been exercised to put it in execution. The Massachusetts must have submitted, and the regulation become universal, whereby the indigent would have been relieved, and the crying necessities of the armies been prevented. Upon a supposed change in the state of our commerce, or (in other words) that regulation which was well and wholesome for the causes assigned at the time it was recommended, was, it seems, grown

* The Real Farmer, No 4—in New-York Journal.

unnecessary by a change of the state of our commerce consisting in an increase of those causes. Were the most detestable private vices become publick virtues? Were the commercial practices, originally infamous, so transformed in six months by a change in the state of our commerce as to become laudable? If so, let this change be pointed out; or rather, was not the only change, an increase of those evils, which Congress intended to pluck up by the roots? If there was a right originally to apply regulating laws as remedy for the mischiefs, the necessity of that remedy has daily increased with the mischief. 1778.

Notwithstanding the opinion of the writer, expressed above, yet we cannot doubt but that Congress acted with a sincere desire for the general happiness, when they recommended a suspension or repeal of the regulating laws—people were divided in their sentiments respecting *legislative* regulations of trade, some contending that *trade will regulate itself;* whilst others, tired with waiting for such a *natural* regulation, and seeing no bounds to the avarice and extortion that prevailed, called for the interference of legislative power.

The *Secretary* to the Committee of Congress *for foreign affairs*,* under the signature of "Common Sense," in his strictures upon Mr. Deane's conduct, as an American Commissioner in France, holds up the idea, that a supply of arms and ammunition shipped at France about two years ago was a *present* to the United States, notwithstanding which, a large sum was afterwards demanded for them of Congress. 1779. *Jan.*

The *French Ambassador*, resident at Philadelphia, viewed this as a reflection derogatory to the honour of his nation, and presented a memorial to Congress, which produced a resolve, wherein they say, "They were convinced by indisputable evidence that the said supplies *were not a present*, nor did his most Christian Majesty preface his alliance, with any supplies whatever sent over to America."

In a printed letter of 13th February, the Secretary explains his meaning: That the present *was not from the Crown*, but from some publick spirited gentlemen in France, who in the spring made a subscription to send a present to America, in money, arms, and ammunition; soon after this offer, Mr. Deane arrived at Paris as commercial agent for America, upon which the whole affair took a new turn, and he entered into a commercial concern with Mr. Beaumarchais, for the same quantity which had been offered as a present. In 1777, Mr. Francy arrived in America to demand and settle the mode of payment for those supplies; the letter says, "Mr. Deane had negociated a proffered present into a purchase."

* Mr. T. Paine.

1779. The Ambassador presented also another memorial to Congress, grounded on a report, "That the United States had preserved the liberty of treating with Great Britain *separately* from their ally."

To satisfy the Minister on this point, Congress passed the following resolve, viz.

"That as neither France, nor these United States may of right, so these United States *will not* conclude either truce, or peace with the common enemy without the formal consent of their ally, first obtained, and that any matter and things which may be insinuated or asserted to the contrary thereof tend to the injury and dishonour of said States."

The Marquis de la Fayette, at his request, had a furlough, to pay a visit to France. This young French nobleman General Washington characterizes, "As uniting to all the military fire of youth, an uncommon maturity of judgment." In testimony of the sense Congress had of his services, they directed their minister in France to present him with an elegant sword.

Feb. The *British cruisers* having captured some *Dutch* ships bound to France, Count Welderen, their Ambassador in London, presented to the Secretary of State, Lord Suffolk, a memorial respecting their restitution. An offer was made by the British government to purchase the naval stores, and pay the freight; but their High Mightinesses refused, and insisted upon the ships and cargoes being restored. These proceedings occasioned dissensions in the republick of Holland. The partizans in favour of the views of Britain respecting America, embarrassed the measures taken by the States General for supporting their neutral rights and protecting the free trade of Holland, Amsterdam, Zell, and Zealand, were warm for insisting upon this right, and co-operating with France, in preventing a *monopoly* of the American trade ever returning into the hands of Britain.

The demand of the Court of London, for twelve ships of the line, and the land forces, which, by treaty, Holland were to furnish them with, in case France declared war against England; was the occasion of much altercation. The merchants and inhabitants opposed a compliance with this demand, complaining that the most unjust depredations had been made upon their trade, under pretence of stopping supplies going to France and America. That great part of their Norway trade had been taken, and no satisfaction given on that head. The merchants of Amsterdam led in these remonstrances, and represented to the States General "That

their fleet and army should not be employed for the support of a power that would ruin their commerce, and would monopolize the trade of the whole world." 1779.

In this situation were matters between England and Holland at the beginning of this year.

Colonel *Henry Hamilton*, who had acted as Lieutenant-Governour at *Detroit*, under Sir Guy Carlton, and who had employed his emissaries to harass the frontiers of Virginia and Philadelphia, was taken, with his principal associates at *Fort Sackville*, he having surrendered the fortress to Colonel Clarke, this day. They were conducted to Virginia—the Council of that State, taking into consideration the excessive cruelties they had committed on the subjects of the United States, *resolved*, "To address the Governour, that *Hamilton*, *Dejean*, and *Latouche*, be put in irons, confined in the dungeon of the publick gaol, debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper, and excluded all converse, except with their keepers." And the Governour ordered accordingly. This is the first instance of retaliation on the part of the States, and though severe, their conduct will justify to the world the necessity and wisdom of the punishment. The Council of Virginia published an account of the proceedings relative to an inquiry into the prisoner's conduct, which recites some of the enormities committed by them, and under their orders,* and mark them, as devoid of all humanity towards those unfortunate persons who fell into their hands. *Feb.* 24.

The Royal army was in motion, and a detachment of troops from King's-bridge were ordered to Horse-neck with design to surprise the Continentals there, and destroy the salt works. Major-General Putnam who commanded a small division of Continentals in Connecticut, writes thus to the commander in chief: "The enemy were discovered at New-Rochelle, on their advance, by a small scout, whom they attacked, and obliged to retire over Byram-bridge, which they took up, and secured their retreat." He formed his small body of troops near the meeting-house, ready to receive, and check the enemy, and ordered parties on both flanks to prevent the enemy's design of turning their flanks, and possessing themselves of a defile in his rear, which, if they had gained, would effectually cut off their retreat. A column of the enemy advanced up the main road, where the remainder of General Putnam's troops, amounting only to sixty, were posted, who discharged some old field pieces, and gave a small fire of musquetry. The superiority of the enemy soon

* See Mr. John Dodge's printed narrative of *his* sufferings, while their prisoner.

1779. obliged this small party to abandon the place. The General then directed them to form on a hill a little distance from Horse-neck, while he proceeded to Stamford, and collected a body of militia, and a few Continental troops, with which he returned, and found the enemy were going off, after plundering the inhabitants of the principal part of their effects, destroying a few salt works, a small vessel, and store. The few troops from Stamford pursued them, and picked up, of the stragglers, thirty-eight; also, two waggons laden with ammunition and plunder, they had taken at Horse-neck, which was returned to their owners.

About the same time another detachment consisting of about a thousand of the thirty-third and forty-second, and light infantry of the British guards, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Sterling, embarked at Long-Island, for the Jersies; they were conducted through a difficult march to Woodroff's farm; their design was to surprise Elizabethtown and General Maxwell's troops quartered there; but the guards at Cowen's-ferry discovered them, and gave the alarm. The Continental troops were immediately collected and marched to the rear of the town, where the whig inhabitants had retired. A detachment of the enemy were sent to the Governour's [Livingston] house, but being from home, he escaped them, while the main body advanced to the skirts of the town, till they fell into the Brunswick road, on the right. They being soon discovered and disappointed in their plan, their stay in the town was short, but mischievous; they set fire to all the barracks, a school-house, in which were some provisions, and a blacksmith's shop, &c. When they began their retreat to their boats, General Maxwell marched such of his troops, as he had in reserve, against their rear; the number of these, however, was small, several parties having been detached at different times to hang upon them. The enemy perceiving their rear in danger, faced about, and paraded as if for action. A few well directed shot from the Continental artillery induced them to renew their retreat, which being too dangerous at the ferry, they moved above a mile up Newark-bay, while the troops marched along the meadow's edge, in many places up to their middle in mud and water. A galley and two or three gun-boats covered their retreat. The loss on the Continental side did not exceed twenty killed, wounded, and missing. Another account says, "That Maxwell's troops retook the cattle, the Royalists had taken, and drove them to their boats; that they left behind a considerable number of their dead, and embarked with great precipitation."

A summary of the military operations in *Georgia*, &c. from the fourth of January last to this date. 1779.

The British commanders, *Campbell* and *Parker*, issued a proclamation, informing the loyalists "That they were arrived in those States for their relief and protection, and invited them to the royal standard, to unite their force, with promises of protection from oppression and slavery, and ample satisfaction for the injuries they had received from the *rebellious* Americans. The same promises were made to all other well disposed inhabitants, who, from a just regard to the blessings of peace, reprobate the idea of supporting a French league insidiously framed, &c." Encouraged by this proclamation, a number of *tories* armed themselves in South-Carolina, and set off for Georgia to comply with the terms of the proclamation, and join the royal army, but were intercepted by a party ordered by General Lincoln of the Continental army (now commanding in this quarter) who fell in with and killed a considerable number in their conflict with them. *Mar.* 31.

The progress of the Royalists in Georgia was at first very rapid, but it was succeeded with a reverse of fortune. In several skirmishes they lost their ground, were obliged to retreat hastily, and with great loss. At Port-royal island, Colonel Skirving's regiment beat the British light-infantry. Their commander, Major Gardiner, and some of his principal officers, were badly wounded; they retired, leaving some officers and privates dead on the field. At or near Beaufort, General Moultrie defeated a detachment. They were driven back to Savannah so hastily, as to leave a commissioned officer, one sergeant, and three privates wounded in a house near the action, and their dead lying on the field: This body of the enemy was composed of picked light infantry.

On the 14th of February, Col. Pickens defeated at Georgia a large body of the disaffected, from six to eight hundred, killed their two principal leaders, above twenty privates, wounded many, and took some prisoners: Nor did Colonel Campbell fare much better in his progress from Savannah to Augusta. Gen. Williamson having on the 16th of February, destroyed the boats he had constructed to cross the river, forced him to retreat so precipitately, as to leave his wounded behind. The Highlanders and Brown's Rangers retreated down the country, leaving all the back countries of Georgia, and a tory regiment said to have been three years enlisting. Some of the Creek Indians having been induced by a British deputy to assist the Royalists in Georgia, a large body of them, with about forty Che-

1779. rokees, set off to join them. General Williamson, of the Carolina militia, having got intelligence of it, detached a *Mar.* 31. party under Colonels Hammond and Pickens into the Indian country, to prevent the fatal junction of Britons and savages. But the enemy being apprized of their approach on the 21st of March, they abandoned and burnt their fort; however, some of them were overtaken and made prisoners; eight of them were killed, among whom were two chiefs of the Creeks. Another detachment being sent by General Williamson to cross Savannah river, to facilitate the operations of Colonel Hammond; upon discovery, the British commander sent orders to the Carolina loyalists to attack them, with the assistance of the Georgia militia. In consequence of which an engagement ensued, which lasted two hours, when the enemy gave way, leaving their commander, and several others dead on the field. Colonel Sharp, of the Georgia militia, was mortally wounded.

April 7. An expedition was undertaken against the *Onondago* tribe of Indians, who were settled west of Albany, on Onondago river, about twenty-five miles from the Oneida. They having acted treacherously, some under the mask of friendship treating with Continental deputies; while others of them were aiding the Royalists.

The direction of this enterprise was given to Brigadier-General James Clinton, who committed the execution of it, to *Colonel Van Skaick*, commander of the first battalion of New-York Continental troops. He had the assistance of Lieutenant Colonel Willet and Major Cockran of the third New-York battalion; the detachment under them consisted of six companies of New-York, one of Pennsylvania, one of Massachusetts, and one of rifles; amounting in the whole to five hundred and four rank and file, who rendezvoused at Fort Schuyler, and from thence began their march. The whole of the Indian settlements in that quarter, consisting of about fifty houses, and a large quantity of grain, &c. were burnt; their stock killed, about one hundred musquets were among the plunder, and the destruction of their settlements completed. On return of the Continentals, they met some little interruption from a small party of Indians, who fired on them, but was soon beat back by Lieutenant Evans' riflemen. They returned to Fort Schuyler in five days and an half from their march from thence; the whole distance going and returning, was one hundred and eighty miles.

May. The State of *Virginia* was invaded by a force from New-York, under Sir George Collier, and Major-General Matthews. On their arrival they took the fort at Portsmouth, the commander of which thought it prudent to abandon it,

after spiking the cannon. The *Royalists* burnt several houses, and destroyed a number of vessels. Afterwards they marched and took the town of Suffolk, and burnt a considerable part of it. Two letters* from that quarter, relating this expedition of the British, exhibit new scenes of cruelty and devastation ; in one of these letters dated the 22d of this month, the letter writer says, " After burning Suffolk and some whig houses in the vicinity, the enemy divided their force, and marched part for South-quay, and part for Smithfield, a little town higher up James River. I wish not (says the letter writer) unjustly to brand an enemy with cruelty, and inhumanity, but, alas ! stubborn facts too fully justify the charges. A gentleman from near Suffolk, *assures* me, they dragged a gentleman of consequence, both in publick and private life, an inhabitant of Nausemond county, together with his daughters, from their house, carried them on board their shipping, and there, while the wretched father was loaded with chains, the still more wretched daughters (if more wretched it were possible to be) became victims to the lusts of these monsters of hell. Captain Davis was shot down, as he sat in the room with his family. Miss D——, a young lady of great merit, who was carried on board this fleet, has not been heard of since." In another letter, dated Smithfield, 13th of May, Colonel Lawton informs the Governour of Virginia, " That household furniture, stock of all kinds, horses, and, in short, almost every species of perishable property, are effectually destroyed, with unrelenting fury ; murder, rape, rapine, and violence filled up the dark catalogue of their detestable transactions." They surprised and took a small body of Frenchmen, whom they murdered immediately on the spot. 1779.

The Royalists were now fulfilling the threats of the Commissioners in their last manifesto, and may properly be called " The extremes of war."

Congress made choice of Messrs. Dickinson, Lawrens, and Smith, as a committee to consider the most eligible mode of *negociating a foreign loan*, to what amount, and in what manner it might be advantageously applied to the use of the United States. *May* 28.

The seventy-fourth regiment, called *Athol's* Highlanders, arrived at New-York this month, to reinforce the Royal army there.

Towards the close of the month, Sir Henry Clinton and *June.*

* These letters appeared in the publick papers with the real names of their writers.

1779. Sir George Collier, with all the British force, naval and military (excepting six companies left to garrison New-York) moved down North river. Whether the objects of this expedition were to reconnoitre the river, and attack West-Point, or to establish a post at Stony-Point, was not known, unless to themselves; it is certain, however, that notwithstanding all their parade, they accomplished nothing material, excepting some labour at Stony-Point to make it impregnable, which they supposed they had done—burning a few houses and taking the small fort La Fayette, constructed on the east side of the river, which contained a garrison of fifty men, who surrendered by capitulation. The whole armament then returned to New-York in safety.

June 30. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell and Sir Hyde Parker, having returned to England and reported the wonders they had done at Georgia, they were rewarded, the former with a Colonel's commission, and the latter with a flag. On their departure from Georgia, the command devolved upon General *Prevost* (late of St. Augustine) who, by various movements approached *Charleston*, the capital of South-Carolina. Major General Lincoln being in his rear, and General Moultrie in his front, he took up all the bridges near their route and the several stations he had occupied, to prevent the junction of those two generals; but they had made dispositions to counteract General Prevost's designs. He had his head quarters near Beaufort. His force computed to be three thousand. Count Polaski, of the Continentals, in a smart skirmish with them, had his horse shot under him.

Congress published a letter from Lieutenant-Governour Bee to Governour Henry of Virginia, dated Charleston, May 5, which relates their situation at that time, "That the enemy were then within sixty-five miles of the capital, and pursuing General Moultrie, who, with about fifteen hundred, were retiring before them. Governour Rutledge, with about three hundred and fifty, had marched to join Gen. Lincoln." The next account given by the Carolinians was, "That though the enemy by the superiority of their numbers had obliged them to quit several posts, and retreat within five miles of the capital; yet here the enemy stopped, and desisted from the prosecution of their original purpose; probably owing to intelligence that General Lincoln was advancing fast upon their rear, and the garrison at Charleston, stronger than he had expected."

General Moultrie's army was composed chiefly of militia, whose families and effects lay in the way of the enemy, and was every moment diminishing; this laid him under the

necessity of retreating, and he arrived at the town the beginning of May. On the 8th, Count Polaski got there with part of his legion ; the 9th, Colonel Mackintosh from Beacon-bridge, and a detachment from Orangeburg arrived. The next day Colonel Harris (who had been sent by General Lincoln to reinforce Moultrie) with three hundred Continentals, and Colonel Noel, with three hundred men more, got into the town. The forces collected there were determined to defend it. 1779.

General Prevost, with his troops, encamped on the south side of Ashley ferry, where they appeared so suddenly, as to prevent the ferry-boats being destroyed. The troops stationed at Charleston, both regulars and militia, were under arms the whole night of the 10th of May. The next day, the enemy began to cross Ashley-ferry : their advanced party, composed of light infantry, cavalry, and savages, took post half a mile from the ferry.

Count Polaski, after reconnoitring them, left a detachment to watch their motions, and repaired to Charleston, to confer with the Council.

During this interval, the enemy had completed their passage of the river, and were advancing in three columns towards the town. Their advanced guards consisted of two hundred horse, four hundred Highlanders and Indians ; their rear guard, of cavalry. At the distance of five miles, some of the Count's party were ordered to fire, principally with a view of announcing the enemy's approach. The enemy made frequent halts to explore the ground, over which they were to pass. The Count, having returned to his corps, ordered his infantry to form an ambuscade, and directed a detachment of volunteer horse, he fell in with, to second his infantry ; he advanced, and made his dispositions for inducing the enemy to detach their cavalry from the head of their column ; a close fire began ; both his cavalry and infantry charged ; but the latter were exceedingly embarrassed in their movements by the volunteer horse, owing to a misapprehension of orders. Notwithstanding these difficulties, and the superiority of the enemy, the ground was obstinately disputed. At length the orders for retreat became necessary, and the enemy by their prudence in not advancing, escaped the fire of the Continental artillery. The enemy's loss was forty-five soldiers and officers. The Carolinians', thirty.

The Count, two days after, attacked a detachment of the enemy, took several prisoners, and obliged the remainder to save themselves by flight. About ten at night, an alarm was given by one of the sentinels, which occasioned a general

1779. fire of cannon and musquetry from the lines, and the armed vessels stationed on the flanks, in which Major Hugar, a valuable officer, and three privates were killed. On the morning of the 12th of May, Major Gardiner of the 60th, was met at some distance from the lines, bearing a flag from General Prevost. Several others passed and repassed, but in the afternoon they were discontinued, and every preparation made for vigorously repelling a general assault expected at night, which, however was not attempted. Early the next morning, Count Polaski went out with a small party of horse to reconnoitre. The surprise can scarcely be conceived, upon his sending intelligence, that the enemy had decamped, and recrossed Ashley-ferry. Eleven deserters, and about as many prisoners were brought into town in the course of the day. The reasons, besides those already mentioned, which probably induced Prevost so suddenly to retire, were his want of many necessaries for a siege, if it should be prolonged, his supplies being nearly exhausted. They encamped in different places in the neighbourhood of Ashley-ferry, and on James and John islands. On General Lincoln's coming to Ashley-ferry, they drew in force towards Wappoo, and it was imagined, meant to hazard an action, but suddenly decamped, and went over to John's island. On the 4th of this month, *(June)* part of Prevost's army, under Lieutenant Colonel Maitland, were intrenched on the main at Stono-ferry, in which situation an attack was made on them the 20th of June, in which (it is said) their corps of Highlanders suffered much; but they having received a strong reinforcement from John's island, the assailants desisted from the attack; and Prevost's troops, after having shifted from place to place, made the best of their way back to Savannah, and finished an unsuccessful campaign.

July 5. Sir George Collier and Governour Tryon were despatched by Sir Henry Clinton, to ravage *Connecticut*.* About two o'clock in the morning of this day, the Camilla and Scorpion, with tenders, row-gallies and transports, to the number of forty-eight, anchored off West-haven, having on board three thousand land forces, part of which landed a little after sunrise at *West-haven* point. The alarm guns in the town were fired, and every preparation (which the confusion and distress of the inhabitants would permit) was made for resistance. The bridge on Milford road was taken up. Some field pieces placed, and served to such advantage, as prevented the enemy approaching the town by that route. They advanced directly through Westfield, crossed the bridge at

* See account published at Hartford, and vol. iii. p. 103.

Derby road, and entered the town between twelve and one o'clock; they were however much galled and harassed in their way by the opposers, who drove in their guards, attacked the main body and hung upon them. 1779.

While General Garth, with a division of the troops, were plundering *Newhaven*, Commodore Collier brought his fleet into the harbour, and landed Governour Tryon, with the rest of the troops at *Westhaven*, and then began a heavy cannonade on the fort at Black-Rock, which after some defence, was evacuated. On Tuesday afternoon, the militia collected in such numbers, and crowded so close upon Tryon that he thought best to retreat on board his fleet, and set sail to the westward. Their loss was unknown, but supposed to be considerable, and included some officers; the loss of the militia was twenty-three killed and fifteen wounded, the number killed exceeding that of the wounded. The account published mentions their outrages, burning stores, beating and insulting the Rev. Mr Dagget (late President of Yale college) after they had made him a prisoner, abusing Mr. Bears, senior, in his own house, and mortally wounding him, also the aged and helpless Captain Inglish, and committing many other enormities. On Wednesday the seventh, the same party landed at *Fairfield* (a town of about two hundred houses) and notwithstanding some force there collected, they entered and plundered it, and laid the town in ashes that night. The meeting-house, Episcopal church, and court-house were consumed with the other buildings. After plundering and burning this town, the troops returned to their shipping, and sailed to the shore of Long-Island, where they remained till Friday, when they appeared before *Norwalk*, and at five o'clock, P. M. they landed a body of their troops, and burnt the town.—The destruction made by the Royalists in this expedition, as laid before the publick at the time:

At Fairfield, two houses of publick worship, eighty-two dwelling houses, fifty-five barns, fifteen stores, and fifteen shops.

At Green-Farms, one house of publick worship fifteen dwelling houses, eleven barns, several stores, &c.

At Norwalk, two houses of publick worship, about eighty dwelling houses, eighty-seven barns, twenty-two stores, seventeen shops, four mills, and five vessels.

Previous to these desolations, Governour Tryon issued a proclamation of protection; but before an answer could be sent him, he began his depredations.

Another body of troops from King's-bridge, advanced as far as Horse-neck. They burnt *Bedford* in the State of

1779. New-York, fifteen miles northwest of Stamford, and then retired back to King's-bridge.

July 6. Congress passed the following resolve in favour of an American heroine, viz.

Resolved, "That *Margaret Corbin*, who was wounded and disabled at the attack of Fort Washington, whilst she heroically filled the post of her husband, who was killed by her side, serving a piece of artillery, do receive during her natural life or the continuance of the said disability, the one half of the monthly pay, drawn by a soldier in the service of these States; and that she now receive, out of the publick stores, one complete suit of clothes, or the value thereof in money."

Brigadier-General Wayne takes the fortress at *Stony-Point*, the west side of King's-ferry, on the banks of the Hudson, which Sir Henry Clinton, with his army, had lately visited and put into a good posture of defence. After having removed the artillery and stores, General Wayne destroyed the fort, and left it.

In the close of his letter to General Washington, relating this affair, he says, "Neither the deep morass, the formidable and double rows of abbatis, nor the strong work in front or flank could damp the ardour of our troops, who, in the face of a most tremendous and incessant fire of musquetry, and from cannon loaded with grape shot, forced their way, *at the point of the bayonet*, through every obstacle; both columns meeting in the centre of the enemy's works nearly at the same instant. Too much praise cannot be given to Lieutenant-Colonel Fleury, who struck the enemy's standard with his own hand; and Major Steward, who commanded the advanced parties, for their brave and prudent conduct. Colonels Butler, Meigs, and Febiger conducted themselves with that coolness, bravery, and perseverance that will ever ensure success. Lieutenant-Colonel Hay was wounded in the thigh, bravely fighting at the head of his battalion. The humanity of our brave soldiers, who scorned to take the lives of a vanquished foe, calling for mercy, reflects the highest honour on them, and accounts for the few of the enemy killed on this occasion.

By the return it appeared, that the Continentals had fifteen killed, and eighty-three wounded. The enemy had sixty-three killed, and forty-three wounded. Five hundred and forty-three prisoners taken, including the wounded. Colonel Johnson, commander of the fort, was among the prisoners; a great quantity of the military stores were taken, and the undermentioned pieces of ordnance:

3 twelve pounders 1 three ditto	brass.	1 eight inch brass howitzer, 1 ten inch ditto mortar,	1779.
2 fourteen 2 eighteen 1 twelve	ditto, iron.	2 five and half inches, 2 four and two-fifth inches.	

General Washington's letter, which accompanied General Wayne's to Congress, applauds the conduct of all the officers and men; but there were particular ones whose situation placed them foremost in danger, and made their conduct most conspicuous: Besides the officers named in General Wayne's letter, his Excellency mentions, "That Lieutenant Gibbons and Knox, who commanded the advanced parties, or *forlorn hope*, acquitted themselves as well as it is possible." With respect to *General Wayne*, he observes, "That his conduct, throughout the whole of this arduous enterprise, merits the warmest approbation of Congress: he improved upon the plan recommended by me, and executed it in a manner that does signal honour to his judgment, and to his bravery. In a critical moment of the assault, he received a flesh-wound in the head, with a musquet ball, but continued leading on his men with unshaken firmness." "His Excellency informed Congress, that two flags and two standards were taken, the former belonging to the garrison, and the latter to the seventeenth regiment." *July* 15.

As distinguishing marks of approbation, Congress directed that a *gold* medal, emblematical of the action, be presented to Brigadier-General Wayne, and a *silver* one to Lieutenant Colonel Fleury and Major Steward, and brevets of Captains given to Lieutenant Gibbons and Knox; and that the value of the military stores taken, should be divided among the gallant troops who reduced Stony-point, in such a manner as the commander in chief should prescribe.

The fortification at *Paulus-hook* (on the west side of North River, opposite New-York city) was taken by Major Lee, of the horse. It made a faint resistance, and surrendered. Major Sutherland and about fifteen of his men escaped to a small block-house on the left of the fort; the approach of day, and the vicinity of the main body of the enemy, made it impossible to bring off any stores. The Continentals had possession of all the artillery and magazine, the prisoners were one hundred and thirty-four rank and file, and seven officers; about forty were killed. Major Lee's loss said to be *very* few in killed and wounded, four *only* is the number mentioned. *August.*

General Maclane with about nine hundred men, and Commodore Barclay with nine armed vessels from Halifax, made a lodgment at Penobscot in the eastern parts of the

1779. Massachusetts State, and took possession of it in June last.
An armament sailed from Boston this day to dispossess them ;
Aug. 25. but failed of success, and involved the State in a heavy debt to the private citizens who were owners of the ships engaged in the expedition. The British were reinforced by six ships of war from Halifax, under Sir George Collier, which occasioned the Massachusetts troops to withdraw ; and to prevent their ships from falling into the hands of the enemy, the American Commodore ordered them to be destroyed, and their crews to land in the vicinity of Penobscot, and provide for themselves.

A British fleet under command of Admiral *Arbuthnot*,* destined for America, was detained from proceeding there, at the time appointed, by a diversion the French made on the island of Jersey ; the Prince of Nassau, with fifteen hundred volunteers from St. Maloes, making a descent on the island the 2d of May last. Lieutenant-Governour Corbet, on their approach, despatched a ship with information, to the Governour of Portsmouth, and having met Admiral Arbuthnot, he ordered the merchant ships under his convoy back to Torbay, and went with his men of war and transports to the relief of the island ; so that he did not arrive at New-York till the 25th of August. The transports brought a reinforcement for the Royal army, of about three thousand troops. One of the convoy was captured by an American private armed vessel and carried into Philadelphia, having on board the following very valuable cargo, viz. eighty iron cannon, two, three, four and six pounders with carriages, &c. sixty swivels, ten cohorns, six cannonade twelve pounders, seven hundred round and bar shot, one hundred and fifty five half barrels of powder, fifty-five coils of cordage, and about five hundred and fifty-five packages, containing tea, loaf sugar, cheese, soldiers' clothing, and a variety of merchandize.

Admiral Arbuthnot not arriving so soon as was expected, was said to have prevented the execution of a plan Sir Henry Clinton had in contemplation, of making a descent on some of the New-England States.

Sept. 13. The *continual* depreciation of the paper currency of the United States is truly *the burden of America.* On this subject Congress addressed the people at large, in their circular letter, dated at Philadelphia, the 13th of September, and laid before their constituents, the following state of their national debt, viz.

* Late Governour of Halifax.

		Dollars.	1779.
Bills emitted and circulating		159948180	
Monies borrowed before March 1, 1778. interest payable in France		7545197 67-90	
Monies borrowed since March 1, 1778, interest payable in America		26188909	
Money due abroad, not exactly known, suppose - - -		4000000	
The taxes brought in no more than	3027560		
Amount of loans as above	33734105 5-90		
Which together make		36761666 67-90ths	

of a dollar, and was all the money supplied to Congress by the people of America.

The design of Congress in this address was to establish the credit of the paper currency in the minds of the people, and to convince them that the United States were *able* and willing to redeem it, both of which were suspected. They also endeavoured to stimulate the people to exert themselves, to pay their taxes cheerfully and punctually, and *loan* their surplus money as a means to reduce the quantity of bills in circulation, and prevent or lessen future emissions. With respect to the depreciation of the currency, they say, "It is always natural or artificial, or both; the latter is our case. When the sum in circulation exceeds what is necessary for a medium of commerce, it begins and continues to depreciate in proportion as the amount of the surplus increases, &c." The cause of its *artificial* depreciation is a distrust in the people, either of the ability or *inclination* of the United States to redeem their bills. Their *ability*, Congress argues from the success of the present revolution in their favour, and the sufficiency of the natural wealth, value, and resources of the country.

To this question, "Whether the national wealth, &c. of the country, will be equal to the payment of her debts?" They reply in this manner, "Suppose that the emissions should amount to two hundred million pounds, at the conclusion of the war, that exclusive of supplies from taxes (which will not be inconsiderable) the loan should amount to one hundred million, then the whole national debt of the United States, would be three hundred million.

"There are at present three million of inhabitants in the thirteen States; three hundred millions of dollars divided amongst them would give to each person one hundred dollars; and is there an individual in America, unable in the

1779. course of eighteen or twenty years to pay it? If the whole debt is assessed on the inhabitants in proportion to their respective estates, the share of the poorer people then would not be perhaps more than ten dollars; the debt will not be payable immediately, but probably twenty years allotted for it; the number of inhabitants by that time, will be far more than double the present amount, as by natural population they double every twenty years; besides, a number of emigrants would come to America, who would assist in paying the debt; by which means every person's share would be continually diminishing by others coming in to pay a proportion of it." Their ability is farther argued from a consideration of the millions of acres contained *only* in the settled parts of North America, and their value. Congress say, "We formerly paid to Great Britain an annual tax of 3,000,000*l.* sterling, in the way of trade, and yet grew rich; our commerce was then confined to her. We were obliged to carry our commodities to her markets, and sell them at her price. We were compelled to purchase foreign commodities of her, and on her terms, and forbid to establish any manufactories incompatible with her view of gain. That in future the whole world will be open to us, to sell and buy of those whom we choose; and as the country increases in number of inhabitants, the productions of the earth will be proportionably increased, &c." As to the inclination of the United States to pay the debt, they say, "That Congress have pledged the faith of their constituents for the redemption of the bills. Their constituents have actually ratified the acts of Congress by receiving their bills, passing laws for establishing their currency, and punishing those who counterfeit them; so that in fact the people have pledged *their* faith, not only collectively by their representatives, but individually. The suspicion that Congress may be abolished, and *each* State, resuming its delegated powers, may proceed in future to hold and exercise all the rights of sovereignty, appertaining to an independent State, and that in such a case, the Continental bills of credit, created and supported by the union, would die with it," &c. To obviate this objection, Congress lay before them the design of the *confederation*, which was solemn and explicit, for the direct purpose of supporting the independence of these States; for this end armies were raised, and bills of credit emitted, and loans made to pay and supply them; the redemption therefore of these bills, the payment of these debts, &c. for the common benefit, and in this common cause, are among the objects of this confederation; and consequently while all or any of the objects remain unattained, it cannot, so far as it respects these objects, be dissolv-

ed, consistent with the laws of God or man. "The pride of America (they say) revolts from the idea of violating the publick faith; her citizens know for what purpose these emissions were made; have repeatedly plighted their faith for the redemption of them; they are to be found in every man's possession, and every man is interested in their being redeemed: can it therefore be supposed that *all* America will (against the faith, honour, and interest of *all* America) be prevailed upon to countenance, support, or permit, so ruinous, so disgraceful a measure," &c. Congress having in this manner, laid before the States all the circumstances of their currency, the cause of its depreciation investigated, the remedy recommended, their ability and inclination to redeem the bills of credit, fairly argued. The people were urged to comply with the *intention* of this address. Supply money by loans and taxes for publick use, and thereby make it unnecessary to emit any more bills, in this way; if it did not make the currency better, it would keep it from growing worse, the obvious consequence of increasing the quantity by new emissions. 1779.

Sir Andrew Snape Hammond arrived at New-York in the Roebuck man of war, with a convoy of transports, having provisions and a few recruits for the Royal army. *Sept.* 15.

Congress made choice of their President, his Excellency *John Jay, Esq.* of New-York, to be minister plenipotentiary from the United States at the Court of Madrid, and Mr. *Carmichael*, a delegate from Maryland to be Secretary to the embassy. Mr. Jay is succeeded as President of Congress by *Samuel Huntington, Esq.* of the State of Connecticut. *Sept.* 28.

The ravages of the Indians on the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia made it necessary that some effectual method should be taken, to restrain the incursions of the Indians, and secure the frontiers. For this purpose an expedition into the Indian country was planned by the commander in chief, to attack them in their settlements, and the execution of the plan was committed to *Major General Sullivan*, who was appointed to the chief command of it. He had under him the Brigadiers Clinton, Maxwell, Poor, Hand, and Potter, and a well chosen army. They were joined by a number of Indian warriours of the Oneida, Tuscaroroes, and Stockbridge tribes at Wyoming; from whence they commenced their march about the first of August, to the Indian settlements in that neighbourhood; they penetrated about ninety miles through a horrid swampy wilderness and barren mountainous desert, from whence they passed up Susquehannah-river; in their way thither are three Indian towns, at one of which, *Chamong*, the Indians had a grand council. The *Sept.* 30.

1779. army transported their provisions, stores. and baggage to *Tioga* by water. The troops marched on both sides the river, to protect the boats from the savages. An advanced party, about sixty, under General Maxwell, fell in with a body of Indians, who had been doing mischief at Minnisink, and were returning; he killed and captivated a considerable number of them. The army burnt *Chamong*, one of the chief towns of the Senecas, killed and took upwards of three hundred prisoners. Another town called Chemeney, at the upper part of the Susquehannah, they also burnt, the 13th of August, with the plantations of corn, &c. The enemy evacuated the place the evening before. In the course of the day, General Sullivan had seven men killed and fourteen wounded. He obtained a victory over them at *Newtown*, the 29th of August.

The occurrences which took place afterwards, General Sullivan informed Congress of, in a letter directed to President Jay, dated September 30th, from which what follows relative thereto is collected.

An old woman of the Cayaga nation was found in the woods who informed them, that after the battle at Newtown, the Indians fled in great confusion, that they had a great many killed and vast numbers wounded. The General was convinced of the truth of it, as the day they left Newtown, they discovered a great number of bloody packs, arms, and accoutrements thrown away in the woods, and a number of recent graves; they left many warriours dead on the field, which is not common with them. The General was not able to ascertain the number opposed to them at Newtown; but from various circumstances, he was led to suppose them to have been fifteen hundred. The time taken in destroying the corn near Newtown employed his army two days. Kindais, consisting of about twenty houses, they reduced to ashes. They took near a day in destroying the corn and *fruit trees*, of which there was a great abundance, many of the trees appeared to be of great age. At this place they met an inhabitant of Wyoming, who had escaped the carnage in July, 1778. He said he had conversed with some of the tories on their return from the action at Newtown, who corroborated the account of the enemy suffering great loss.

At Kannadeseys (which was abandoned) they found a white child about three years old, doubtless the offspring of some unhappy captive, which the army took with them. The General finding he could not possibly effect the destruction of the Indian country with the provisions he had, he proposed to his troops to content themselves with half a

pound of flour, and the same quantity of fresh beef per day, in which they readily acquiesced, not one dissenting voice was heard from either officer or soldier. He had then only twenty-two pounds of flour, and sixteen pounds of beef per man; notwithstanding which, they persevered in the business. In their way to *Catherine* town, they had a road to open for the artillery, through a swamp, nine miles in width, and almost impervious. After having destroyed a number of villages, some of which contained fifty houses, they passed on to *Chinnessee*, which the prisoners they had taken informed the General was the capital of the Indian towns; that the Indians of all nations had been planting there this spring; that all the Rangers, and *some British*, had been employed in assisting them, in order to raise sufficient supplies to support them, *whilst destroying the frontiers*. He destroyed a small town of twenty-five houses, in his way; and ordered a small party to reconnoitre *Chinnessee* town, that he might, if possible, surprise it; but they were discovered, by the guides having mistaken the way, they were encircled by the enemy, and having taken to a grove of trees, the commander of the reconnoitring party, Mr. Boyd of the rifles, was shot through the body, and every man of his party killed, excepting one, who, with his wounded commander, were made prisoners; the firing was so close before this brave party were overcome, that the powder of the enemy's musquets, was driven into their flesh. The party that fell in with Boyd, was commanded by *Butler*, who bore a great part in the destruction of Wyoming, the last year.

1779. *Sept.* 30.

The army moved on to Chinnessee, crossing a deep creek and the little Seneca river, and reached the castle. The town consisted of one hundred and twenty-eight houses, mostly large and elegant; there they found the body of the intrepid Boyd, with his companion, mangled in a manner too painful to describe.

Sept. 29.

The General represents Chinnessee, as being beautifully situated, almost encircled with a clear flat, which extends several miles, with extensive fields of corn, &c. The Indians evacuated it two days before he arrived at it.

The General being informed there was no settlement beyond it, the army began their march for the Cayaga's country, which yet had remained unmolested; and having arrived at it, they destroyed it. In the various towns destroyed were many *fruit trees*; in one orchard were *fifteen hundred*.

The number of towns destroyed, were forty, besides scattering houses; the quantity of corn must amount to an hundred and sixty thousand bushels, with a large quantity of vegetables of every kind; every creek and river was

1779. traced, and the whole country explored, and except one town near the Alleghany, about fifty miles from Chinnessee, there was not a single town left in the country of the five nations.

Sept. 30. The army did not suffer the loss of forty men, though perhaps few troops experienced a more fatiguing campaign. Besides the difficulty which naturally attends marching thro' an enemy's country, abounding in woods, rivers, creeks, morasses, aud defiles; they found no small inconvenience from the want of proper guides; and the maps of the country were so exceedingly erroneous, that they served not to enlighten but perplex them. Though they had much labour in finding out roads for the artillery, the army moved from twelve to sixteen miles every day, when not detained by rain, or employed in destroying settlements.

After the first action, the enemy ventured not a second, but kept themselves out of the reach of the army, not firing a single gun as it was on its march, or in its quarters, though in a country exceedingly well calculated for ambuscade.

It is remarked on this expedition (by the translator of M. Chastelleux's travels, an Englishman then resident in the United States) "That the instructions given by General Sullivan to his officers, the order of march, he prescribed to the troops, and the discipline he had the ability to maintain, would have done honour to the most experienced ancient or modern Generals."

To disturb a people in the peaceable enjoyment of their property, while they molest no others, is cruel and unjust; but when they quit their own habitations, and make inroads upon the innocent and defenceless, the laws of God and man will justify a resistance from the country at large; and if no other method can be found effectual to restrain their depredations and murders, the war may be carried into their own country, their substance destroyed, and they deprived of the means of committing such ravages in future.

Upon this principle was the Indian expedition undertaken. The savages in the British interest had committed many barbarities, and were preparing for more, and resolved on destroying the frontiers of the southern States, occupied by whig inhabitants. To prevent their design was the object of this enterprise, and heaven succeeded it.

Oct. 10. Count D'Estaing having gained laurels in the West-Indies by the conquest of Dominica, St. Vincents, and Grenada, and a successful engagement with the English fleet under the Admirals Byron and Barrington, off the latter place; left the further conduct of affairs in that quarter to M. Pi-

quet de la Mothe, and the Spanish armament there, to pay another visit to the American continent. 1779.

He arrived with his fleet off Savannah in Georgia, consisting of twenty sail of the line, ten frigates, with five thousand land forces, the 5th of September. General Prevost had retired to Georgia, after his unsuccessful expedition, against Charleston (S. C.) here he had strongly fortified with lines, &c. and was joined by Colonel Maitland, with some troops from Beaufort. Count D'Estaing landed his troops, and the Continental General, Lincoln, joined him.

The following account of their operations is contained in a letter written by General Lincoln, and by him transmitted to Congress, dated Charleston, October 22, from which it is copied.

"On the 15th ultimo, being advised, that the Count had disembarked part of his troops, and would that night take post nine miles from Savannah, we moved and encamped at Cherokee hill, nine miles from the town. The 16th, we formed a junction before Savannah. *Oct.* 22.

"After reconnoitring the enemy's works, finding the town well covered, and knowing their determination to defend it, it was deemed necessary to make some approaches, and try the effects of artillery. From the 18th to the 22d, we were employed in getting up the heavy ordnance and stores, a work of difficulty from the want of proper wheels to transport them, the cannon being on ship carriages. On the evening of the 23d, ground was broke, and on the 5th instant (October) the batteries of thirty-three cannon and nine mortars were opened on the enemy, and continued with intervals until the 8th, without the wished effect. The period being long elapsed which the Count had assigned for this expedition, and the engineers informing him that much time must be spent, if he expected to reduce the garrison by regular approaches, and his longer stay being impossible, matters were reduced to the alternative of raising the siege immediately, and giving up all thoughts of conquest, or attempting the garrison by assault; the latter was agreed on, and on the morning of the 9th, the attack was made: it proved unsuccessful; we were repulsed with loss.

"When the Count first arrived, he informed us that he could remain on shore eight days only; he had spent four times that number; his departure therefore became indispensable, and to re-embark his ordnance stores claimed his next attention; this was completed on the 18th.

"The same evening, having previously sent off our sick and wounded, and heavy baggage, the American troops left the

1779. ground, reached Zabley's ferry the next morning, recrossed,
October. and encamped that night in Carolina.

"The French troops encamped on the night of the 18th about two miles from Savannah; they were, after the 24th, to re-embark at Kinroid's landing.

"Our disappointment is great; and what adds much to our sense of it, is the loss of a number of brave officers and men, among them the loss of the late intrepid *Count Polaski*.*

"Count D'Estaing has undoubtedly the interest of America much at heart: this he has evidenced by coming to our assistance, and his constant attention during the siege; his undertaking to reduce the enemy by assault, when he despaired of effecting it otherwise; and by bravely putting himself at the head of his troops, and leading them to the attack. In our service he has freely bled;† I feel much for him, for while he is suffering the distresses of painful wounds, he has to combat chagrin. I hope he will be consoled by an assurance, that although he has not succeeded according to his wishes, and those of America, we regard with high approbation his intention to serve us, and that his want of success will not lessen our ideas of his merit."

The killed and wounded on the side of the Americans, are about one hundred and seventy.

The Experiment, a British man of war, Sir James Wallace commander, was captured by Count D'Estaing's fleet; some other ships of force and transports, fell into his hands. General Garth was taken in one of them. A large quantity of guineas was said to have been found on board the Experiment, to pay the Royal troops in Georgia.

Upon Count D'Estaing's arriving at Georgia, it gave alram to the Royalists at New-York, earinga attack on that city was his principal view in making a second visit to the United States. All the out-posts were called in, and Newport ordered to be evacuated.

This took place the 25th of October (the anniversary of their King's coronation) having previously blown up the light-house, at the entrance of that harbour. Their evacuation was precipitate, being under apprehension that General Gates would visit the island before they could leave it. The next day after they went off, General Gates went on, with a part of his force from Providence, and took possession of the island.

* A Polish nobleman: he was mortally wounded advancing to force his way into the citadel, at the head of his cavalry. He survived only two days.

† Count D'Estaing was wounded in his leg and arm.

The British were relieved from their anxiety, on receiving the foregoing account of the transactions at Georgia, and that Count D'Estaing had left the conintent. 1779.

General Washington expecting assistance from Count D'Estaing, when he left Georgia, made preparations to invest New-York; but the Count being so long detained there he was under a necessity of returning to the West-Indies, without proceeding further to the northward. *Nov.*

This occasioned the General to quit his design against New-York, and the winter coming on the main body of his army took up their quarters at Baskinridge; their head quarters was at Morris-town.

The measures taken by Sir Henry Clinton, for the defence of New-York, only in case the combined force of Washington and D'Estaing had attacked it; he communicated in a letter to Lord George Germaine. "From the time (he writes) I was honoured with your Lordship's instructions, to evacuate Rhode-Island, and to condense and dispose the King's troops on such a scale, as would afford the most substantial protection to New-York, and such of its dependencies as might be held consistently with the force to be withdrawn for the purpose of southern operations, till the moment of embarkation [for Georgia] no opportunity whatsoever has offered itself, to strike any part of the enemy, or even to venture on any incursion that promised advantage, superiour to the risque. Besides, as I communicated in my last, the violent demonstrations of the rebels, which threatened a determined attack of the post at New-York, in conjunction with a large armament, naval and land, under Count D'Estaing; then directing itself against the garrison of Savannah, necessarily turned our whole endeavours to defeat so alarming a combination. The regular troops under General Washington amounted, at this period, to sixteen thousand; to which is to be added the army commanded by General Sullivan, then on the return from a successful expedition against our Indian allies, and but very little diminished by the campaign; this gave him a force of twenty thousand effectives. But your Lordship will be able to form a more perfect judgment of our measures, when you combine with the army, the militia of Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, New-York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, which were ready to be drawn together on the shortest notice; and who were peculiarly exalted at this crisis, from a prospect of a city full of wealth and devoted to plunder; and by the flattering idea of ending the war with its capture. Not a moment was to be lost at such a critical conjuncture, for every moment was important, and expected to come with the *Dec.*

1779. account of D'Estaing's appearance before our harbour. The works at Brookline and Governour's Island were enlarged and improved; new works were erected at the watering place, and Sandy-hook; the King's battery at New-York was repaired, and mounted with heavy ordnance, and places marked out, and defences provided to cover the shipping along the sound. These preparations employed the whole labour of the army; and I cannot but observe in addition to what I have said, in my official letter, *the general readiness of most of the refugees*, to facilitate these important objects. Washington in his fastnesses in the highlands, and so posted as to be able to use the Hudson to the greatest advantage in making impression upon our left, while every advantage of water was also in his power by the sound, and under protection of the French fleet; we were exposed to the most perplexing embarrassments, assailable in so many points, and every instant expecting D'Estaing, we had but time to look toward and take measures for our own defence, and the occasion required us to put forward our best exertions."

Dec. 26. The apprehensions of an attack on New-York city having subsided, Sir Henry Clinton planned another expedition to South Carolina, in order to reduce the southern States. He embarked a large body of troops on board an hundred sail of transports, convoyed by a squadron of men of war, under Admiral Arbuthnot. Sir Henry in person took command of this expedition: he, together with Lord Cornwallis, embarked with the fleet. A storm happened a few days after their departure from New-York, which dispersed and damaged some of their ships; but having received recruits after his arrival, he prosecuted his design against *Charleston*.

It being expected by the British, that *St. Augustine* would be invaded by the Spaniards, General Prevost returned there, and Brigadier-General Leslie succeeded him in the command at Georgia. The Spanish Governour of Louisiana, gained many advantages over the British settlements on the Missisippi, took a number of prisoners, and got possession of a tract of the most fertile land.

1780. An expedition to *Staten-Island* (within nine miles of New-York city) was undertaken by General Lord Stirling, by order of the commander in chief. The weather this month *January.* favoured an attempt on the ice, but it failed of success, the Royalists having by some means got intelligence of the design. Lord Stirling reported, "That he embarked with a detachment of twenty-five hundred men; he found their works well situated, and strong, and the communication between the island and New-York, open contrary to their expectations, so that boats passed from one to the other, by

which means they could be furnished with provisions and fuel. It was judged therefore that an assault there was not adviseable; and as a reinforcement could he sent them from the city, which would render it dangerous for them to tarry, they retreated in good order, and with very little loss. 1780.

Sir Joseph Yorke, the English Ambassador in Holland, presented to the States General a memorial on the subject of succours, he had claimed eight months before, and which (for reasons already mentioned) they had withheld. *Mar.* 21.

The following affair increased the disputes between England and the Republick of Holland:

A small squadron of ships having been fitted out at *France* (one of which was the Alliance, an American frigate) under command of Captain John Paul Jones; they infested the English coast, and gave alarm to some of the out-posts, and meeting with the Serapis, an English frigate of forty guns, and the ship Countess of Scarborough, he captured both, after a bloody engagement, in which he lost his own ship, the Bon Homme Richard, which sunk soon after the action was over, he having first quitted her, and got on board another of his squadron. Captain Jones *carried his prizes into Holland.* The English Ambassador requested that the prizes might be stopped, and they and their crews delivered up. To this request, their High Mightinesses replied, "That for a century past, they had adhered to a maxim, and had notified it by placarts. "That they pretend not to judge of the legality or illegality of the actions of those, who have, on the open seas, taken any vessels which do not belong to this country, and bringing them into any of the ports of this Republick. That they only open their ports to them, to give them shelter from storms or disasters, and that they oblige them to put to sea again with their prizes, without unloading, or disposing of their cargoes, but letting them remain exactly as when they arrived. That they came so this resolution: That the five ships, viz. two French frigates, one American, with two prizes, who entered the Texel with Paul Jones; do put to sea again, as soon as possible, and that they be not furnished with any warlike or naval stores, but what are absolutely necessary to carry them safe to the first foreign port they can come at. This conduct of the Dutch was conformable to the resolutions they had taken, *to preserve a neutrality* in the contest between Great Britain and America and her allies.

England taking umbrage at the proceedings of Holland, in the above instance, and some others before mentioned; *the alliance between them was dissolved* by his Britannick Majesty, in a formal declaration, in his council at St. James's. *April* 17.

1780. this day; by *which Holland is to be considered as on the same footing as other neutral States, not privileged by treaty.*

Marquis de la Fayette returned to America from France, in the Hermione frigate, Capt. Le Touche, and landed at Boston; from whence he proceeded to join the American army.

The last month, Congress recommended to the States to bring into the Continental Treasury by taxes, their quotas of fifteen million dollars monthly, as assigned them by the resolution of the 7th of October, 1779, and to continue it to April, 1781.

Gold and silver to be received at the rate of *one* Spanish milled dollar, in lieu of *forty* paper dollars, the money brought in (except for the months of January and February, 1779, which were to pass till April, 1781) to be destroyed. When the bills were brought in, and funds established, other bills to be emitted, not to exceed *one twentieth* part of the sum brought in; the *new* bills issued, to be redeemable in six years, viz. 1786, to be paid in specie, and bear an interest of five per cent. to be paid annually in specie, or in bills of exchange on their commissioners in France, at four shillings and sixpence sterling per dollar. The *new* bills to be issued on the funds of *individual* States.

The above mode was proposed for the purpose of *sinking* the *old* Continental money, and in lieu thereof, to substitute a new emission of *State* bills; which was adopted, and bills were emitted by the *respective* States, which at the end of six years, was to be redeemed by them; *one* dollar, *new* emission, to be equal to *forty* of the old *Continental* dollars.

May 12. Charleston, in South-Carolina, surrendered this day to Sir Henry Clinton, and Admiral Arbuthnot. This news was brought to Congress by Colonel Tennent, bearing a letter from *Major-General Lincoln*, informing, "That after every effort and exertion, made by a handful of brave troops, contending with numberless hardships and difficulties (to all which they most cheerfully submitted) we were reduced to the sad necessity of treating with Sir Henry Clinton, and according to terms of capitulation;" which terms accompanied the General's letter.

General Lincoln in his reply to the British commander's summons, of the 9th instant, to surrender Charleston, remarked, "That the offers of capitulation, then made, were inadmissible, and proposed others, which they refused." On the eleventh of the month, General Lincoln wrote them, "That their exceptions to the articles he had proposed, as they principally concerned the militia and citizeds, he conceived were such as could not be concurred with; but a re-

cent application from those people, wherein they express a willingness to comply with them, and a wish, on his part, to lessen as much as may be, the distresses of war to individuals, lead him to offer his acceptance." The town was accordingly delivered up, and Brigadier-General Leslie marched into it and took possession. 1780.

The following particulars relate to the siege.

The admiral got over the bar the 20th of March, by means of lightening some of his fleet of their guns, water and provisions, with the following ships, viz. Roebuck of 44 guns. Sir Andrew Snape Hammond, with the admiral on board.

	Guns.		*Guns.*		*Guns.*
Renown	50.	Richmond	32.	Blonde	32.
Romulus	40.	Virginia	28.	Perseus	20.
Raleigh	32.	Camilla	20.	Loyalist	18.
Active	10.	Keppel	16.	Germaine	14.

The landing of the troops at Charleston neck was effected nine days after the men of war passed the bar, and being strengthened by a corps from Georgia, under Brigadier-General Patterson, who arrived at Ashley river, over which the army passed to the town side, the passage being unoccupied. The day succeeding it, the army moved towards Charleston, and on the night of the first of April broke ground within eight hundred yards of the Carolina works. The ships passed Sullivan's island the 8th (through a severe fire in which they suffered much) and the admiral with his ships got into Charleston harbour. The town, the next day, was summoned to surrender. General Lincoln returned this spirited answer; "I have received your summons of this date—sixty days have passed since it has been known that your intentions against this town were hostile, in which, time has been afforded to abandon it, but duty and inclination point out the propriety of supporting it to the last extremity." Clinton having detached Lieutenant-Colonel Webster with one thousand and four hundred men, to break in upon the communication with the country, he received an account of the success of Colonels Tarleton and Ferguson (part of Webster's division) which gave command of the country to Colonel Webster, and threw into his hands great supplies of provisions. All access to the town by Cooper's river was prevented, the enemy having defeated the Carolina cavalry that possessed Biggin's bridge over Cooper's river. Fort Moultrie, on Sullivan's Island, was reduced in the following manner, as related by the admiral: "The intention of the besieged he found had been chiefly directed to the south and east parts of the fort, which were most open to attack, but the west side and north-west bastion he discovered had been neglected; he therefore de-

1780. termined to attempt to carry the fort by storm, under cover of the fire from the ships of the squadron. The Captains Hudson and Gambier, and Captain Knowles, agent for transports, with two hundred seamen and marines embarked in boats of the squadron the 4th in the night, and passing by the fort unobserved, landed, before daylight, and took possession of a redoubt on the east end of the island, whilst boats were preparing to carry over the same number of seamen from Mount Pleasant (in the neighbourhood of Sullivan's, which they had previously taken possession of) under the command of Capt. Ord. On the whole, being ready, and the ships only waiting for the tide to begin the attack, the fort was summoned by Captain Hudson, when after a little consideration the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war." In this enterprize, by the admiral's account, he had twenty-three seamen killed and twenty-eight wounded. Prisoners taken in the fort were, continentals one hundred and eighteen, militia one hundred. From the time the enemy broke ground, to the time Charleston surrendered, was forty-two days. The town being closely invested by sea and land, their provision almost exhausted, and the communication with the country cut off, they could hold out no longer, having sustained the siege with great fortitude amidst numberless difficulties. Return of the killed and wounded during the siege, continental troops eighty-nine, including one colonel killed, and one hundred and forty wounded.

Continental troops, prisoners of war (including sick and wounded) two thousand, five hundred, and sixty-four; besides these a number of seamen fell into their hands, and the following continental vessels, viz. Queen of France, 28 guns, Providence, 32, Boston, 32, Ranger, 20, and two armed French vessels.

Sir H. Clinton's return of the killed and wounded of his troops, British, German, and Provincial, is seventy-five killed, and one hundred and eighty-nine wounded. Total two hundred and sixty-four, which exceeds the number killed and wounded of the besieged.

A few days after the surrender, the enemy's grand arsenal in the town (wherein were the arms taken) took fire and blew up, by which means many lives were lost.

Lord Cornwallis had command of the corps beyond Cooper's river, and despatched Colonel Tarleton into the back country, whose success over a body of Carolina horse (a party under Colonel Buford at Lynch's creek) was announced by Sir Henry Clinton to the army under his command, in Charleston, in terms of high satisfaction. Though it was attended with very distressing circumstances ; and *one hun-*

dred and seventy cut to pieces, by his own account, as appears by his orders published at Carolina in form of a handbill, and circulated among his troops, as follows : 1780.

" *Head Quarters, Charleston neck, June* 1, 1780.

" The Commander in Chief congratulates the army on the success that has attended the corps in the back country, under Lieutenant-General Earl Cornwallis.

" Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, with the corps of cavalry, and with the infantry of the legion (mounted) being detached by his Lordship, reached the rebels, after a march of near one hundred miles in two days. They rejected the terms on which he required them to surrender, and were in consequence attacked.

" *One hundred and seventy were cut to pieces*, and the whole cannon, baggage, colours, &c. of the corps were taken.

" The General, however small the loss of British has been, compared to the advantage obtained, cannot mention it without concern, two officers are killed, and twenty officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, wounded."

Sir Henry Clinton leaves Carolina, and the conduct of the war there, to Earl Cornwallis ; and embarked for his head quarters at New York, where he arrived this month. *June.*

The German General, Kniphausen, had command of the troops in New York during the absence of Sir Henry, and he employed a part of them in ravaging the contiguous State of New Jersey.

A detached party of them crossed from Staten Island to Elizabethtown point, and proceeded to the town ; they advanced to Connecticut farms (so called) burnt the Presbyterian church and thirteen other houses, and *murdered the lady of the Rev. Mr. Caldwell*, who had made himself obnoxious to the Royalists, for the part he had taken in the contest between Great Britain and America. He being from home, his *wife* fell a sacrifice to their resentment. This act of cruelty is thus related by a gentleman at Morristown. " Soon after their possessing themselves of the neighbourhood, a soldier came to the house, and putting his gun to the window of the room where the worthy woman was sitting (with her children and a maid with an infant in her arms along side of her) he shot her through the lungs dead on the spot. Soon after an officer, with two Hessians, came and ordered a hole to be dug, and her body to be thrown in, and the house to be set on fire." At the earnest request of an officer of the new levies, it is said, the corpse was removed before the house was fired. It is observed by the reporter of this barbarity, " That the only comfort arising to this afflicted family is that the wretch who acted as the executioner of this murder-

1780. ed lady (who from her excellent character deserved a better fate) did his business so effectually that she lost her life without distress or pain. A worthy man, who for four years past devoted himself to the service of his country, is thus left with nine small children, destitute of even a shift of clothes to comfort them."

[In the month of September following, Mr. Caldwell published the proofs of this cruel affair, attested before magistrates on oath by sundry persons. Two of the witnesses who deposed were in the room with Mrs. Caldwell, and saw her fall back, and expire, immediately after the report of the gun; one of them, Catherine Benwood, lived in the family. Mr. Caldwell says, as the murder was a violation of every tender feeling, so it was in open day unprovoked, deliberate, and not so much as frowned upon by those in command [see New Jersey Journal.] It was the fate also of Mr. Caldwell to be murdered two years after, viz. January, 1782, by some ruffians.]

June 25. A letter from General Washington, dated at Whippany, this day, gives information, "That the 23d the enemy moved in force from Elizabethtown towards Springfield. They were opposed with great conduct and spirit by Generals Greene and Dickinson, with the continental troops and such of the militia as were assembled; but with their superiority of numbers, they gained Springfield. Having burnt the village, they returned the same day to their former position. In the night they abandoned it, and crossed over to Staten Island and took up their bridge."

July. About the middle of this month a considerable armament, naval and military, arrived at Newport from Brest.

The fleet commanded by Admiral de Ternay, consisting of eleven ships of war, viz. two of eighty guns, one of seventy-four, five of sixty-four, one of forty, one hospital ship pierced for sixty-four guns, one bomb vessel, with a number of transports, having on board six thousand troops, under command of General Count Rochambeau, despatched by the Court of France, to act in concert with the forces of the United States.

In England they were apprised of this armament being bound for America, and Admiral T. Greaves was despatched with some ships of the line, to intercept them; but not meeting them, he joined Admiral Arbuthnot at New York. They appeared off Newport harbour some days after the French fleet arrived, in order to block them in, and intercept a second division, which, it was rumoured, was on their passage to the same port. After waiting about twenty days without success, the British fleet returned to New York.

The term of three years, for which many of the Continental troops had enlisted, having nearly expired, the respective States of the Union were called on to furnish each their quota of new enlistments. 1780.

Some ladies of Philadelphia set an example to others of their sex, of love to their country, and compassion to their suffering brethren in the field, by engaging in the benevolent work of raising contributions among themselves, and stimulating others to do it, for the purpose of affording a temporary relief, for the troops on service in that vicinity, who were destitute of many necessaries. They were successful in their labours of love, and bestowed on the soldiers their free-will offerings. These are such expressions of kindness and delicate sensations, as ought to be recorded to the honour of the American ladies. It is a pleasing prospect, "When the men are valiant, and the women kind."

In addition to the resolutions of Congress, in May 15th, 1778, relative to the army, they resolved this day, "That the resolution of the 15th day of May, 1778, granting half pay for seven years, to the officers of the army, who should continue in service to the end of the war, be extended to the widows of those officers who have died, or may hereafter die, in the service; to commence from the time of such officers' death; and continue for the term of seven years. Or if there be no widow, or in case of her death, or intermarriage, the said half pay be given to the orphan children of the officer dying, as aforesaid, if he shall have left any. And that it be recommended to the legislatures of the respective States, to which such officers belong, to make provision for paying the same on account of the United States." *Aug.* 24.

General Gates, having now command of the Continentals in South Carolina, he began his operations there very unsuccessfully; of which he informed the president of Congress, in a letter, dated Hillsborough, August 20.

"In the deepest distress and anxiety of mind, I am obliged to acquaint your Excellency with the defeat of the troops under my command. I arrived with the Maryland line, the artillery, and the North Carolina militia, on the 13th inst. at Rugely, thirteen miles from Camden; took post there, and was next day joined by General Stevens, with seven hundred militia from Virginia; Colonel Sumpter, who was at the Waxaws with four hundred South Carolina militia, had, the Sunday before, killed and taken near three hundred of the enemy, who were posted at the Hanging Rock. This, and other strokes upon the enemy's advanced posts, occasioned their calling in all their out-posts to Camden. The 15th, at day-light, I reinforced Col. Sumpter with three hundred

1780. North Carolina militia, one hundred of the Maryland line, and two three-pounders from the artillery, having previously ordered him down from the Waxaws, and directed, as soon as the reinforcements joined him, that he should proceed down the Wateree, opposite to Camden, intercept any stores coming to the enemy, and particularly the troops from Ninety-six, who were likewise withdrawn from that post. This was well executed by Col. Sumpter.

"Having communicated my plan to the general officers, in the afternoon of the 15th instant, it was resolved to march at ten at night, to take post in a very advantageous situation, with a deep creek in front, seven miles from Camden; the heavy baggage, &c. being ordered to march immediately by the Waxaw road. At ten the army began to march in the following order: Colonel Armand's legion in front, supported on both flanks by Colonel Potterfield's regiment, and the light infantry of the militia, the advanced guard of infantry, the Maryland line with their artillery in front of the brigades, the North Carolina militia, the Virginia militia, the artillery, &c. and the rear guard. Having marched above five miles, the legion was charged by the enemy's cavalry, and well supported on the flanks as they were ordered, by Colonel Potterfield, who beat back the enemy's horse, and was himself unfortunately wounded; but the enemy's infantry advancing, with a very heavy fire, the troops in front gave way to the first Maryland brigade, and a confusion ensued, which took some time to regulate. At length, the army was ranged in line of battle, in the following order, General Gist's brigade upon the right, with his right close to a swamp, the North Carolina militia in the centre, and the Virginia militia, with the light infantry and Potterfield's corps, upon the left; the artillery divided to the brigades, and the first Maryland brigade as a corps de reserve, and to cover the cannon in the road, at a proper distance in the rear. Colonel Armand's corps was ordered to the left, to support the left flank and oppose the enemy's cavalry. At day light the enemy attacked and drove in our light party in front, when I ordered the left to advance and attack the enemy; but to my astonishment, the left wing and North Carolina militia gave way. General Caswell and myself, assisted by a number of officers, did all in our power to rally the broken troops, but to no purpose; for the enemy coming round the left flank of the Maryland division, completed the rout of the whole militia, who left the Continentals to oppose the enemy's whole force. I endeavoured, with General Caswell, to rally the militia at some distance, on an advantageous piece of ground; but the enemy's cavalry continued

to harass their rear, they ran like a torrent, and bore all before them. Hoping yet, that a few miles in the rear, they might recover from their panick, and again be brought into order, I continued my endeavour, but this likewise proved in vain. 1780.

"The militia having taken to the woods, in all directions, I concluded with General Caswell to retire towards Charlotte. I got here late last night; but reflecting that there was no prospect of collecting a force at that place, adequate to the defence of the country, I proceeded with all possible despatch hither, to endeavour to fall upon some plan of defence, in conjunction with the legislative body of the State. I shall immediately despatch a flag to Lord Cornwallis, to know the situation of our wounded, and the number and condition of the prisoners in his hands."

The 30th of the month he writes General Washington, as follows:

"Since my publick letter to Congress, I have been able to collect authentick returns of the killed, wounded, and missing of the officers of the Maryland line, Delaware regiment, artillerists, and those of the legion under Colonel Armand. They are enclosed.

"The militia broke so early in the day, and scattered in so many directions upon their retreat, that very few have fallen into the hands of the enemy. By the firmness and bravery of the Continental troops, the victory is far from bloodless on the part of the foe, they having upwards of five hundred men, with officers in proportion, killed and wounded. Lord Cornwallis remained with his army at Camden, when I received the last accounts from thence. Two days after the action of the 16th, fortune seemed determined to continue to distress us; for Colonel Sumpter, having marched near forty miles up the river Wateree, halted with the waggons and prisoners he had taken on the 15th. By some indiscretion, the men were surprised, cut off from their arms, the whole routed, and the waggons and prisoners retaken. Colonel Sumpter, since his surprise and defeat up the west side of the Wateree, has reinstated and increased his corps to upwards of one thousand men. I have directed him to continue to harass the enemy upon that side; Lord Cornwallis will therefore be cautious how he makes any considerable movement to the eastward, while this corps remains in force upon his left flank, and the main army is in a manner cantoned in his front. Anxious for the publick good, I shall continue my unwearied endeavours to stop the progress of the enemy, to reinstate our affairs, to re-commence an offensive war, and recover our losses in the southern States."

1780. Return of the Continental officers killed, wounded, captivated, and missing, makes the whole number to be forty-eight. Among the killed is Baron de Kalb, a Major-General; while leading on the Maryland and Delaware troops, he was pierced with many wounds and soon after expired. He was a brave officer, a Knight of the order of military merit, and a Brigadier of the armies of France.

Seven hundred non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the Maryland division rejoined the army. General Gates's command in these actions were said to consist of three thousand, of which number were *only* nine hundred Continental regulars. The Royalists under Lord Cornwallis were upwards of thirty-two hundred, and a great part of them regular troops.

By the following paragraph in Lord Cornwallis's letter to Lord George Germaine, giving an account of his victory, we find him so elated with success, that he determined to push on, and attempt the reduction of North Carolina.

"On the 17th of August, I despatched proper people to North Carolina, with directions to our friends there, to take arms, and assemble immediately, and to seize the most violent people, and all military stores and magazines, belonging to the rebels, and to intercept all stragglers from the routed army; and I have promised to march without loss of time to their support. Some necessary supplies for the army are now on their way from Charleston, and I hope that their arrival will enable me to move in a few days."

Sept. 26. West Point (on the Highlands on the west side of Hudson's river, the passage of communication between New York and Canada) called "The Key of North River," about sixty miles from New York city, an important post occupied by the Continentals, had been an object, the reduction of which, by *force*, had been attempted by the Royalists, and miscarried. It was attempted again, but in a different way, by the arts of bribery and corruption. This also failed, and opened a scene of the blackest villany.

His Excellency General Washington being on a journey to Connecticut on continental business of importance, Major-General Greene, who had command of the army in his absence, informed them in his orders of the 26th of September, that "Treason of the blackest dye was yesterday discovered. General Arnold, who commanded at West Point, lost to every sentiment of honour, of private and publick obligation, was about to deliver up that important post into the hands of the enemy. Such an event must have given the American cause a dangerous, if not a fatal, wound; happily the treason has been timely discovered, to prevent the fatal mis-

fortune. The providential train of circumstances, which led to it, affords the most convincing proofs that the liberties of America are the object of divine protection. At the same time that the treason is to be regretted, the General cannot help congratulating the army on the happy discovery. Our enemies, despairing of carrying their point by force, are practising every base art to effect it by bribery and corruption, that they cannot accomplish in a manly way. Great honour is due to the American army, that this is the first instance of treason of the kind, where many were to be expected from the nature of the dispute, and nothing is so bright an ornament in the character of the American soldiers, as their having been proof against all the arts and seductions of an invidious enemy. Arnold has made his escape to the enemy, but Major Andre, the Adjutant-General in the British army, who came out as a spy to negociate the business, is our prisoner." 1780.

A very minute detail of this black transaction was published, as contained in a letter from a gentleman,* dated "Tappan, October 2d, 1780," and is as follows, viz. "He [Arnold] began his negociations with the enemy to deliver up West Point to them, long before he was invested with the command, and whilst he was still in Philadelphia; after which he solicited the command of that post [upon General M'Dougal, who commanded there, being chosen a member of Congress] for the ostensible reason that the wound in his leg incapacitated him for an active command in the field. It was granted him on the 6th of August last; since which he has been as assiduous as possible in ripening his plans, but the various positions the army assumed, prevented their being put in execution. *October.*

"On the night of the 21st ult. he had an interview with Major Andre, the Adjutant-General of the British army. This gentleman came on shore from the Vulture man of war, which lay not far from Taller's Point, to a place on the banks of the river, near to the Haverstraw Mountains, where he met Arnold, who conducted him to the house of Joshua Smith (the white house) within our lines, and only two miles from Stony Point. They arrived in the house just before day, and stayed there until the next morning, when Major Andre became extremely solicitous to return by the way he came, but that was impossible, for the two men, whom Arnold and Smith had seduced to bring him on shore, refused to carry him back; it then was absolutely necessary he

* Said to have been written by a gentleman, who holds an important post, at present, under the Federal Government.

1780. should return to New-York by land. He changed his dress and name, and thus disguised, passed our posts at Stony and Verplank Points, on the 22d ult. in company with the said Joshua Smith, brother to William Smith, Esq. Chief Justice within the British lines; he lodged that night at Clan Pond with Smith, and in the morning left Smith, and took the road to Tarrytown, where he was taken by some militia lads about fifteen miles from King's bridge. He offered them any sum of money and goods, if they would permit him to escape; but they readily declined, and most inflexibly adhered to it, that ten thousand guineas, or any other sum would be no temptation to them.* It was owing to this virtue, as glorious to America, as Arnold's apostacy is disgraceful, that his abominable crimes were discovered. The lads in searching him, [Andre] found concealed under his stockings in his boots, papers of the highest importance, viz. a pass from General Arnold to John Anderson (the name Major Andre had assumed)—artillery orders of September 5th—estimate of the forces at West Point in September—estimate of men to man the works—return of ordnance in September—remarks on the works at West Point, &c.

"Besides which, it appears that Arnold had carried with him to the interview, a general plan of West Point and its vicinity, and all the works; and also particular plans of each work on a large scale—all elegantly drawn by the engineer at that post. But these were not delivered to Major Andre, and from their requiring much time to copy, it is supposed they were not to be delivered until some future period.

"From some circumstances, it appears that it was not Arnold's intention to have deserted, but that he meant to be taken at his post, which, from his distribution of the troops it was very easy to have seized.

"His Excellency the General, on his return to camp, determined to visit West Point, and in pursuance of that plan was viewing some redoubts which lay in his way to Arnold's quarters. He had sent out servants there, and Major Shaw, and

* John Paulding, David Williams and Isaac Van Vert, were the lads who intercepted Major Andre, and so nobly refused his bribes. Congress having a high sense of their virtuous conduct, ordered that each of them receive, annually, out of the publick treasury, two hundred dollars, in specie, or an equivalent in the Continental money, during life. And that a silver medal, on one side of which shall be a shield with this inscription, "FIDELITY," and on the other, the following motto, "Vincit Amor Patriæ," be presented to them by the commander in chief.

Dr. M'Henry had arrived, and were at breakfast with the traitor, when he received intelligence by letter that Andre was taken; his confusion was visible, but no person could devise the cause. He hurried to his barge with the utmost precipitation, after having left word that "He was going over to West Point, and should be back immediately"—this was about ten in the morning of the 25th ult. 1780.

"The General proceeded to view the works, wondering where Arnold could be; but about four o'clock in the afternoon he was undeceived by an express with the papers, taken on Andre. The apostate at this time was on board the Vulture, which lay about five or six miles below Stony and Verplank's Points. Major Andre was brought to the General at West Point, and from thence has been brought to this camp. A board of general officers have examined into his case, and upon his own most candid confession, were of opinion, that he was a spy, and according to the custom and usages of nations, he ought to suffer death; and about two hours ago he was executed. This gentleman was in the highest degree of reputation in the British army, of the most polite and accomplished manners, extremely beloved by Sir Henry Clinton. His deportment, while a prisoner, was candid and dignified. He requested no favour, but to die the death of a soldier, and not on a gibbet. Rigorous policy forbid granting a favour, which at first flash seems immaterial. Our army sympathize in the misfortunes of this Chesterfield of the day. But had he possessed a portion of all the kings on earth, justice and policy would have dictated his death. The enemy, from hints that some of the officers dropped, appeared to be inclined to deliver Arnold into our hands for Major Andre, but they have since declared it was impossible. If it could have been effected, our desire to get Arnold would have rendered the exchange easy on our part. The British army were in the utmost affliction on the account of Major Andre, and have sent repeated flags on the subject. Yesterday they sent General Robertson, Andrew Eliot, and William Smith, Esquires; the two latter were not permitted to land. General Greene met General Robertson; he had nothing material to urge, but that Andre had come on shore under the sanction of a flag, and therefore could not be considered as a spy. But this is not true. He came at night, had no flag, and on business totally incompatible with the nature of a flag. He also said, "they should retaliate on some people in New-York and Charleston;" but he was told that such conversation could neither be heard nor understood. After which he urged the release of Andre on mo-

1780. tives of humanity, and because Sir Henry Clinton was much attached to him."

The author of the foregoing letter concludes it with saying, "I have been particular in this narration, not knowing what strange stories you will have on the subject."

The court martial, for trial of Major Andre, consisted of thirteen general officers: Major-General Greene, president, and John Lawrence. Esq. advocate general.

Arnold, for a pecuniary reward, betrayed his trust. He would have sacrificed the lives of his countrymen, and by delivery of the fortress, done irreparable injury to his country; but all gracious heaven interposed, and prevented his nefarious designs taking effect. Though he escaped the punishment he deserved, by a flight to the enemy, yet he cannot escape the remonstrances of his conscience, which, perhaps, in some period of his life, may give him severer pain than any bodily infliction: Nor will the infamy he hath brought on his character, ever be effaced.

Besides the money he had, or was to receive from the enemy, it is probable he was actuated *partly* by a spirit of revenge in this ignominious transaction, from the following circumstances which have been related. He was censured for his mal-practices at Philadelphia, after the British force had evacuated it in 1778. He was impeached by the executive council of that city, and tried by a court martial at Morristown; and though found guilty of some of the charges, so tender were they of him, that he was only reprimanded by the commander in chief. He was accused of committing depredations on private property, and selling large quantities of goods at private sale, through his agents. He was convicted of granting a pass contrary to general orders, to favour a scheme of speculation, and employing waggons for his own private use at improper times.

Oct. 6. Henry Laurens, Esq. late president of Congress (taken on his passage to Holland) *was committed to the tower of London*, by a warrant of this date, signed by the three principal secretaries of state, Stormont, Hillsborough, and Germaine; directed to Charles Earl Cornwallis, constable of the tower, and his deputy. He is committed till further orders on suspicion of treason, in the revolted colonies.

In this month, a new arrangement of the continental army was resolved on by Congress.

The regular army of the United States, from and after the first day of January, 1781, to consist of four regiments of cavalry, or light dragoons, four regiments of artillery, forty-nine regiments of infantry, exclusive of Colonel Hazen's, called, "The Congress' own regiment"—one regiment of

artificers. The respective States to furnish their quotas as proportioned by Congress. That no new appointments of the States, to command the regiments, be made of a higher rank than a Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant. And as by the foregoing arrangement many deserving officers may become supernumerary, Congress resolved, 1780.

"That after the reform of the army takes place, the officers shall be entitled to half pay for seven years, in specie, or other current money equivalent; and to have grants of land at the close of the war, agreeable to the resolution of the 16th of September, 1776."

Some days after the above resolves, Congress made an alteration, and instead of the four regiments of cavalry resolved,

"That there be four legionary corps, consisting partly of mounted dragoons, and two troops of dismounted dragoons, that there be two partizan corps, consisting of mounted and dismounted dragoons, one of which corps to be commanded by Colonel Armand, and the other by Major Lee. The officers who continue in service to the end of the war, to be entitled to half pay during life, to commence from the time of the reduction.

An officer of distinction in the Continental army, gives the following relation of an action between General Van Renselaer, and Sir John Johnson: *Oct.* 20.

"General Van Renselaer, with the militia, and the new levies, under Colonel Du Bois, engaged the enemy under Sir John Johnson, yesterday morning, at Fox's Mills, Tryon-county; and after a very severe action of three quarters of an hour, forced them to give way, and cross the river, leaving their plunder, baggage, and prisoners behind them: an hour's light would have given us the whole party. The action was general and vigorous, Colonel Brown was killed in skirmishing the fore part of the day. The country is desolated from Fort-Hunter up to Stone-Arabia, and in part of it, the grain and forage all destroyed." The above party also destroyed Schoharie; the inhabitants got into the fort, who, with the garrison, are safe.

Sir Henry Clinton having appointed Brigadier-General Leslie to command an expedition to Chesapeak; he proceeded with the troops destined for that service, invaded Virginia, and endeavoured to establish a post there.

Governour Jefferson of Virginia, in a letter from Richmond, congratulates Congress "On the small dawn of good fortune which at length appeared in the south," of which he was informed by despatches from General Gates, containing

1780. the account of some successes in that quarter, after the unfortunate action near Camden.

Colonel Clark with one hundred riflemen forced his way through South Carolina to Georgia; on his route thither being joined by seven hundred men, he proceeded to the town of Augusta and took it; but not finding it prudent to continue there, he retreated to the upper part of South Carolina in Ninety-Six district, and made a stand with eight hundred men.

October. Colonel William Campbell defeated Major Ferguson, the noted Royal partizan, the seventh of the month. By his account we learn: on his receiving intelligence that Major Ferguson had advanced up as far as Gilbert-town, in Rutherford county, and threatened to cro s the mountains to the western waters, he was joined by the Cols. Shelby, Seiver, M'Dowell, Cleaveland, and J. Williams. These combined, made their force to consist of about eighteen hundred militia. A council of the principal officers having thought it adviseable to pursue the enemy, with nine hundred of the best horsemen, and leave the rest to follow, they began their pursuit about eight o'clock the same evening, and marching all night, came up with the enemy about three o'clock, P. M. of the 7th, who lay encamped on the top of King's Mountain, twelve miles north of the Cherokee-ford, in the confidence they could not be forced from so advantageous a post. They got within a quarter of a mile of the enemy, before they were discovered. Colonel Shelby's and Colonel Campbell s regiments began the attack, and kept up a fire on the enemy, while the right and left wings were advancing forward to surround them, which was done in about five minutes, and the fire became general all round. The engagement lasted an hour and five minutes; the greatest part of which time, a heavy and incessant fire was kept on both sides. His men, in some parts where the regulars fought, were obliged to give way a small distance, two or three times, but rallied and returned with additional ardour to the attack.

The troops upon the right having gained the summit of the eminence, obliged the enemy to retreat along the top of the ridge to where Colonel Cleaveland commanded, and were there stopped by his brave men; a flag was immediately hoisted by Captain Depeyester, the commanding officer, as a signal to surrender (Major Ferguson having been killed a little before.) The firing immediately ceased, and the enemy laid down their arms, the greatest part of them loaded, and surrendered themselves at discretion.

It appeared by Colonel Campbell's relation, that from the enemy's own provision returns for that day found in the

camp, that their whole force consisted of eleven hundred and twenty-five men. Eighteen of the regulars were killed, one hundred and three wounded and taken prisoners: Two hundred and six of the tories were killed, one hundred and twenty-eight wounded and six hundred and twenty-nine were made prisoners. Colonel Campbell's loss was twenty-eight killed (among whom was Colonel Williams) and sixty were wounded. 1780.

The trade of Great Britain having greatly suffered by the captures made by American armed vessels, the British concerted measures to discourage *privateering* in the States, and as one means to effect this purpose, they came to a resolution "*Not to exchange in America, the captains or commanders of such armed vessels, but to send them prisoners to England.*" This resolution was put into execution, and was a distressing circumstance to the families of such as resided in the States.

Major-General Greene was appointed to succeed General Gates in South Carolina at a very critical period.

The capture of Charleston, the defeat of General Gates, and the successes of Tarleton, had brought the Continental affairs into a very hazardous situation in that quarter, and afforded very unfavourable prospects there; but not long after General Greene's arrival, things took a different turn, and appearances were more promising on the side of the Continentals.

The resolution of Congress, for a new arrangement of the army, was not conformable to their expectations, and caused uneasiness among them. The commander in chief saw a storm was gathering, and thought it prudent, on this occasion, to communicate his opinion to Congress, on the best means to avert it. On the 11th of the month, he informed Congress, "That the general topick of declamation in the army was, that it was as hard as dishonourable, for men, who had made every sacrifice to the service, to be turned out of it at the pleasure of those in power, without an adequate compensation. Too many of the officers wish to get rid of their commissions, but they are not willing to be forced to it." *Oct.* 1.

The commander in chief in his communication to Congress, suggests the policy of making ample provision, both for the officers who stay, and for those who are reduced. He recommended what he thought would be the most economical, the most politick, and the most effectual provisions viz. a *half pay* for life. "Supported (the general says) by a prospect of a permanent dependence, the officers would be tied to the service, and would submit to many momentary preventions, and to the inconveniences which the situation of publick service made unavoidable. If the objection drawn

1780. from the principle, that this measure is incompatible with the genius of our government, be thought insurmountable, I would propose a substitute, less eligible in my opinion, but which may answer the purpose; it is to make the present *half pay*, for seven years, *whole pay* for the same period, to be advanced at two different payments, one-half in a year after conclusion of peace, the other half in two years subsequent to the first."

His Excellency also takes notice of the injuries and inconveniences that attend a continual change of officers, and consequent promotions in the army.

Soon after Congress were possessed of the sentiments of General Washington they resolved, "That the commander in chief, and commanding officer in the northern department, direct the officers of each State to meet, and agree upon the officers for the regiments to be raised by their respective States, from those who incline to continue in service, and where it cannot be done by agreement, to be determined by seniority; and make return of those who are to remain, which is to be transmitted to Congress, together with the names of the officers reduced, who are to be allowed half-pay for life. That the officers who shall continue in service to the end of the war, shall also be entitled to half-pay during life, to commence from the time of their reduction."

These resolutions had a salutary effect, and kept matters quiet for a time.

Major-General Greene transmitted to Congress an ac-
Nov. 20. count of a successful action of General Sumpter, at Black Forks, on Tryon river, which happened this day.

General Sumpter engaged with a body of three hundred cavalry, Tarleton's legion, and about two hundred and fifty British infantry. The conflict was warm, and the enemy repulsed. They rallied, and on a second charge were repulsed again. They made a third effort, but a fire from an eminence of the Continentals, gave them an effectual check; they quitted the field and retired, leaving ninety dead, and an hundred wounded. Only three were killed, and four wounded on the part of the Continentals, among the latter, is General Sumpter. Some tories from the out posts of the British, on Crane and Lynch creeks, advanced to intercept the waggons, and avail themselves of the supplies from those settlements designed for the advanced troops under the Continental General Smallwood, who having intelligence of it despatched General Morgan and Lieutenant-Colonel Washington to prevent it. The Lieutenant-Colonel having no artillery, made use of the following stratagem:

He mounted a log, and holding out the appearance of an attack with field pieces, gained his point by sending a flag, and demanding an immediate surrender of Colonel Rugeley and his party, who, on the approach of Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, had retired to a log barn on Rugeley's plantation ; they surrendered without firing a gun : And on 1780.

Colonel Tarleton's legion received a severe repulse in attempting to surprise Colonels Marrion and Clarke, who, with a detachment of five, or six hundred men, were posted in the District of Ninety-six. Upwards of an hundred of the enemy were left dead on the spot, and a great number wounded. Tarleton, having received many wounds, returned to Charleston. By the account given of this affair, the loss of the Continentals did not exceed ten in killed and wounded. *Dec.* 16.

The disputes between England and Holland had risen to a height, that could be terminated only by a war between them.

The King of Great Britain began it, and in a formal manner ordered general reprisals on Holland of subjects and effects.

Died at Newport this day, "His Excellency Charles Louis de Ternay, Knight of St. John of Jerusalem, and Governour of the islands of France and Bourbon, commander in chief of the French fleet in the American seas. The command devolves on M. D'Estouches, Captain and Brigadier of the naval army." *Dec.* 22.

This month the Continental army, under the immediate command of General Washington, went into winter quarters on Hudson river. The commander in chief fixed his head quarters at New Windsor on the west, or Jersey side, nearly opposite to Fish Kill.

Brigadier-General Morgan, in a letter to Gen. Greene, of this date, informed him of the success of Lieuteant-Colonel Washington, in defeating a body of Georgia tories, about two hundred and fifty in number, who had advanced as far as Fair Forest, and were insulting and plundering the people in that neighbourhood: They had retreated on hearing of his approach. The next day he came up with them about forty miles from Pacolet creek (where Morgan was encamped.) They were alarmed, and flew to their horses. Washington extended his mounted riflemen on the wings, and charged in front with his own regiment. They fled precipitately without making any resistance : an hundred and fifty were killed and wounded, and about thirty taken prisoners. *Dec.* 31.

1781. What makes this success more valuable, General Morgan writes, is, because it was obtained without the loss of a man on Washington's side.

It appears by the above relation, to be almost a total overthrow on the part of the tories. Only seventy of their whole number escaped.

Jan. 5. The Commissary of prisoners having laid before Congress an account of their situation, and the treatment the Continentals had received in the hands of the enemy; a committee of Congress appointed on this business, made report, "That notwithstanding every effort of Congress to obtain for our people, prisoners in the enemy's hands, that treatment which humanity alone should have dictated, the British commanders, unmindful of the tenderness exercised towards their men, prisoners in our hands, and regardless of the practice of civilized nations, have persisted in treating our prisoners with them with every species of insult, carnage, and cruelty. Officers and men are indiscriminately thrown into the holds of prison ships,* and into loathsome dungeons, and there deprived of fuel, and the common necessaries of life; by which means many of the citizens of these States have been compelled to enter into their service, to avoid those distresses, which a conduct so contrary to the law of nations had brought upon them. Our seamen, taken upon the American coast, have been sent to Great Britain, or other parts beyond seas, to prevent their being exchanged, or to force them to take arms against their country: That in the opinion of the committee, *an exercise of the law of retaliation is become necessary*, and a justice due to those citizens of America, whom the fortune of war has thrown into the hands of our enemy." In consequence of this representation, Congress were induced to pass the following resolve, "That the British prisoners should receive the same allowances and treatment in every respect, as the people who are prisoners receive from the enemy, and that the Board of Admiralty issue orders not to exchange any British sea officers or seamen, until the enemy have returned to some of the garrisons in America such seamen as they have taken upon the American coasts and sent to Great Britain or other parts beyond seas, and to continue the treatment till Congress, or the commander in chief, shall order otherwise."

* In the Jersey prison ship, at New York, perished above eleven thousand, the last three years.

Dr. Stiles's Election Sermon, Connecticut, May, 1783. *Page* 76.

A number of troops were embarked at New York, for Virginia, and the command given to the apostate Arnold, as a fit instrument to pillage and distress the inhabitants of that State. 1781.

A discontent arose among some of the Continental soldiers of the Pennsylvania line, belonging to General Wayne's division. About two thousand of these, headed by a sergeant-major, marched off from their encampment towards Delaware, and took post at Princetown.

That they had no design to go over to the enemy is evident from their treatment of a sergeant of the Royal army, and one Ogden, an inhabitant of New Jersey (his guide) who came with proposals from Sir H. Clinton, which they not only rejected, but delivered the messengers to General Wayne. (On the 10th of the month they were tried, and afterwards executed as spies.) *Jan.* 10.

The discontent of the soldiers arose from the terms of their enlistments wanting explanation, whether it was for three years, or during the war. Some invidious comparisons also were made between the large bounty given to those, whose times were confessedly out; and the condition of those, who were engaged during the war.

To explain matters to them, a committee of the Council of Pennsylvania, and a committee of Congress repaired to the Jersies; and commissioners being appointed to hear their complaints, and redress their grievances, they were satisfied, and returned to their duty in the Continental army.

Holland declared war against England. *Jan.* 12.

Brigadier-General Morgan, having defeated a detachment of the Royalists under Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, at a place called the *Cow-pens*, near Pacolet river (S. C.) Major-General Greene forwarded to Congress General Morgan's letter to him, containing the particulars of the action. The Brigadier writes thus: "On the 14th of [January,] having intelligence that the British army were in motion, and that their movements clearly indicated their intention of dislodging me, I abandoned my encampment at Grindales ford, and took possession of a post seven miles from Cherokee ford, on Brond river. My former position subjected me at once to the operations of Lord Cornwallis and Colonel Tarleton, and in case of a defeat, my retreat might easily have been cut off. My situation at the Cow-pens enabled me to improve any advantages that I might have gained, and to provide better for my security, should I be unfortunate. These reasons *Jan.* 17.

1781. induced me to take this post, notwithstanding it had the appearance of a retreat. On the evening of the 16th, the enemy occupied the ground we removed from in the morning. An hour before day light, one of my scouts informed me they had advanced within five miles of our camp ; on this information, the necessary dispositions were made, and from the alacrity of the troops, we were soon prepared to receive them. The light infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Howard, and the Virginia militia, under Major Triplet, were formed on a rising ground ; the third regiment of dragoons consisting of about eighty men, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, were so posted in their rear, as not to be injured by the enemy's fire, and yet to be able to charge them, should an occasion offer. The volunteers from North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, under command of Colonel Pickens, were posted to guard the flanks. Major M'Dowal, of the North Carolina volunteers, was posted on the right flank, in front of the line one hundred and fifty yards. Major Cunningham, of the Georgia volunteers, on the left, at the same distance in front. Colonels Brannons and Thomas, of the South Carolina volunteers, on the right of Major M'Dowal ; and Colonels Hayes and M'Call, of the same corps, on the left of Major Cunningham. Captains Peter and Buchanan, with some rifle-men, were to support the right of the line. The enemy drew up in one line, four hundred yards in front of our advanced corps ; the first battalion of the seventy-first regiment was opposed to our right, the seventh to our left, the legion infantry to our centre, and two companies of light troops, of one hundred each, on our flanks. In their front they moved two pieces of artillery ; and Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, with two hundred and eighty cavalry, were posted in the rear of his line. The disposition being thus made, small parties of riflemen were detached to skirmish with the enemy, on which their whole line advanced with the greatest impetuosity, shouting as they advanced.

" Majors M'Dowal and Cunningham gave them a heavy and galling fire, and retreated to the regiments intended for their support. The whole of Colonel Pickens's command then kept up a fire by regiments retreating, agreeable to orders. When the enemy advanced to our line, they received a well directed and incessant fire ; but their number being superiour to ours, they gained our flanks, which obliged us to change our position. We retired in good order about

fifty paces, formed, advanced on the enemy and gave them a brisk fire, which threw them into disorder. Lieutenant-Colonel Howard observing this, gave orders for the line to charge bayonets, which was done with such address, that the enemy fled with the utmost precipitation. Lieutenant-Colonel Washington discovering that the cavalry were cutting down our rifle-men on the left, he charged them with such firmness, as obliged them to retire in confusion. The enemy were entirely routed, and the pursuit continued upwards of twenty miles. Our loss was inconsiderable, not having more than twelve killed and sixty wounded. The enemy's loss was ten commissioned officers, and upwards of one hundred rank and file killed, two hundred wounded, twenty-nine commissioned officers, and above five hundred prisoners, which fell into our hands ; with two pieces of artillery, two standards, eight hundred muskets, one travelling forge, thirty-five baggage waggons, seventy negroes, and upwards of one hundred dragoon horses, with all their musick : They destroyed most of their baggage which was immense. Although our success was complete, we fought with only eight hundred men, and were opposed to upwards of one thousand chosen British troops. Such was the inferiority of our numbers, that our success must be attributed under God to the justice of our cause, and the bravery of our troops." 1781.

Lord Cornwallis upon hearing of the defeat of Tarleton, marched in pursuit of the light infantry and prisoners ; previous to which Brigadier-General Morgan had made forced marches up into the country and crossed the Catawba. The morning before, a great rain fell, which swelled the river to such a degree as prevented the enemy from fording several days. During which time, the prisoners had got over the Yadkin and passed Dan river, and escaped him. *Jan.* 7.

Major-General Greene, being informed of the movements of Cornwallis, put his army in motion on Pedee, and leaving it under command of General Auger, set out to join the light infantry camp at Sharard's fort on the Catawba, in order to collect the militia and embarrass the enemy. The enemy crossed at M'Cowen's ford a little lower down, where General Davidson with a party of militia were posted. This general fell on the first discharge of the enemy, who made good their landing. The militia retreated and were dispersed. General Greene waited for the militia to collect at a place appointed for a rendezvous ; but finding they did not collect, the light infantry continued their march

1781. to Salisbury and crossed the Yadkin, but the enemy approached before they had got over all their baggage and stores, and a skirmishing ensued. The boats being secured, and the river continuing high, the enemy were for some time stopped in their pursuit. General Greene, not being able to form a junction of his forces, and fearing the river would fall so as to be fordable, ordered his army to file off to Guilford court house.

The enemy, having crossed the Yadkin at the Swallow ford, advanced within twenty-five or thirty miles of Guilford court house. General Greene now ordered the stores and heavy baggage to be removed to Prince Edward's court house in Virginia, and formed a light army to harass the enemy in their progress, whilst he, and the rest of his army, crossed the Roanoke with about two thousand. Lord Cornwallis had with him twenty-five hundred. He afterwards retreated with his troops to Hillsborough, where he divided his army into three divisions; one took the route to Salisbury; another, towards Pedee, and the third towards Wilmington, to join a body that had landed at Cape Fear.

Feb. 9. M. D'Estouches, Chef d'Escadre of the French squadron at Newport, despatched from thence M. Tilly with the Eveillé of sixty-four guns and two frigates for Virginia, where, having arrived, they captured the greatest part of the fleet which had accompanied Arnold to the Chesapeak, and infested that coast; some small vessels took shelter in a creek, and escaped. The French commander brought off the British man of war, Romulus of forty guns, and about five hundred prisoners, taken in the various vessels: he also took six armed transports, laden with stores; burnt four others, and returned to Newport.

March 5. M. D'Estouches, having sailed from Newport with the principal ships of the French squadron, and the Romulus, fell in with Admiral Arbuthnot's fleet of nine sail, from Gardiner's island.* An engagement took place this day between the two fleets. The British being much shattered, proceeded to Chesapeak, and the French returned to Newport. It appeared each side were willing to quit the combat: the British were rather superiour in force.

Mar. 15. On this day a battle was fought between the army under General Greene, and the Royalists under Lord Cornwallis, at Guilford court house, North Carolina. General Greene,

* Gardiner's Island adjoins Long Island, and is distant from Newport about forty miles.

in his letter to the president of Congress, relates the following particulars of the action. 1781.

"On the morning of the 15th, our reconnoitring parties reported, the enemy was advancing to the great Salisbury road. The army was drawn up in three lines. The North Carolina militia, under Generals Butler and Eaton; the second, of Virginia militia, commanded by Generals Stevens and Lawton, forming two brigades; the third line consisting of two brigades, one of Virginia, and one of Maryland Continentals, commanded by General Hugar and Colonel Williams. Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, with the dragoons of the first and third regiments of light infantry, composed of Continental troops, and a regiment of rifle-men, under Colonel Lynch, formed a corps of observation, for the security of our *right* flank. Lieutenant-Colonel Lee with his legion, a detachment of light infantry, and a corps of riflemen, under Colonel Campbell, formed a corps of observation for the security of our *left* flank. The greatest part of the country is a wilderness, with a few cleared fields, interspersed here and there. The army was drawn up on a large hill of ground, surrounded by other hills, the greater part of which was covered with timber and thick under brush. The front line was posted with two field pieces, just in the edge of the woods, and the back of a fence which run parallel with the line, with an open field directly in front. The second line was in the woods about three hundred yards, in the rear of the second, with a double front, as the hills drew to a point, where they were posted; and on the right and left were two old fields.

"In this position General Greene waited the approach of the enemy, having previously sent off the baggage to the iron works, ten miles from Guilford court house, the place appointed to rendezvous at in case of a defeat. Lieutenant-Colonel Lee met the enemy on their advance, and had a very severe skirmish with Colonel Tarleton, in which the enemy suffered greatly. Capt. Armstrong charged the British legion, and cut down near thirty of their dragoons, but as the enemy reinforced their advanced party, Lieutenant-Colonel Lee was obliged to retire, and take his position in the line. The action commenced by a cannonade, which lasted about twenty minutes, when the enemy advanced in three columns, the Hessians on the right, the guards in the centre, and Lieutenant-Colonel Webster's brigade on the left. The whole moved through the old fields, to attack the North Caro-

1781. lina brigades, who waited the attack until the enemy got within about one hundred and forty yards, when part of them began a fire, but a considerable part left the ground without firing at all. The generals and field officers did all they could to induce the men to stand their ground; but neither the advantages of the position, nor any other consideration could induce them to stay. The Virginia militia gave the enemy a warm reception, and continued it for a long time; but being beat back, the action became general every where. The corps of observation under Lieutenant-Colonels Washington and Lee were warmly engaged, and did great execution; the conflict was long and severe; and the enemy only gained their point by superiour discipline. They having broke the second Maryland regiment, and turned our left flank, and got into the rear of the Virginia brigade, and appearing to be gaining our right, which would have encircled the whole of the continental troops, General Greene thought it most adviseable to order a retreat. About this time Lieutenant-Colonel Washington had made charge with the horse upon a part of the brigade of guards, and the first regiment of Marylanders, commanded by Colonel Gunby, and seconded by Lieutenant-Colonel Howard, followed the horse with their bayonets; near the whole of this party fell a sacrifice. General Hugar was the last that was engaged, and gave the enemy a check.

"We retreated in good order to the Reedy Ford river, and crossed at the ford about three miles from the field of action, and there halted and drew up the troops, until we collected most of our stragglers. We lost our artillery and two ammunition waggons, the greatest part of our horses being killed before the retreat began, and it being impossible to remove the pieces along the great road. After collecting our stragglers, we retired to this camp (at the iron works) ten miles distant from Guilford.

"From the best accounts I can get, the enemy's loss is very great, not less than six hundred killed and wounded, besides some few prisoners we brought off. "On the side of the continentals, Generals Stevens and Hugar were wounded. General Greene returned 329 killed, wounded, and missing; many of the latter went to their homes after the action." An officer in General Greene's army, remarked, "That he considered this action, with reference to Cornwallis, like that of Burgoyne's, the 19th of September, 1777: he kept in the field, but it proved his ruin."

A letter wrote by General Greene, seven days after the action, says: "That Cornwallis's troops were too much galled to improve their success; that he (Greene) lay that day at the iron works, preparing for another action, expecting the enemy to advance; but of a sudden they took their departure, and left behind them evident marks of distress. All the wounded at Guilford who had fallen into their hands: and seventy of their own, too bad to move, were left behind at New-Garden. Most of their officers suffered: Lord Cornwallis had his horse shot under him; Colonel Stuart of the guards was killed; General O'Hara, and Colonels Tarleton and Webster, wounded." The Royal army retreated towards Cross-creek, and to Wilmington, on Cape Fear river. The loss of the Royalists at Guilford, an officer reported to be six hundred and sixty-three, exclusive of officers. Lord Cornwallis's army was reduced to about seventeen hundred. Lord Rawdon was at Camden with about five hundred regulars. 1781.

After the Guilford battle, General Greene turned his attention again towards South Carolina, to that part of it where Lord Rawdon was posted, in order to attempt to dispossess him of Camden (about a hundred and twenty-five miles from Charleston.) In consequence of General Greene's plan, an action took place this day. General Greene lay before Camden: and finding it impossible to storm the town with a prospect of success, he took a position to induce the enemy to sally. A hill about a mile from the town, on the main road leading to Waxhaws, was the place pitched on for his troops. It was covered with timber, and flanked on the left by an impassable morass; the country between that and the town covered by heavy wood and under brush. *April* 25.

In this situation they lay upon their arms ready for action. On the morning of the 25th of April, his advanced piquets were fired upon. The enemy advanced, and were received with great gallantry. The troops on each quarter being properly disposed for the action, the whole were soon engaged in close firing, and the artillery under Colonel Harrison played on their front. The enemy upon the left were retiring, and General Greene's troops advancing on them; but unfortunately two companies of the right, of the first Maryland regiment, got disordered, and Colonel Gunby having given orders for the rest of the regiment then advancing to take a new position in the rear, where the two companies were rallying, this impressed the whole regiment with the idea of a retreat, and communicated to the second regiment,

1781. which immediately followed the first. In their retiring, both were rallied, but too late: the enemy had gained the hill and obliged the artillery to retire. The second Virginia regiment having advanced some distance down the hill, and the Maryland line being gone, the enemy immediately turned their flank, while they engaged in front. Colonel Washington of the horse found the enemy, both horse and foot, retiring towards the town, and took upwards of two hundred prisoners, with ten or fifteen officers, before he discovered his army had left the ground. The Continentals got into too much disorder to recover the fortune of the day, which at first promised success: they retired two or three miles without loss of artillery, ammunition, waggons, or baggage. The enemy suffered greatly; their force was not materially different. General Greene lost, in killed and wounded, one hundred and thirty-four, and missing one hundred and thirty-six: one-third of the latter were afterwards heard of on their return.

A body of British troops, under command of Major-General Phillips (who was taken with General Burgoyne and lately exchanged) sailed from New-York, and arrived in Virginia the beginning of April, and joined those already there at Portsmouth on James river, under Arnold. Upwards of four thousand men were embarked soon after, on the same design. The troops were employed in ravaging Virginia, rifling the plantations, and destroying publick and private property. A body of Continentals, under Marquis de la Fayette, consisting of about fifteen hundred, were despatched to Virginia to join Baron Steuben: their joint force, together with the militia, under General Muhlenberg, were to oppose the enemy.

Major General Phillips having chief command of the British in Virginia, he took post at Manchester, called Rocky Rega, the south side of James-town, about half a mile from Richmond, with a view to capture the military stores, collected at the capital; but he retired without making the attempt or attacking the Continentals. Major General Phillips died soon after, and Arnold again resumed the command.

A party of Continentals, commanded by Colonel Christopher Greene, (who bravely distinguished himself in defence
May 14. of Fort Mercer at Red Bank in October, 1777,) being stationed near Croten river, in the neighbourhood of Fish Kill, were surprised by the enemy about sunrise. Their guards came first to Colonel Greene's and Major Flagg's quarters, and killed the major in bed. The colonel was badly wound-

ed in the house, then carried into the woods and cut to pieces. 1781.
Two subalterns, and twenty-seven privates, were also killed, and many wounded and missing. The reporter of this tragical affair, said this was perpetrated by Delancey's refugee corps, of two hundred foot, and sixty horse; who forded the river, and came on their backs. Another account says it was done by an hundred and fifty English dragoons.

Robert Morris, Esq. of Philadelphia, being appointed by Congress superintendent of the finances of the United States, *May* 17.
laid before them a plan for establishing a National Bank. The reasons on which this plan is founded, are: "That the exigency of the United States required an anticipation of the revenues; while at the same time there was no such confidence established, as would call for that purpose the funds of individual citizens. The use of the bank, therefore, is to aid the government by their monies and credit; to supply the loss of paper money, which, by coming more and more useless, called every day for its final redemption; and to give a new spring to commerce, when the freedom of the States shall be established. The subscribers will receive that advantage from the investment of their capital, which has invariably attended the business of banking in every free commercial country. The utility of the scheme ariseth from a consideration, that when the credit of the bank is fully established, and it is known to possess considerable sums, the notes will not only have an equal currency with gold and silver, but even be preferred, being more portable. Not like hard money, liable to be clipped, or otherwise fraudulently reduced. Private checks, which will constantly vary, will be a bar against counterfeits; and the certainty of receiving gold and silver takes away the possibility of depreciation."

The plan met the approbation of Congress. They passed resolves conformable thereto, and established a national bank at Philadelphia.

Admiral De Barras being appointed to command the French fleet at Newport, he arrived at Boston, and brought despatches for General Rochambeau.

A French man of war, of fifty guns, arrived at Boston with her convoy of fourteen sail of transports, having on board fifteen hundred recruits for Count Rochambeau.

The Continental army in Carolina were successful after the action of Guilford, and they gained the ascendency in that quarter over the British. Lord Rawdon evacuated Camden, the 10th of last month, leaving three officers and fifty privates so dangerously wounded in the late action, as

1781. to be unable to be removed. They burnt the stores, baggage, &c. and left it a heap of ruins. His Lordship retreated towards Charleston, and General Greene took possession of the post he had left.

The next day, Orangeburg, where the Royalists had a strong post, surrendered to General Sumpter. One colonel, several other officers, and eighty privates, were made prisoners. General Marrion, on the 12th of May, took Fort Motte; the garrison consisted of nineteen officers, and one hundred and sixty privates, who capitulated; as did also Fort Granby, the 14th of the same month, to Lieutenant-Colonel Lee; when one lieutenant-colonel, two majors, some other officers, and three hundred and five privates, became his prisoners. Besides the above, the posts of Portligo, Georgetown, Fort Watson, Congarees, &c. which the Royalists had established for controlling the country, and preserving its communications, were also given up.

Lord Cornwallis finding he could not foil General Greene in South Carolina, and make an entire conquest of that and the adjoining State of North Carolina, as on his successes hitherto he flattered himself he should be able to accomplish, he now thought it best to quit those States, and try his prowess in another; and accordingly pushed forward, with the greatest part of his army, to the State of Virginia, already invested by British troops. Lord Rawdon succeeded to the command of the Royalists in Carolina.

June 19. General Greene attempted to storm the British post at Ninety-Six in S. C. It was garrisoned with three hundred and fifty men, besides militia, under Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger.

Lord Rawdon, having received reinforcements from Cork, marched with about two thousand to Ninety-Six; before he arrived, General Greene had been repulsed, in his attempt to storm it, and had retired behind the Saluda, sixteen miles from Ninety-Six, when Lord Rawdon arrived there. After this General Greene had the good fortune to break up this post, and destroy the works; and then retired to Monk's corner, within twenty-six miles of Charleston.

The Generals Sumpter and Marrion, and Colonel Lee (having, as related,) broken up the posts in the country, Lord Rawdon with his troops moved towards the capital. In the baggage belonging to the nineteenth regiment, taken at Ninety-Six, was found seven hundred guineas, which it was said General Greene had distributed among his troops as a reward for their bravery.

On Lord Cornwallis arriving in Virginia, he ordered a junction of the several corps of British, operating there; and was reinforced with sixteen hundred men, from New-York; their whole force being augmented to more than six thousand, his Lordship having the chief command. Arnold decamped and returned to New-York, and his Lordship began his operations in Virginia. 1781.

The Marquis de la Fayette, who was sent to watch the motions of his Lordship, proceeded about eight miles above Richmond; having under his command fifteen hundred Continental regulars, and a body of militia. He was soon after joined by General Wayne's division, of about a thousand. Cornwallis, having been prevented from possessing himself of some stores at Albemarle old court-house, retired to Richmond, where he was the 18th of this month (June.) This place he evacuated two days after, being followed by the Continentals, who were joined by Baron Steuben. Cornwallis's route was towards Williamsburg, his right and left flank being covered by a large corps, commanded by Colonel Simcoe. The Marquis de la Fayette pushed forward a detachment under Colonel Butler and Major M'Pherson, having mounted fifty light infantry behind an equal number of dragoons. They came up with the enemy, and charged them within six miles of Williamsburg. Some of the advanced corps, composed of rifle men under Majors Call and Wills, began a smart action the 26th of the month, in which the enemy lost about sixty killed, including several officers, and one hundred wounded. The Marquis lost by his return only thirty-seven, of which nine were killed. The disproportion of loss, the Marquis said, "The skill of our rifle men easily explained."

A party of Continental light horse, under Colonel Scammel, having embarked in boats and landed at Spicken-devil, near Kingsbridge, the enemy had intelligence of it, and attacked them soon after landing. Though inferiour in number, they killed and wounded many of the enemy. Five of the Continentals were killed and a few wounded. *July* 3.

Three brigades of General Wayne's division of troops in Virginia had a smart action, the sixth of this month, with the Royalists in the old field, by James-town church, in which both sides lost a considerable number of men. An officer of rank, who was in the action, writes thus, two days after it happened: "The slowness of the enemy's pursuit was remarkable, and must be owing to the great loss they sustained. Ours does not exceed one hundred and twenty killed and wounded. No officers among the former, but a great many among the latter; almost every field officer's horse killed or *July* 6.

1781. wounded. One of the Marquis Fayette's horses was killed; not a man in the whole detachment was more exposed than him. The enemy have precipitately crossed the [James] river, leaving our wounded on this side."

Another officer is more particular, and gives the following account. "Cornwallis having encamped near James-town, the Marquis Fayette sent General Wayne, with the Pennsylvania line, to take their station within a small distance of the British army, and watch their motions. About three hundred rifle men occupied the ground between General Wayne and Lord Cornwallis, who were directed to scatter themselves in the woods without order, and annoy the enemy's camp. This they did with such effect, that a small party was sent out against them to dislodge them; each side continuing to reinforce, at length the whole of General Wayne's division was engaged: they drove the advanced detachments back to their lines, and without stopping there, attacked the whole British army, drawn up in order of battle, and charged them with their bayonets. The action was obstinate for the little time it lasted, but the disproportion of numbers was too great. The Marquis arrived in person time enough to order a retreat, and bring off the Pennsylvania troops before they were surrounded, which the enemy were endeavouring to effect, being able greatly to out-flank them. Cornwallis did not pursue them more than about half a mile in their retreat, apprehending that the rest of our army was near enough to support them, not choosing to risque a general engagement. We lost two field pieces, which could not be brought off, all the horses belonging to them being killed. Captain Savage did great execution with a third field piece under his command, situate in such a manner, as to rake with grape shot a solid column of the enemy on their march; with which he cut lanes through them, and repeatedly drove them back in the greatest confusion. The rifle men and infantry were of great service, and gave the enemy some heavy and well directed fires. The whole of our troops that were engaged that day did not amount to more than eleven hundred. General Wayne's division lost one hundred and seven privates and non-commissioned officers, killed, wounded, and missing, and twelve commissioned officers; among the last, Captain Stakes, wounded in the leg, and Captain Cunningham, in the foot, both slightly. Of about forty of the wounded, whom I have seen, but one is thought dangerous.

"We suffered no loss of any consequence except in General Wayne's division. The British immediately after the

action, which ended about nine o'clock in the evening, crossed James river; the whole army were crossed over by the morning, excepting a part of their light horse, for which they had boats ready to bring them off instantly, in case of an emergency. Those of our wounded, who were left on the field to the number of about twenty-five, were treated by the enemy with more humanity than usual, and were left behind. Cornwallis finding he had killed none but of the Pennsylvania line, from that circumstance and the information of his prisoners learned, that only that line, with a few rifle men and light infantry, had been in the action, and found greater cause of chagrin that such a handful of men should have made so spirited an attack on his army, than of exultation for having repulsed them. 1781.

"The Marquis is moving up James river." The letter concludes with encomiums on the Marquis's humanity and goodness in visiting the wounded and ministering to their relief, &c.*

Admiral Arbuthnot returning to England this month, the command of the British fleet, at New-York, devolved on Admiral Thomas Greaves. *July.*

This day was executed at Charleston (S. C.) Colonel Isaac Hayne, of that State, by order of Lord Rawdon, commander of the British troops, and Colonel Balfour, the royal commandant and superintendent of the police in Charleston. The unhappy gentleman left sundry papers, which he enjoined on a friend to transmit to the Delegates for South Carolina, at Congress. These were printed at Philadelphia, and from them is collected the following particulars: *Aug.* 3.

"At the time of the surrender of Charleston, Colonel Hayne was in the country; the small-pox was near his plantation, where he had a wife, six small children, and upwards of an hundred servants, all liable to the distemper. No American army in the State, and no opposition like to be made to the enemy, and he liable every moment to be made a prisoner at discretion; and hearing that a Captain Sanders, in the same predicament with himself, had been permitted to his parole, by the commandant of Charleston, he determined to go and deliver himself a prisoner of war on parole, *not having the most distant intention of accepting protection.* General Pattison (then commandant) refused him parole, and told him

* Extract of a letter printed in Baltimore, said to be written by a gentleman in Captain Moon's troop of Baltimore dragoons, dated July 11th.

1781. in positive terms, he must either *take protection*, or prepare for a prison ship; he was also refused parole till his family had recovered from the small-pox, when he would return, and surrender himself at discretion. Upon being at his request shewn the form of a protection, his patriotick mind revolted at the idea of taking up arms against his country, as there expressed. He was told by the commandant, that was the usual form of a declaration of allegiance; but that the *inhabitants would never be called upon to take up arms, and obtaining assurances that he never should be called upon*, was induced from regard to his family (who must have been involved in the most accumulated distress by his absence) to take one of their protections. The instrument of protection, excepting the part he objected to, expressed no more than peaceable subjection to their government, as long as they should have possession of the country.

"When the Americans regained possession of the country where he was, he returned to his allegiance of the United States.

"This he was perfectly justified in, by the law of nations, more especially if it be considered that the profession of allegiance to them had been extorted by an actual duresse; and that he was repeatedly called upon, in direct violation of the solemn assurances of the commandant, to bear arms against America; which, however, he always found means to avoid. Upon his joining the American army, General Greene, in consideration of his merit and abilities, conferred on him the rank of a Colonel; and soon after he had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the enemy.

"He was brought before a court of inquiry and interrogated; but neither the members nor witnesses were sworn. He had notice given him the 29th of July, "That Lord Rawdon and the commandant [Balfour] had come to a resolution, in consequence of the court of inquiry, that he should be executed on Tuesday the 31st. He inquired of Mr. Colcock (his intended counsel, if he had had legal trial) "Whether the proceedings were warranted by any law, and the sentence legal." (He had neither counsel nor witnesses in his behalf.) Mr. Colcock's answer was in substance, "That he was clearly of opinion that considering him as an enemy (not as a spy) the proceedings against him are not warranted by law; and that as a subject they are directly repugnant and contrary thereto." Colonel Hayne, in a letter to Lord Rawdon and Colonel Balfour, desired that his execution might be extended, that he might take a last farewell of his

children, &c. He was informed their resolutions remained unalterable. 1781.

His request to take leave of his children was at first denied. The 31st (the day on which he was to have been executed) he was informed that in consequence of a petition signed by Governour Bull and others, and his kind treatment of British officers, who had fell into his hands, he was to have a respite for forty-eight hours, which gave him opportunity to see his children. The first of August the Town Major informed him, that forty-eight hours longer were allowed him. Previous to this, Major Fraser had told him, "That the moment any representation was made to the commandant, by General Greene, in his behalf, the respite ceased, and he would be immediately ordered for execution."

The Royal commanders would not spare his life; no applications nor entreaties on his behalf could prevail. The ladies of Charleston all of them, excepting (it is said) four, signed a petition, to "Avert, prolong, or mitigate his sentence;"* but without effect.

About the middle of this month, the Royal army, at New-York, were reinforced with three thousand German troops, from Bremen.

Admiral Count de Grasse, arrived off Chesapeak bay, with thirty-four sail of French men of war. *Aug.* 26.

Arnold was employed by Sir H. Clinton, to ravage and waste Connecticut (the State which gave him birth.) *Sept.* 6.

He landed with a body of Royalists at the mouth of *New-London* harbour, and proceeded to the town: he burnt the greatest part of it, and *Groten*, near the water. Fort Trumbull not being tenable, the garrison were forced to quit it, and went over to Fort Griswold at Groten, where chiefly militia men were stationed. Colonel Ledyard, who commanded it, repulsed the invaders three or four times, but was obliged at length to surrender the fort, upon its being stormed. After he had surrendered (the relator of this transaction, a militia officer, the day after it took place, says) "They murdered the Colonel, and a number of others; seventy-four officers and men killed, and between thirty and forty wounded in the fort. They carried off about forty prisoners; but few were

* Lord Rawdon, (son of Earl Moira of Ireland) when he left Carolina, was taken on his passage to England, by one of Count de Grasse's squadron, and sent to France, where he was well treated, and had liberty to return to England on his parole.

1781. taken from the enemy." The loss in goods and provisions, stores and shipping was very great. In the attack of the fort, the enemy lost Major Montgomery, and fifty-two officers and men were killed; their wounded were carried off.

Colonel Ayres, who commanded the division, was wounded (it was said) mortally. Arnold headed the division, which marched to New London.

It was judged that a hundred inhabitants were deprived of their habitations, and most of them of their *all*. Sixty dwelling houses, and eighty-four stores, were destroyed.

The British fleet, at New-York, was reinforced. Sir Samuel Hood arrived there with thirteen ships of the line, four frigates, and two fire-ships. The Admirals T. Greaves, Drake, and Hood, have now a command of thirty sail of British men of war.

Sept. 7. At *Eutaw Springs*, about fifty miles from Charleston, an action happened between General Greene and the main body of the Royalists under Colonel Stuart. The General despatched one of his aids to Congress with a letter to the President, containing the following intelligence: "That the General having crossed Howell's ferry and taken post, he got information that the enemy were at *Eutaw Springs*, about forty miles below him. That they had been reinforced and were preparing to establish a permanent post there. Though the General's number was inferiour, he determined to hazard an action, and for this purpose began his march the fifth of September, having put his army into proper disposition, and being joined on the seventh by General Marion, he pushed on to attack them. The legion and state troops fell in with a party of the enemy's horse and foot about four miles from their camp, and drove them.

The army moved on, and the firing began again. About two or three miles from their camp a close and fierce engagement began, the Generals Marion, and Pickens, and Colonel Malmedy conducting them with great bravery; but the enemy's fire being superiour, and they advancing, General Greene's militia began to give way, when General Sumner, with the North Carolina brigades, was ordered to their support: they fought with great gallantry on both sides. In this state of the action, Colonel Campbell with the Virginians, and Colonel Williams with the Marylanders, rushing on impetuously carried all before them, and routed the enemy in all quarters. Lieutenant-Colonel Lee at the same time charged them in the rear, and turned their left flank. Col. Hampton, of the state cavalry, charged a party, and took

upwards of one hundred prisoners. They were prevented from rallying and forming (which they seemed disposed to do) by Colonel Washington bringing up the corps de reserve on the left, and with the assistance of Captain Kirkwood's infantry. General Greene pushed them closely till they broke, and he got into their camp. Some hundreds fell into his hands. But some of the enemy having betook themselves to a three story brick house near the spring; others taking post in a picketed garden, and in the impenetrable shrubs, and their rear being secured by the springs and deep hollow ways, they renewed the action. Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, in attempting to dislodge them, and get thro' the thicket, had his horse shot under him, was wounded and taken prisoner. The party sent to dislodge them from the house and thicket suffered great loss by the fire from the house and party in the thicket; and most of the officers and men being killed or wounded, made it impossible to bring off four field-pieces when they were ordered to retreat. 1781.

General Greene now thought it best to retire (his ammunition being mostly expended) out of the fire of the house, and draw up his troops a little distance from the woods. Having collected all his wounded, and retired to a place where there was water to refresh his troops, and leaving a strong piquet on the field of action, he detached General Marion and Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, between Eutaw and Charleston, to prevent reinforcements going to the enemy.

On the morning of the 7th of September, the enemy retired, leaving seventy of their wounded, and not less than a thousand stand of arms picked up on the field broke, and concealed in the springs. General Greene pursued; but they formed a junction with Major M'Arthur, near Ferguson's swamp, General Marion and Colonel Lee not having a force sufficient to prevent it; but upon the main body approaching, they retreated towards Charleston. Five hundred prisoners fell into his hands, including the wounded the enemy left behind. The brick house and their peculiar strength of position at Eutaw, saved the remainder of the Royalists. The General bestows great encomiums on his officers, and thinks himself peculiarly indebted for the victory to the free use of the bayonet made by the Virginians, Marylanders, the infantry of the legion, and Captain Kirkwood's light infantry. He regrets the loss of that soldier and patriot Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell of Virginia, who fell as he was leading his troops to the charge: The loss he sustained in officers was considerably more from their value than their number.

1781. Having pursued the Royalists as far as Martin's tavern, near Ferguson's swamp, and finding he could not overtake them, he halted with a design to take his old station on the high hills of Santee.

Sept. 11. Such was the situation of General Greene's army the 11th of September: this action gave to General Greene the undisputed mastery of the country of South Carolina.

Sept. 25. Admiral Digby, in the Prince George of ninety guns, with two other line of battle ships, and a thirty-six gun frigate, arrived at New-York, from England.

In this fleet came Prince *William Henry*,* a youth about fifteen years of age, the third son of King George the third. He is the first Royal personage that ever came to America.

Before the above arrival, Admiral Greaves, with the British fleet, had sailed from New York, for the Chesapeak, in quest of the French fleet.

October. About the middle of this month, Colonel Willet, of the Continentals, had an action with Major Ross in Tryon county, about fourteen miles above Fort Dayton, in which the noted Captain Walter Butler and eight others were killed, and twenty taken prisoners. Their number amounted (as appeared by a memorandum, found in Butler's pocket-book) to six hundred and seven, among whom were one hundred and thirty Indians. They had assembled in the upper part of the Mohawk district, and employed themselves in killing the cattle, belonging to the inhabitants, and other depredations. They were entirely routed, and fled into the wilderness, where their prospect was dismal. Seven days march—rivers passable but upon rafts—a barren wilderness, in an inclement season, to be encountered, before they could obtain any provisions. The desolate region they traversed, in their flight, lies upwards of thirty miles north of Fort Schuyler. All their horses, excepting five, and their wounded, fell into the hands of Colonel Willet.

Nov. Operations in Virginia, after the arrival of Count de Grasse.

Lord Cornwallis, with his troops, having taken possession of *York-town* and *Gloucester*, in August last, he established posts there. The former being the principal one, the Royalists were collected there, the 26th of that month, at the time Count de Grasse arrived off the Chesapeak, with a large fleet of French men of war, to assist in an expedition

* The present Duke of Clarence.

formed against his Lordship. In the beginning of September, Count de Grasse's fleet was joined by eight sail of men of war, from Newport under M. Barrás. The French Admiral landed some troops in Virginia. The critical situation of Lord Cornwallis called for every effort to be made by the Royal commanders at New York, to relieve him. For this purpose the British fleet, under Admirals T. Greaves, Hood, and Drake, sailed from thence for the Chesapeak. On their appearance off, the French slipped their cables, and put out after them. An engagement ensued, on the 7th of September, off Cape Henry. Count de Grasse commanded one division of the French, in the order of battle. M. de Morteuil and M. de Bouganville, the other two divisions. They prevailed over the British, and obliged them to desist. Captain Robinson, of the Shrewsbury, lost one of his legs. The action began at four o'clock, P. M. and continued till sunset, when the firing ceased. Rear-Admiral Drake commanded the van of the British, which division being chiefly engaged suffered greatly in their masts and rigging ; one of them, with all her pumps, could scarcely be kept above water, and they afterwards burnt her : she was the Terrible, of seventy-four guns. 1781.

By the British account, they suffered much more in their masts and tackling than the French : they had ninety men killed, and two hundred and forty-six wounded. The fleets remained within sight of each other five days ; but the French had so posted themselves, as to prevent any succours getting up York river. The British, therefore, returned to New York. Two British frigates, the Iris and Richmond were captured by the French.

The allied army, destined to encounter the British in Virginia, were said to consist of seven thousand French, and five thousand, five hundred Continental regulars, assisted with some militia. They passed the North River, and proceeded via Philadelphia ; they began to move from the neighbourhood of New York, towards the latter end of August ; and the beginning of September, they arrived at Williamsburg. Suitable dispositions being made, they invested York-town, and Gloucester. The allies began their operations, and on the evening of the 6th of October, broke ground within seven hundred yards of the enemy's lines. A parallel of a mile in extent was completed, unperceived by the enemy ; and before the evening of the 10th, they began a cannonade and bombardment, from upwards of sixty pieces of heavy ordnance and mortars, their fire being superiour to the enemy's.

1781. On the night of the 12th of October, the second parallel was begun, but not completed till the morn of the 15th. Two redoubts on the enemy's left being necessary to effect it, they were stormed by the French grenadiers, under Baron *de Viomenil*, and the American light troops, under Marquis de la Fayette. The redoubts were defended by one hundred and fifty men, all of whom were either killed or taken. The allies' loss was about one hundred killed and wounded. On the evening of the 16th, Colonel Abercrombie of the Royalists, with eight companies of light troops, made an attack on the line of the besiegers, in two places, and got into two unfinished batteries and spiked a few pieces of cannon; but was soon repulsed with loss. On the evening of the 17th, a furious attack was made on the enemy's works, from the second parallel, from seventy pieces, at the distance of about two hundred and fifty yards; which occasioned Lord Cornwallis to order a parley to be beat, and to request a cessation of twenty-four hours, for commissioners to be appointed by both parties, to adjust the terms of surrender. Sufficient time was granted by General Washington for this purpose. The Viscount de Noailles and Colonel Laurens, aids to his Excellency, having settled the preliminaries with Colonel Dundas and Major Ross, aids and commissioners from Lord Cornwallis, the articles of capitulation were signed the 19th of October, about one o'clock, and interchanged; and about two, P. M. the British garrison of York, led on by General O'Hara (Cornwallis being indisposed) was conducted by General Lincoln through the allied army drawn up in two lines, to a field, where, having grounded their arms, and stripped off their accoutrements, they were re-conducted through the lines, and committed to the care of a guard. At the same time, and in the same manner, the garrison of Gloucester was surrendered to the command of the Dûc de Lauzun. Previous to this, a detachment of Americans and French took possession of the enemy's horn-works, and planted on them the standards of the allied nations of America and France.

The only contest between the Americans and French, during the siege, was, who should excel in operations against the common enemy. An officer, who left the allied army the next day after the surrender of Lord Cornwallis and his army, favoured the publick with the foregoing narrative of their operations, &c.

Substance of the capitulation agreed on between General Washington, Count de Rochambeau, and Count de Grasse,

on the one part, and Earl Cornwallis and Thomas Symonds (commander of the British naval force at Virgina) on the other part. 1781.

"The mariners and seamen of the King's ships are prisoners of war to the navy of France, and the land forces to the United States.

"All military and artillery stores to be delivered up unimpaired. (The manner of surrender was with shouldered arms, colours cased, and drums beating a British march, to ground their arms, and return to their encampment till their destination was fixed.)

"Officers to have their side arms allowed them, and their private property.

"The soldiers to be kept at Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, in regiments, to have rations allowed them equal to the Americans; and to have their officers near them.

"The General and other officers to go on paroles to England, New York, or other posts occupied by the British; the officers to keep soldiers or servants.

"Lord Cornwallis to man and despatch the Bonetta sloop of war with despatches to Sir Henry Clinton at New York; the vessel to be returned and the hands accounted for.

"The traders to be allowed to dispose of their effects, and to be prisoners on parole.

"The shipping with all the stores, &c. to be delivered to an officer of the navy," &c.

One article proposing, "That the natives or inhabitants who had joined the British, should not be punished on that account," was not admitted by his Excellency General Washington, and referred to the civil power.

An official return states the loss on the side of the French, fifty killed, and one hundred and twenty-seven wounded; Americans, twenty-seven killed, and seventy-three wounded: total, two hundred and seventy-seven. Among the slain of the Americans is Colonel Scammel, a worthy officer, who had served with great reputation as Adjutant-General of the Continental troops.

Cornwallis's account of his loss, during the siege, is one hundred and fifty-six killed, three hundred and twenty-six wounded, and seventy missing; total, five hundred and fifty-two.

From the original muster-rolls of the British, a copy of which was transmitted to Congress by General Washington, the following appears to be their loss, viz.

1781. *7247 Regulars, including the hospital and commissary departments.

October.

75 brass 169 iron	cannon.	83 lbs. 89½bbls.	powder.
2025 sabres.		261 horses.	
7794 musquets.		1600 casks pork, beef, flour, and other provisions.	

A large quantity of artillery and military stores, regimental standards. German 18, British 10; camp colours, German 32, British 41.

Military chest £.2113 6s. sterling.

General Washington sent forward to Congress twenty-four of the standards to be preserved as trophies of this victory.

Lord Cornwallis having been reduced to such a situation, as obliged him to surrender, or attempt an escape, he made preparations for the latter,† expecting that though it should prove unsuccessful to its object, it might delay the allied forces in the prosecution of their enterprizes. A number of large boats were prepared, and upon other pretexts were ordered to be in readiness to receive troops precisely at an hour he had appointed; with these he hoped to pass the infantry in the night, abandoning his baggage, and leaving a detachment to capitulate for the town's people, and for the sick and wounded; on which subject a letter was ready to be delivered to General Washington.

After making his arrangements as secretly as he could, the light infantry, greatest part of the guards, and part of the twenty-third regiment embarked at the hour appointed, and landed at Gloucester; but a storm of wind and rain ensuing, drove all the boats, some of which had troops on board, down the river. He soon found that the intended passage was impracticable. In this situation his force being divided, the batteries of the besiegers opened on him; the passage between York and Gloucester greatly exposed. The boats however returned, and were ordered to bring back the troops that had passed during the night, which was done, and they again joined his Lordship at York. This plan of getting off with his troops not succeeding, he thought in now time to open a correspondence with General Washington, with proposals of surrender on the conditions above-mentioned.

* Another list published makes their loss 11,800, including 2000 sailors, 1800 negroes, and 1500 Tories, 80 vessels, large and small.

† See his letter written after his capture.

The Brigadiers Du Portail and Knox, for their services at the siege of York-town, were advanced to the rank of Major-Generals. 1781.

About the 4th of this month, Count De Grasse, with the French fleet, sailed from Virginia for the West Indies.

[We regret the fate of this brave and experienced commander.

After his arrival at Hispaniola, he sailed again with his fleet to join the Spanish fleet, in a certain latitude, which was destined to recapture the island of Jamaica (which had been taken from the Spaniards in 1656, and had remained in possession of the English.) The British fleet under the Admirals Rodney, Hood, and Drake, fell in with the French fleet; and, on the 12th of April, 1782, had a severe engagement with them. The count, being overpowered by the enemy's force, after the bravest resistance, was obliged to strike to Sir Samuel Hood in the Barfleur.

The count had his flag on board the Ville de Paris of one hundred and ten guns; besides which five other ships of the French squadron were captured by the British. The count had the testimony of the principal British officers in his favour; they applauded his courage and conduct, and testified that he had done all it was in the power of any man to do in like circumstances; notwithstanding which, and the honour he had brought on the French flag in America, he was disgraced in France; his misfortune and ill treatment soon put an end to his life after his arrival there.]

This day was appointed by Congress, and accordingly observed throughout the United States, as a day of religious thanksgiving for the signal victory granted the allied army over the enemy at York-town, the 19th of October last. *Dec.* 23.

At this period a revolution in the currency of the United States took place. The paper bills of credit, emitted by Congress and individual States, by their recommendation, to carry on the war, suddenly disappeared and went out of circulation; gold and silver appeared, and became the circulating medium. The foreign loans negociated by the American ministers, the specie brought by the French troops and navy, together with the trade of the French and Spanish West Indies (part of the returns being invested in hard money) facilitated this change in the currency of the States.

The capture of Earl Cornwallis and his army was humiliating to the British ministry, and frustrated their sanguine hopes of reducing America to the obedience of Parliament. 1782.

1782. On his Lordship's arrival in England (on his parole) he declared that "America was not to be conquered by fire and sword, let their numbers be ever so great." Lord North saw the futility of his schemes, and said that the form of the war all together should be altered. Lord George Germaine resigned his American secretaryship, and quitted the idea of conquest. In fact all parties wished for peace.

March. The military operations of the royal army at New York were suspended. Sir Henry Clinton employed a number of his troops in cutting a canal from the north to the east river, to serve as a barrier against any attack from the continental army, in case the suspension should be taken off, and the war be renewed.

Count De Rochambeau detached from his army in Virginia about eight hundred troops, to join General Greene in Carolina.

The latter end of this month, a bill was prepared and brought into Parliament, "to enable his majesty to conclude a peace and truce with the revolted colonies in America."

An act was passed conformable to the principles of this bill, and received the royal assent; but it was deficient in the two most essential points: it did not contain the least hint of granting independency to America, or including France in the truce proposed. The people were clamorous against the ministry; they had lost their confidence. Their measures were found to be ruinous in their consequences to the nation, and a total change in the administration took place. The *Marquis of Rockingham* was appointed first lord of the treasury, *in the room* of *Lord North*. The views of the new ministry appeared to be pacifick; something like an olive branch was held out to America; and Sir Guy Carleton despatched there, with the act of truce, just mentioned, which, had it been passed after the change of the old ministry, would probably have contained the necessary requisites for making peace. Sir Guy Carleton was also to succeed Sir Henry Clinton as commander in chief of the troops at New York.

April. About the middle of this month, Captain *Joshua Huddy* was inhumanly hanged at Middletown point, by a party of refugees. The story is thus told by the author of "Common Sense," in a letter to Sir Guy Carleton, after his arrival at New York.

"He was attacked at a small fort on Tom's river, by a party of refugees in the British pay and service, and made prisoner, together with his company, carried to New York, and lodg-

ed in the provost of that city. About three weeks after, he was taken out of the provost down to the water side, put into a boat, and brought again upon the Jersey shore, and there, contrary to the practice of all nations but savages, was hung on a tree, and left hanging until found by our people, who took him down and buried him. 1782.

"The inhabitants of that part of the country, where the murder was committed, sent a deputation to General Washington, with a full and certified state of the fact. Struck, as every humane breast must be, at such British outrage, and determined both to punish and prevent it for the future, the general represented the case to General Clinton, who then commanded, and demanded that the refugee officer, who ordered and attended the execution, whose name is *Lippincut*, should be delivered up as a murderer, and in case of refusal, that the person of some British officer should suffer in his stead. The demand, though not refused, has not been complied with, and the melancholy lot, (not by selection but by casting lots) has fallen upon Captain *Asgill*, of the guards, [a prisoner under the capitulation of York-town.] The refugees' pretence for this violent act, was, "That Captain Huddy, some time before, made prisoner of a certain Philip White of their party, and after having maimed him, broke both his legs, and tauntingly bid him run;" but (says the relator of this affair) "This flimsy story must have been *created* by the murderous hearts of the refugees to cloak their villany." It was fully proved, that Captain Huddy was closely confined a prisoner at New York, *at the time, and for many days before White was taken.* To set this matter right, an extract of a letter, dated at Freehold, Monmouth county, 15th of April, was published at Trenton, respecting White. It relates "His being taken the last of March, and after tokens of surrendering as a prisoner, he took up a musket and killed a son of Colonel Hendrickson; but being taken by some light horse, and while they were conducting him to Freehold, he again attempted to make his escape; and being called upon several times to surrender, and continuing to run, when leaping into a bog impassable by the horse, he received a stroke on his head with a sword, which killed him instantly. The above facts were proved by affidavits of the persons who were present, and by the voluntary testimony of one Aaron, who was taken prisoner with the said White."

The true cause of the barbarity to Captain Huddy was said to be, his having several times bravely defended him-

1782. self, when attacked by the refugees, and in some instances been successful against them.

Sir Guy Carleton (after Clinton's departure) though applied to for the delivering up the perpetrators of this act, to save the life of the unfortunate Asgill, did not do it. Lippincut is said to have had a trial by a general court martial at New York, and was cleared by proving he acted under orders from the board of refugees; the president of which board had been the king's governour of the neighbouring State, and had embarked for England.

[Mrs. Asgill, mother of the destined victim, wrote a moving letter to M. Vergennes, minister of France, representing the youth (about nineteen) and innocence of her son, and the distress of her family, her husband sick, given over by his physicians, and her daughter seized with a delirium, &c. The humane minister interposed and represented the above circumstances to General Washington, and he to Congress, in consequence of which young Asgill was released by their order in the month of November.]

April 19. The *United Provinces of Holland*, having entered into an alliance with France, offensive and defensive, consented thereby to defend the freedom of America, and now resolved to recognize the independency of said States, and in consequence thereof admitted *John Adams, Esq.* as minister plenipotentiary from the thirteen United States, to their high mightinesses the states-general, to which office he had been appointed after Congress had advice of the capture of Henry Laurens, Esq. on his passage from Philadelphia to Holland, September 12th, 1780.

Mr. Adams had presented addresses to them on this subject, in the months of March, 1781, and January, 1782, and they had deliberated on permitting him to deliver credentials, but the question was not determined till this day. The credentials he delivered to the president of the states-general, was conceived in the following terms:

"Most High and Mighty Lords,

"The United States of America in Congress assembled, impressed with a sense of the prudence and magnanimity of their high mightinesses, and of their unalterable attachments to the rights of humanity, and being desirous of cultivating a friendship with a nation so remarkable for their wisdom and moderation, have appointed Mr. John Adams, an ancient deputy in Congress, from the Province of Massachusetts, and a member of the Council of that State, to reside near their high mightinesses, in quality of minister plenipo-

tentiary, to the end that proof may be given to the Republick of the high esteem the Americans entertain of their high mightinesses. Also are requested to confide unreservedly in whatever said minister shall communicate from us, and especially when he shall assure them of the sincerity of our affection and respect, &c. S. HUNTINGTON,
Philadelphia, January 1, 1781. *President.*" 1782.

A few days after delivery of the above, the American minister presented a memorial relative to the business of his mission in the words following, viz. "That he was charged with an order of Congress to propose to the states-general, &c. a treaty of friendship and commerce, &c. between the two Republicks, and requesting they would appoint one or more of its subjects to confer and treat with him on this important point."

Commodore *Gillon*, commander of the South Carolina frigate, in a letter of this date to Governour Matthews of that State, informs him that "he, together with a fleet of Spanish and American vessels, sailed from Havannah, and invested *New Providence*. The Spanish general having summoned the Governour *Maxwell* to surrender, he delivered up the island, and the other Bahamas, by capitulation, to the Spanish general, Cagigal, *in behalf of the crown of Spain*. *May* 15.

Although there are not many good harbours among these islands, yet when it is considered that they extend from the latitude of 21° 0′, to the latitude of 27° 30′ north, and from the longitude of 70° to about the longitude of 79° west from London, filling up the seas from about opposite the centre of the island of Hispaniola, to above half way down the island of Cuba, and then stretching from Cape Florida, to very near a-breast of Cape Canaveral, on the continent of North America; their being in possession of a friend or an enemy, is of no small consequence to the United States: Especially as the different shoals and small islands form a shelter for cruisers, and that from the particular turn these people have for privateering, they succeeded so well, as to capture upwards of an hundred and sixty vessels, during the last twelve months, many of which were Americans.

Major-General Wayne, at Georgia, writes to Major-General Greene of this date, "That the enemy were out in force from Savannah, in consequence of which he put the troops under his command in motion, and having intelligence, the 21st of May, in what manner the troops were disposed; notwith- *May* 24.

1782. standing the difficulty of the rout to their position, as well as the delicacy of a measure that would place him between the whole of the enemy's force in Georgia, relying on the activity of his officers and troops, he directed them to advance, upon conviction that the success of an attack in the night depended more on prowess than numbers. On the Ogeebe road, about 4 miles south-west of Savannah, his vanguard charged the enemy with such vivacity, as immediately terminated in the total defeat and dispersion of all the British cavalry, and a large body of infantry picked from the 7th regiment, the Hessians, Fannings, and Browne's regulars, with the Chictaw Indians, tories, &c. commanded by Col. Browne. The almost impenetrable thick woods, deep morasses, and swamps, into which they plunged in a dispersed state, under cover of the night, saved them from total ruin, at the expense of a great proportion of their arms and horses, which they abandoned to procure personal safety. A number fell into the hands of Gen. Wayne, among whom is Lieut. Col. Douglas, dangerously wounded. He collected about twenty or thirty of their best dragoon horses, and Colonel Browne and Lieutenant-Colonel Ingram did not get back to Savannah till the second night after the action, and then unattended.

General Wayne effected this fatiguing march of forty miles in a few hours, and with the loss of only five privates killed and two wounded. The general advanced with his troops in view of the enemy's lines, but the commander, General Clarke, not choosing to come out, he marched his troops back to Ebenezer.

General *Leslie*, now commander of the Royalists in Carolina, in consequence of some official papers, he had received from Sir Henry Clinton before he left the continent, proposed to General Greene *a cessation of arms*; but as the latter had no advice from Congress on that subject, he did not think himself at liberty to make such an agreement.

From a representation of the circumstances of the Royalists in that State, it appears they much needed the cessation proposed. The flying parties from Charleston, though they made frequent excursions into the country, had very little success. The Continentals having the possession of it, it was with much difficulty they got supplies of provisions except from the islands, which were greatly interrupted. It was at that time reported that the province had raised above 80,000 barrels of rice the year (1781) yet the British ships could not come at it before, and were obliged to leave Charleston in ballast. Their army there was also greatly reduced by

the actions they had been engaged in, by sickness, and by desertion. 1782.

To make a *separate* peace with the United States, exclusive of France, was the object of the act of Parliament brought to America by Sir Guy Carleton.

He delivered his publick papers to Mr. Morgan, his secretary, and requested of General Washington a passport for him to Congress, but they having previous knowledge of the tenour of the act, directed the commander in chief not to grant the passport requested, as it would be a waste of time to deliberate on terms they had some time before resolved were inadmissible by them.

Congress passed the following act: *June* 21.

"Whereas the enemy, having renounced the hope of accomplishing their designs against the United States by force alone, are resorting to every expedient which may tend to corrupt the patriotism of their citizens, or to weaken the foundation of the publick credit: And in pursuance of this policy, are encouraging, to the utmost, a clandestine traffick between the inhabitants of this country, and those who reside within the garrisons and places therein, now in their possession: And whereas some of the said inhabitants, prompted either by a sordid attachment to gain, or by a secret conspiracy with the enemies of their country, are wickedly engaged in carrying on this illicit traffick, whereby a market is provided for British merchandizes, the circulating specie is exported from the United States, the payment of taxes rendered more difficult and burthensome to the people at large, and great discouragement occasioned to honest and lawful commerce:

"Resolved, that it be, and hereby is, recommended to the legislatures of the several States, to adopt the most efficacious measures for suppressing all traffick and illicit intercourse between their respective citizens and the enemy.

"Resolved, that the legislatures, or in case of their recess, the executives of the several States, be earnestly requested to impress, by every means in their power, on the respective citizens at large, the baneful consequences apprehended by Congress from a continuance of this illicit and infamous traffick, and the necessity of co-operating with the publick measures, by such united, patriotick, and vigilant exertions, as will detect and bring to legal punishment, those who shall have been in any manner concerned therein."

Congress removed from Philadelphia to *Princeton*, by direction of their president, *Elias Boudinot, Esq.* *June* 26.

1782. Their removal was in consequence of a *mutiny*, which happened among a few of the Continental troops at Philadelphia (some Pennsylvania levies from Lancaster.) They seized the magazines, artillery, &c. surrounded the Senate house, and sent a letter to the president of Congress, *demanding* "Their authority to appoint such officers over them, as they could confide in, and would redress their grievances; that they had only twenty minutes to deliberate, and they might judge of the consequences, if they refused." The president of the State of Pennsylvania, *John Dickinson, Esq.* interfered with the light horse, &c. But it appeared to Congress, from the present state of things in Philadelphia, that there was not sufficient energy in that government to protect them, in case matters were brought to extremities, and therefore thought it prudent for that body to quit the city.

June 29. At *Sharon*, about five miles from Savannah, General Wayne was attacked in a violent impetuous manner by a large body of *Cherokee* Indians, with whom, it was said, there was a British officer. They drove a light company in the rear of Col. Posey's battalion, and took two pieces of artillery; but Captain Parker, assisted by Captain Gun, with his troops of dragoons, advanced upon the enemy, notwithstanding a heavy fire and hideous yell. At the same time Colonel Posey and Major Finley charged the enemy in flank, and soon caused the total rout of the savages. Fourteen indians and two whites were killed; among the former was *Emistessigo*, their principal warriour. General Wayne had the precaution to prevent a junction of the British garrison at Savannah with the savages. When the Royalists came out, he drove them back. They took one British standard, and one hundred and twenty-seven horses with packs. Of the Continentals, five were killed, and eight wounded. The following story was told in Carolina: "That in the engagement, a single combat was fought between the general and the Indian chief Emistessigo. When the general's horse was shot under him, and the tomahawk of the chief uplifted, and in the moment of putting an end to his life, a dragoon came up and despatched the Indian warriour with his sword."

July 21. This day the British *evacuated* Savannah, in Georgia, and General Wayne took possession of it. This brave man, humane and generous as he is brave, instead of making them suffer for the part they had taken, issued general orders, that no insult or depredation should be committed on the inhab-

itants by his troops; the civil authority to take cognizance of criminals and default, if any there was: 1782.

The merchants and traders to give genuine invoices of their goods of every species, and a reasonable profit to be allowed them for such articles, as should be taken for use of the army, &c.

The Royalists, under the orders of General Leslie, were this month ravishing Combakee river, in quest of rice and other provisions for the garrison of Charleston. General Greene detached some light troops under General Gist to oppose them: they missed them, and were obliged to retire without obtaining their object; but the Continentals sustained a very heavy loss; *Colonel John Laurens* being slain this day in a skirmish with another party of the enemy's troops. This gentleman was son of Henry Laurens, Esq. late President of Congress, and had been employed by them on a special embassy to France, to obtain a loan for the United States. He arrived in that kingdom the 14th of November, and having succeeded in his negociation, he returned to his country with Mr. T. Paine (who accompanied him there.) He is the last officer of note slain in the war, and is characterized "As having possessed abilities equal to the highest stations." *Aug.* 27.

Brigadier-General Marion repulsed a party of one hundred horse, and some dragoons, who had crossed Biggin's bridge at Fardo's plantation, under Major Fraser: they broke and retreated in confusion, leaving behind them a Captain Gillis, and three men dead; one prisoner, eight horses, and a mule, killed and taken. General Marion lost his ammunition waggon, and baggage; the driver being affrighted drove off, contrary to orders. The enemy took the road to Huge's bridge, and Major Conyers was despatched in pursuit of them. The day after this affair happened, the General forwarded the above account to Governour Matthews. *Aug.* 29.

In this month arrived at New York Admiral Lord Hood, in the Barfleur, from the West-Indies; and Admiral Pigot, with several sail of the line, from Jamaica. After having recruited, they took their departure. *Sept.*

A treaty of commerce was signed in Holland between the Deputies of the seven United Provinces, and Mr. Adams, Ambassador from Congress. *Oct.* 7.

The British government, having tried every means in their power to subjugate the United States without success, were at length convinced, it was time to give over the war, desist from further offensive operations in America, and enter into *Nov.* 30.

1782. negociations for a *general* pacification, as France and the United States would not negociate unless jointly.

A Commissioner was sent from the court of London to Paris, to treat with the American Plenipotentiaries there. The provisional articles offered by Messrs. Adams, Franklin, Jay, and Laurens, on the part of the United States, were accepted and signed at Paris this day by them, and Richard Oswald, Esq. the British Commissioner. In the first article of which Great-Britain acknowledges the thirteen United States of America, to be *free, sovereign, independent States*, and relinquishes all claim to the government, property, and territorial rights of the same.

France and Holland also adjusted their disputes, but the separate treaties with them were not signed at this time.*

Dec. 14. General Leslie, with the Royalists, evacuated South Carolina. The civil police in Charleston was re-established by the American inhabitants.

The Americans had now repossession of all the southern States. It was said, not less than eighteen thousand men had been employed by the British in their expeditions in that quarter.

1783. The Earl of Shelburne was Prime Minister, on decease of the Marquis of Rockingham, and at the time the provisional articles of peace with America were signed ; but retired from the helm of government, before the ratification of them. The Duke of Portland was mounted in his place. Lord North came again into administration, as one of the principal Secretaries of State ; but the Ministry, formed under the Duke of Portland, was of short duration, and a new arrangement took place.

January. A report was circulated through the American camp, "That Congress did not mean to comply with their resolves, respecting half pay." This operated very powerfully on the minds of the officers of the army, and occasioned them to forward an address to Congress, in behalf of themselves, and their brethren, the soldiers. They asked for a supply of money to be forwarded immediately to the army, for a settlement of the accounts of arrearages of pay, and security for what is due ; for a commutation of half for *full* pay for a certain number of years, or for a sum in gross as should be agreed on ; for a settlement of accounts, for deficiencies of rations and compensations, and of the deficiencies

* Treaty with France signed January 20, 1783, with Holland in September.

of clothing and compensations. They conclude their address in these words: "The pressure of evils and injuries in the course of seven long years have made their condition, in many instances, wretched: they therefore entreat that Congress (to convince the army, and the world, that the independence of America shall not be placed on the ruin of any particular class of citizens) will point out a mode for immediate redress; and that the disabled officers and soldiers, with the widows and orphans of those who have expended, or may expend, their lives in the service of their country, may be comprehended, and that some mode be pointed out for the eventual payment of those soldiers, who are the subjects of the resolution of Congress of the 15th of May, 1778." 1783.

In consequence of this address, Congress passed the following resolves, viz. *Jan.* 25.

"That the superintendent of finance be directed, conformable to the measures already taken for that purpose, as soon as the state of the publick finances will permit, to make such payment, and in such manner as he shall think proper, till the further order of Congress.

"With respect to the second article of the address (the settlement of accounts of the arrearages of pay) That the several States be called upon to complete, without delay, the settlements with their respective lines of the army, up to the first day of August, 1780; and that the superintendent of finance to take such measures, as shall appear to him most proper for effecting the settlement from that period. That the troops of the United States, in common with all creditors of the same have an undoubted right to expect security [for what shall be found due] and Congress will make every effort in their power, to obtain from the respective States substantial funds, adequate to the object of funding the whole debt of the United States, and will enter upon an immediate and full consideration of the nature of such funds, and the most likely mode of obtaining them."

The remainder of the report of the committee on the subject of the address was referred to a committee of five.

General M'Dougal and Colonel Ogden, two of the army agents, despatched to Congress on the business of the address, in a letter to General Knox made known to the army their success; and Colonel Brooks returned to camp, to inform them, by word of mouth, of the prospect of commutation, or obtaining an equivalent for half pay, which they had proposed in their address. General M'Dougal continued at Congress on the army business, whilst the impression *Feb.* 8.

1783.

of the report which occasioned the address to Congress (however false) remained on the minds of some officers; notwithstanding Congress were doing all that the circumstances of the States would admit to relieve and satisfy the army.

Mar. 10. Some *anonymous* papers, addressed to the officers, &c. made their appearance, and were calculated to inflame their minds, and cause sedition in the army; but the wise and pru-

Mar. 18. dent conduct of the commander in chief prevented it.

The commander in chief, in a letter to the President of Congress, dated this day, inclosed the result of the grand convention of officers, who had met agreeable to his orders, on the 15th instant. His Excellency opened the convention with an address to them on the subject of their being called together, in which he acquaints them that, "By an anonymous summons, an attempt has been made to convene you together; how inconsistent with the rules of propriety! how unmilitary! and how subversive of all good order and discipline! let the good sense of the army decide. In the moment of this summons, another anonymous production was sent into circulation, addressed more to the feelings and passions, than to the reason and judgment of the army. The author of the piece is entitled to much credit for the goodness of his pen, and I could wish he had as much credit for the rectitude of his heart; for as men see through different opticks, and are induced by the reflecting faculties of the mind, to use different means to obtain the same end, the author of the address should have had more charity than to mark for suspicion the man, who should recommend moderation and longer forbearance, or in other words, who does not think as he thinks, and act as he advises. But he had another plan in view, in which candour and liberality of sentiment, regard to justice and love of country, have no part; and he was right to insinuate the darkest suspicion to effect the blackest designs.

"That the address is drawn with great art, and is designed to answer the most insidious purposes; that it is calculated to impress the mind with an idea of premeditated injustice in the sovereign power of the United States, and rouse all those resentments which must unavoidably flow from such a belief; that the secret mover of this scheme (whoever he may be) intended to take advantage of the passions, while they were warmed by the recollection of past distresses, without giving time for cool deliberate thinking, and that composure of mind, which is so necessary to give dignity and stability to meas-

ures, is rendered too obvious by the mode of conducting the business to need other proof than a reference to the proceeding. Thus much, gentlemen, I have thought it incumbent on me to observe to you, to shew upon what principles I opposed the irregular and hasty meeting, which was proposed to have been held on Thursday last, and not because I wanted a disposition to give you every opportunity, consistent with your own honour and the dignity of the army, to make known your grievances," &c. After shewing the impracticability of the measures proposed in the anonymous addresses, his confidence in the gratitude and justice of Congress, and pledging himself to exert whatever ability he possessed in their favour, and recommending them not to take any measures which, viewed in the calm light of reason, would lessen the dignity they had hitherto maintained, his Excellency withdrew; and the convention unanimously resolved to present him their thanks for his excellent speech. 1783.

General Knox, Colonel Brooks, and Captain Howard were appointed a committee to draw up some resolutions, expressive of the business of the convention. They reported, and the convention

"Resolved unanimously, that at the commencement of the present war, the officers of the American army engaged in the service of their country, from the purest love and attachment to the rights and liberties of human nature, which motives still exist in the highest degree, and that no circumstance of distress or danger shall induce a conduct, that may tend to sully the reputation and glory, which they have acquired at the price of their blood, and eight years' faithful services.

"Resolved unanimously, that the army continue to have an unshaken confidence in the justice of Congress and their country, and are fully convinced that the Representatives of America will not disband or disperse the army, until their accounts are liquidated, the balances accurately ascertained, and adequate funds established for payment. And in this arrangement the officers expect, that the half pay, or commutation of it, should be efficaciously comprehended.

"Resolved unanimously, that his Excellency, the commander in chief, be requested to write to his Excellency the President of Congress, earnestly entreating the more speedy decision of that honourable body upon the subjects of our late address, which was forwarded by a committee of the army, some of whom are waiting upon Congress for the result. In the alternative of peace or war, this event would be high-

ly satisfactory, and would produce immediate tranquillity in the minds of the army, and prevent any further machinations of designing men to sow discord between the civil and military powers of the United States.

" Resolved unanimously, that the officers of the American army view with abhorrence, and reject with disdain, the infamous propositions contained in a late anonymous address to the officers of the army, and resent with indignation the secret attempts of some unknown persons, to collect the officers together, in a manner totally subversive of all discipline and good order.

" Resolved unanimously, that the thanks of the officers of the army be given to the committee who presented to Congress the late address of the army, for the wisdom and prudence with which they have conducted that business; and that a copy of the proceedings of this day be transmitted by the President to Major-General M'Dougal: and that he be requested to continue his solicitations at Congress, until the objects of his mission are accomplished. The meeting was then dissolved. (Signed)

HORATIO GATES,
President."

Mar. 22. This day Congress came to the following resolutions:

" Whereas the officers of the several lines under the immediate command of his Excellency, General Washington, did, by their late memorial transmitted, represent to Congress, that the half pay granted by sundry resolutions was regarded in an unfavourable light by the citizens of some of the States, who would prefer a compensation for a limited term of years, or by a sum in gross, to an establishment for life; and did, on that account, solicit a commutation of their half pay for an equivalent, in one of the modes abovementioned, in order to remove all subjects of dissatisfaction from the minds of their fellow citizens: And whereas Congress are desirous, as well of gratifying the reasonable expectations of the officers of the army, as of removing all objections, which may exist in any part of the United States to the principles of the half pay establishment, for which the faith of the United States hath been pledged; persuaded that those objections can only arise from the nature of the compensation, not from any indisposition to compensate those, whose services, sacrifices, and sufferings, have so justly a title to the approbation and rewards of their country:

" Therefore resolved, that such officers as are now in service, and shall continue therein to the end of the war, shall

be entitled to receive the amount of five years' full pay in money, or securities on interest, at six per cent. per annum, as Congress shall find most convenient, instead of the half pay promised for life, by the resolution of the 21st day of October, 1780, the said securities to be such, as shall be given to the creditors of the United States. Provided that it be at the option of the lines of the respective States, and not of officers, individuals in those States, to accept or refuse the same. And provided also, that their election shall be signified to Congress, through the commander in chief, from the lines under his immediate command within two months; and through the commanding officer of the southern army, from those under his command, within six months, from the date of this resolution. 1783.

"That the same computation shall extend to the corps not belonging to the lines of particular States, and who are entitled to half pay for life as aforesaid; the acceptance or refusal to be determined by corps, and to be signified in the same manner, and within the same time as above mentioned.

"That all officers belonging to the hospital department, who are entitled to half pay by the resolution of the 17th day of January, 1781, may collectively agree to accept, or refuse the aforesaid commutation, signifying the same thro' the commander in chief, within six months from this time.

"That such officers as have retired at different periods, entitled to half pay for life, may, collectively in each State, in which they are inhabitants, accept or refuse the same; their acceptation or refusal to be signified by agents, authorized for that purpose, within six months from this period. That with respect to such retiring officers, the commutation, if accepted by them, shall be in lieu of whatever may be now due to them, since the time of their retiring from service, as well as of what might hereafter become due, and that as soon as their acceptance shall be signified, the superintendent of finance be, and he is hereby, directed to take measures for the settlement of their accounts accordingly, and to issue to them certificates bearing interest at six per cent.

"That all officers entitled to half pay for life, not included in the preceding resolution, may also collectively agree to accept, or refuse the aforesaid commutation, signifying the same within six months from this time."

The war being ended, we will now see how the account stands, and we shall find the following to be a just statement of it.

1783. A *loss* to Great-Britain of two large armies, captured by the States (exclusive of many thousands, killed and taken in various actions of the war;) thirteen colonies dismembered from them; and an increase of their national debt, in seven years, one hundred and twenty millions.

The *United States* have *gained* independency and the liberty they contended for, and find their debt to be less than forty-five millions of dollars (which is short of ten million pounds sterling, viz. £9,993,424 9*s.* 6*d.* sterling.

The national debt of Great-Britain, at this period, amounts to the enormous sum of two hundred and forty million pounds sterling.

The whole of the American debt is, viz.

Foreign debt - - -	7,885,085
Domestick do. - -	34,115,290
Annual interest on both, foreign at 5 per cent. domestick, 6 per cent. per annum	2,415,956
Dollars	44,416,331

April 11. Congress took into consideration the state of their national debt; and for the purpose of discharging it, and restoring the publick credit, they recommended and resolved on "An impost upon goods imported into the States from any foreign ports." On the articles of rum, sugar, molasses, wine, cotton, coffee, and India teas, the duty is stipulated and fixed. On all other goods (agreeable to this resolve) a duty of five per cent. ad valorem is to be paid. This impost to continue not longer than twenty-five years.* Congress also recommended to the several States, to establish for the same term substantial revenues, as should be most convenient to supply their respective proportions of one million five hundred thousand dollars annually, exclusive of the forementioned duties.

May 26. At or about the time Congress had agreed on the *commutation act*, they received advice, that the provisional articles of peace were signed; but as the *Definitive Treaty* was delayed, the army could not prudently be totally disbanded. Economy was therefore consulted, and it was thought proper to lessen the publick expenditures, as conveniently as could be

* The plan of Impost was not adopted by all the States, till the new Federal Constitution took place in 1789.

In their first session, they passed an "impost bill," and impost offices were established in each State of the Union.

done. Accordingly Congress resolved, "To instruct the commander in chief to grant furloughs to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers, enlisted to serve during the war, who were to be discharged as soon as the definitive treaty of peace was concluded, together with a proportionable number of commissioned officers. 1783.

As soon as this resolution was known by the army, and the commander in chief had issued orders conformable thereto, the generals and officers of the troops, in cantonment on Hudson's river, addressed his Excellency on the subject; and expressed their dissatisfaction with it. They solicit him, "That the order of the second of June, founded on the act of Congress of the 26th of May, may be suspended, or varied in its operation, so far as that no officer or soldier be obliged to receive a furlough, until that honourable body can be apprized of the wretched situation into which they must be plunged by a conformity to it. That your Excellency will endeavour to prevail on Congress, nay, that on the principles of common justice, you will insist that neither officer nor soldier be compelled to leave the field, until a liquidation of accounts can be effected, till the balances are ascertained, certificates for the sums due given, including the commutation of half pay to the officers, and the gratuity of eighty dollars to the soldiers, and till a supply of money can be furnished sufficient to carry us from the field of glory with honour to ourselves and credit to our country." *June.*

To this address the commander in chief returned an answer, and justifies the measure Congress had taken, "That it undoubtedly was by a reduction of expense, to enable the financier to make the three months' pay to the army, which on all hands have been agreed to, be absolutely and indispensably necessary."

His Excellency informed them that he had sent a message to the financier, to urge the necessity of forwarding the notes [for the three months payment] with all possible despatch. That the expense of every day feeding the whole army would increase very considerably the inability of the publick to discharge the debts, already incurred, at least, for a considerable time to come.

His Excellency, relying on the good intentions of Congress, respecting the army, complied on certain conditions, with the request of the officers, in their address to him, *considering furloughs in all services, as a matter of indulgence, and not of compulsion.*

On this day, the commander in chief wrote to his Excellency, the President of Congress, from his Head Quarters *June 7.*

1783. at Newburgh, and enclosed to him the address of the generals and officers to him, and his answer. He informed the President, that the principal subjects of complaint were the delay of the three months' payment, and the settlement of accounts; that he had made some little alterations respecting furloughs, &c.

June 21. General Greene took leave of the army he had commanded in Carolina, and in his general orders of this date, he tells them, "It is his happiness that he had the honour to command an army, not less distinguished for its patience, than bravery; and it will add no small lustre to your character to say, that you have rejected with abhorrence the practice of plundering and the exercise of cruelty, although urged by your necessities to the former, and by the example of your enemies to the last. United by principle, and connected by affection, you have exhibited to the world a proof, that elevated souls, and persevering tempers, can triumph overy difficulty."

Aug. 7. Congress, impressed with a sense of the services of the commander in chief of the army of the United States, wished to exhibit a permanent testimony of it, and at their session in Princeton, resolved to erect a monument of General Washington, viz. "That an equestrian statue of his Excellency be erected at the place, where the residence of Congress shall be established; the American Commissioners in France, to employ the best artists in Europe to execute the design, which Congress proposed, should be as follows, viz. "On the marble pedestal, which is to support the statue, is to be represented in *basso relievo* the principal events of the war, in which General Washington commanded in person, evacuation of Boston, capture of Trenton, battle of Princeton, action at Monmouth, surrender of York." Besides this intended demonstration of respect, at the request of Congress, his Excellency attended them the 26th of August, and re-

Aug. 26. ceived the united thanks of America, in an address to him, by their President (Elias Boudinot, Esq.)

"Your Excellency's services (said the President) have been essential in acquiring and establishing the freedom and independence of your country: they deserve the grateful acknowledgments of a free and independent nation. These acknowledgments Congress have the satisfaction of addressing to your Excellency. Hostilities have now ceased, but your country still needs your service, and wishes to avail herself of your talents, in forming the arrangements which will be necessary for it in the time of peace," &c. &c. At

what greater honour can any mere man arrive, than to receive the united acknowledgments of three millions of people, assembled by their representatives, declaring to all the world that he hath been the temporal saviour of his country? 1783.

The definitive treaty of peace was signed the 23d of September, and Congress having ratified it, they issued a proclamation to disband their army. The proclamation purports, "That part of the army, which stood engaged to serve during the war, and by several acts of Congress, had been furloughed, should be absolutely discharged after the 3d of November from said service; and that the further service in the field of the officers deranged, and on furlough, are now dispensed with, and they have permission to retire from service, no more to be called to command," &c. In the proclamation, Congress give their thanks to the army for their exertions in the cause of America, and the common rights of mankind. *Oct.* 18.

The mode of disbanding the army was well calculated to prevent any disorders, which might have been the consequence of dismissing a large number of men in a body. The advice of their beloved commander in chief, and the resolves of Congress to pay and compensate them in such a manner, as the ability of the United States would permit, operated to keep them quiet and prevent tumult.

General Washington, in his farewell orders of this date, took leave of the army in a very affectionate address to them, he acknowledges the assistance they had given him, and expresses his wishes for their future good conduct, when they returned to their citizenship, and also that they might be amply rewarded for their services. *Nov.* 3.

The next day, the 4th of November, the first division of the British fleet took their departure from New-York; and on the 25th of the same month, the British army evacuated the city, when General Washington and Governour Clinton took possession of the same. *Nov.* 4.

At the celebration of the definitive treaty of peace at New-York, the commander in chief of the American army expressed his desire to resign his commission, and to retire. Some of the principal officers, who with him had trod the path of military glory, and had gained laurels in the fields of America, took their leave of his Excellency, resigned their commissions, and returned to their former stations of private citizens. General Washington left the city, crossed North River, and repaired to Congress, then sitting at Annapolis in Maryland; and here he delivered into their hands the com- *Dec.* 3.

1783. mission he had received from them, and had so ably and successfully executed.

Dec. 23. The ceremony performed on this occasion is thus related: "On the 25th day of December, a beautiful group of ladies appeared at Congress, the Governour, Council, and Legislature of that State, several general officers, the Consul of France, and the respectable citizens of Annapolis. Congress were seated and covered, as representatives of the sovereignty of the union; the spectators, uncovered and standing.

"His Excellency, after a decent pause, addressed Congress, in the following words:

"The great events, on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I have now the honour of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me; and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country, happy in the confirmation of our independency and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation. I resign with satisfaction the appointment I received with diffidence; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the union, and the patronage of heaven." After encomiums on the army, and recommending to the notice of Congress his household confidential servants, his Excellency proceeded: "I consider it as an indispensable duty to close this last act of my official life, by recommending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of almighty God, and those, who have the superintendence of them, to his holy keeping. Having finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action, and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of publick life."

This was a moving scene: "Congress, (as the President expressed it) received his address and resignation with emotions too affecting for utterance."

The United States of America being now free, sovereign, and independent, the author of Common Sense says, "She has an arduous task before her, that is, to make a wise improvement of her independence; such an improvement as will promote its prosperity, and make it illustrious among the nations. Finance, revenue, and funds are among the first objects of its attention; to do justice to the soldiers," &c.

We cannot better conclude a journal of the principal incidents of the American war, than with the following pertinent reflections thereon, contained in an excellent address of *Judge Jay*, delivered on a publick occasion at New York, when he was chief justice of that State. 1783.

"The war (says the chief justice) was begun and has been successful, in a manner so singular, and I may say miraculous, that when future ages shall read the history, they will be tempted to consider it as fabulous.

"What, among other things, can appear more unworthy of credit, than that in an enlightened age, in a celebrated and christian country, in a nation so celebrated for humanity, as well as love of liberty and justice, as the English once justly were, a prince should arise, who, by the influence of corruption only, should be able to seduce them into a combination, to reduce three millions of his most loyal and affectionate subjects to absolute slavery, under pretence of a right appertaining to God alone, *of binding them in all cases whatever*, not even excepting cases of conscience and religion?

"What can appear more improbable, though true, than that this prince, and this people, should obstinately steel their hearts and shut their ears against the most humble petitions and affectionate remonstrances, and unjustly determine by violence and force to execute designs, which were reprobated by every principle of humanity, equity, gratitude, and policy; designs which would have been execrable, if intended against savages and enemies, and yet formed against men descended from the same common ancestors with themselves; men who had liberally contributed to their support, and cheerfully fought their battles, even in remote and baleful countries?

"Will it not appear extraordinary, that thirteen colonies, the object of these wicked designs, divided by variety of governments and manners, should immediately become one people, and though without funds, without magazines, without disciplined troops, in the face of their enemies, unanimously determine to be free, and, undaunted by the power of Britain, refer their cause to the justice of the Almighty, and resolve to repel force by force; thereby presenting to the world an illustrious example of magnanimity and virtue, scarcely to be paralleled?

"Will it not be matter of doubt and wonder, that notwithstanding these difficulties, they should raise armies, establish funds, carry on commere, grow rich by the spoils of their enemies, and bid defiance to the armies of Britain, and

1783. the savages of the wilderness? But however incredible these things in future may appear, we know them to be true; and, we should always remember, that the many remarkable means and events by which our wants have been supplied, and our enemies repelled, or restrained, are such strong and striking proofs of the interposition of heaven, that our having been hitherto delivered from the threatened bondage of Britain ought, like the emancipation of the Jews from Egyptian servitude, to be forever ascribed to its true cause, and instead of swelling our hearts with arrogant ideas of our prowess and importance, kindle in them a flame of gratitude and piety, which may consume all remains of vice and irreligion."

The smiles of heaven on the American Revolution, thro' its several stages, must be confessed by all, who have paid attention to the events. The following have been noticed as remarkable, "The fewness of apostacies in the capital characters; the fewness of desertions to the enemy; the sailors, taken in the American service, have preferred the horrors of a prison-ship, to fighting against the country who had employed them; men of every rank have generally felt and spoke alike, as if the chords of life (says a remarker) struck unison through the continent; the preservation of the union of the States; the purity of Congress; the unshaken patriotism of every general assembly; the aid and support granted by a foreign powerful ally; the credit the United States obtained in Europe, so as to procure the loan of large sums of money; to which may be added, the preservation of the health, life, and patriotism of the commander in chief; his acceptableness to the soldiery; the unexpected supplies at critical periods, by captures from their enemy (hinted at, in the foregoing address;) the efforts of an infant country prevailing over an elder country, full of resources, and obliging the latter to yield to the former."

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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